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SECOND BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU

OF

Labor and Industrial Statistics,

1885-1886.

FRANK A. FLOWER, COMMISSIONER.

MATT. J. SIMPELAAR,
HENRY SIEBERS,

Deputy Commissioner.
Factory Inspector.



MADISON, WISCONSIN:
DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTERS.
1886.

STATE OF WISCONSIN,
Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics,
MADISON, SEPTEMBER 30, 1886.

TO JEREMIAH M. RUSK, *Governor:*

Dear Sir:—In accordance with chapter 247, laws of 1885, I herewith submit for your kindly consideration, the Second Biennial Report of this Bureau for the term ending to-day.

FRANK A. FLOWER,
Commissioner.

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INTRODUCTION.

REMARKS, SUGGESTIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

This Report is somewhat unsatisfactory in its order of arrangement, for the reason that the several parts were given to the printers as they could be finished, and before the close of the biennial period, in order to enable the public printer to get out other Reports before the meeting of the Legislature, if possible. It has, notwithstanding this effort, been kept from the public more than a month, by reason of waiting for paper under the new contract.

Its size exceeds the prescribed limit, but rather than have the Report of the Factory Inspector and other important matter excluded, the Printing Commission, by virtue of the discretion given in section 3, chapter 320, laws of 1883, granted permission for enlargement.

To the people of Wisconsin I hope it will be an interesting and perhaps a somewhat valuable document; but for the Eastern metaphysicians it will probably be a grievous disappointment. They have expressed a desire to have the various states compile phalanges of abstract figures, because by running these blocks of statistics through their mysterious alembics, they can, like the alchymists they are, produce results which, though of no practical value, are nevertheless very mystifying to the groundlings and very serviceable in advertising the conjurors.

I have learned that the masses in Wisconsin, especially the laboring men, do not like dry columns of figures. They wish information concerning trades, industries, labor organizations, strikes, legislation and general industrial problems put into some more entertaining form. More than that, figures do not cause people, especially the average working-man, to think; so in this Report I have used solid tables only where no other course would properly cover the ground.

The important work of this Bureau is by no means its Report. Real, direct good comes from the enforcement of labor laws, annihilation of child labor, securing new legislation and general activity in behalf of wage-earners, more than from collecting columns of figures which only one in fifty can understand and which not more than one in a thousand will read. For the present, therefore, we shall be forced to let the critical metaphysicians collect their own figures; though after we shall have the laws fairly enforced, more attention will be given to statistics, and we shall try next time to present a more interesting and valuable Report.

Outside of the copies to be bound in the "Messages and Documents," chapter 303, laws of 1885, provides for printing 12,500 Reports of the Bureau. This is not too many; it is not, in fact, enough. The Reports of this Department go to a class comprising more than 300,000 people — a class never reached heretofore by the circulation of state documents; a class heretofore neglected while liberal provision was being made for scientists, farmers, horticulturists, sheep-breeders, and dairymen.

There is also a heavy outside demand which can not be wholly ignored. Almost every government in Europe, as well as libraries, trade unions, Knights of Labor assemblies, and industrial economists throughout America ask for our Bureau Reports, and as far as possible their requests are granted. To do so exhausts a considerable edition, but it seems to be money well spent, extending, I hope, a favorable reputation for Wisconsin, as well as contributing information on the great socio-economic problems of the day.

Information is useless unless it is published and circulated. It is the moving stream that turns the mill.

National Conventions.—The officers of the various State Bureaus of Statistics will hold their next annual convention in Madison, Wisconsin, probably in June or July, 1887. That of 1885 was held in Boston, and that of 1886, in Trenton, N. J. These meetings are growing in value and importance. Experts in the various lines of work we are pursuing read papers, methods of investigation are discussed, the indus-

trial conditions and laws of different states are compared and all phases of the labor problem are considered.

The proceedings are published in pamphlet form and distributed by each commissioner as he can afford. There has been more or less criticism of the convention of 1886, because the address of Victor Drury, an agitator and member of the Home Club, was expunged from the proceedings. The sentiments of the essential portion of his address were to me barbarous and revolutionary. I notified the secretary, Dr. Hutchins, of Iowa, as the harrangue proceeded, that if it were proposed to include that speech, I wished to withdraw my subscription for copies of the proceedings for Wisconsin. At the evening session, therefore, Commissioner Peck, of New York, moved to expunge the obnoxious address, and it was done by unanimous vote.

At the trial of the anarchist murderers in Chicago a few weeks later, documentary evidence was presented showing Drury's intimacy with Johann Most — one of the latter's letters urging the co-operation of the Chicago plotters with Drury for the establishment of an English organ of their theories. I take especial pride in reciting these facts, because they tend to show how correctly we judged the man without knowing his history.

Labor laws. — Had I known that this Report would swell beyond the 400-page limit, the laws made in behalf of labor would have been omitted, though it is important that they should receive as wide publication as possible. However, they are printed and I recommend every artisan and every laborer to read them carefully, especially those sections which are or may be applicable to his individual case.

Co-operation. — So far as the writer is aware, that part of the Report devoted to co-operation embraces more facts than any single volume yet put forth in America; though there are now preparing works which will far surpass it.

My hope in giving so much space to this subject was to induce workingmen, unions and assemblies to turn their attention from strikes, denunciation of capital, boycotts, politics, bickerings and agitation, to the more practical and laudable business of saving money and building up material

interests of their own through the medium of co-operative effort.

"Co-operation, the law of the new civilization," is the motto of many a labor and social organization, and under this banner may be found many advocates of exact equality of all mankind in labor, property, social distinction and civil influence. These are the ones who retard the progress of practical co-operation by frightening away people of sense and capital. And so gloriously beautiful is their theory, that no one seems to dare to combat it.

The ideal co-operation of those who hold that no man should own anything, but that all should work together and divide up privileges and profits equally; that no man should work for himself more than for his neighbor; that, in the language of the Declaration of Principles of the American Sociologic Society, "Thou shalt make thy neighbors' interest *identical* with thine own," can never be generally successful until the Creator shall make all his children just alike or perfect. That all are not thus created, is the rock on which the Wisconsin Phalanx split; it is the one that will certainly wreck every other ideal scheme of carrying out exact and unadulterated human equality that may be undertaken.

The schemes of Marx, Fourier, George, Clark and the long retinue of anarchists, socialists, land-dividers and property-confiscators, can never come to fruition. It is impossible by law, boycott, bayonet or dynamite, to place us all upon the same general plane, one enjoying no advantages of increase, leisure and labor not shared equally by his neighbor.

To any fair student of nature the question seems not even debatable. The Creator has made high mountains covered with eternal snows, and deep valleys carpeted with perpetual green; placid lakes and broad oceans for commerce, and roaring waterfalls for mills and factories. He sends the pine high into the clouds, and trails the arbutus about its giant roots; rears the oak on the hill, gnarled and tenacious, to withstand storms and strengthen ships, while ivy, bitter-sweet and wild morning-glories cling to its rough trunk and sinewy arms for nourishment and protection. He made the lion fierce and strong; the lamb timid and weak; the tiger

aggressive and destructive; the cow quiet; the horse submissive; the mule obstinate.

And so has He diversified the qualities of the human family, variously mixing ambition, foresight, sloth, thrift, love of beauty, slovenliness, piety, wantonness, strength, weakness and depravity in friends, neighbors, brothers and sisters.

Everywhere in nature we see diversity, and it is contrary to logic and the plan of creation to attempt to place mankind upon an exact and common level, like a row of automaton soldiers all moving together in response to a common cord, without individual ambition, characteristics or hope. It is as absurd as that every tree in the forest should be the highest.

Whoever teaches that it is wrong for one person to possess or enjoy any advantages of wealth, social standing, luxury or freedom from toil that another does not, instead of being the friend of workers that he professes or believes himself to be, is one of their worst enemies. He breeds dissatisfaction and discontent. He teaches them that in some unaccountable way they are being forcibly and unlawfully deprived by the rich of some of their just share of the good things of this life; that a revolution, a social tearing-up must be instituted in order to readjust the world generally and make everybody rich and sleek, and idle and well-fed.

And thus are the seeds of bitterness and jealousy sown; thus is the uneducated workman rendered dissatisfied with his lot, his home and his future prospects; thus are his peace of life and his proper ambition destroyed; thus is he given to understand that some strange law yet to be enacted, or some new society yet to be formed, will do away with toil and struggles and hard times.

Nevertheless, co-operation, shorn of the absurd and utopian features given to it by hare-brained theorists and crazy world-reformers, can be made to lighten the burdens and cheer the pathway of life in many ways.

For instance, if the students of the State University should enlarge upon the plan of the members of the Psi Chi Society, who lease a house in Madison and thus reduce the

cost of room-rent, or adopt the Yale College scheme, described on page 142, they might materially lessen the cost of a college course and increase its pleasant features.

Numbers might band together and rent a house in which to eat and cook their meals, and sleep, changing the bill of fare once a week by vote or direction of an executive committee; or they might room here and there and eat in a single house devoted to cooking only, controlled by a committee chosen for the purpose and responsible for all purchases of food, fuel and lights.

In the city the people of one or several adjacent blocks might save largely from the cost of living by co-operation in matters of cooking and washing, having these things done in some house set apart for that purpose, containing a dining hall. This plan would reduce household drudgery to the minimum as well as the cost of food.

If they should go still further and have light (gas or electricity) and heat generated for all their rooms and residences at a central station, in which cooking and laundry-work could also be done, comfort and cleanliness would reach a much higher, and expense a much lower point. The large dining room could be used for meetings, parties and neighborhood gatherings.

Mentally enumerate the many desirable purposes in economy, sociability and comfort to be served by co-operation of this sort!

Is it not strange that with all our progress in science, industry, agriculture, education and even religion, there should be so little advancement in kitchen economy?

The necessity for shelter, food, clothing and fuel can never cease. It has been with us for 4,000 years; yet how little of the world's genius is employed in obtaining the most of these necessities for the smallest expenditure of labor and means!

We are making enormous progress in luxuries — in the arts of ornamentation and gratification — in the things we do not need; but in providing the things we need and must have every day of our lives, there is little general progress and less effort in that direction.

A simple beginning, at least in the way of economy and cost of labor, could be made through the co-operation mentioned above.

Productive co-operation was in the minds of the 431 employers from whose views quotations are made on page 227, and it is clearly to be seen that few of them have any adequate conception of the matter. Few object to dividing profits; but they tremble before the idea of surrendering any part of the management of their business to a promiscuous crowd of workmen.

This fear is not groundless; for good management — a clear head with undisputed authority — is more essential than abundant capital in almost any manufacturing enterprise.

Wage-earners ought to know this, for mismanagement has ruined more co-operative ventures than any other agency. W. E. Barnes says:

The great trouble thus far in co-operation has been the lack of intelligence on the part of laborers. It is absurd to expect men without education, training and discipline to manage large or even moderate business enterprises. Educate the worker, furnish him the opportunities for training and discipline, and co-operation will be a success.

He is right; but we can begin profit-sharing, which is one form of co-operation, at once, without waiting for a higher standard of education. In fact, profit-sharing will tend to bring about that business knowledge and experience which makes men thoughtful and conservative, yet ambitious and strong.

Again shall I use the words of W. E. Barnes, of the *Age of Steel*:

Under the system of participation in profits there are advantages to the laborer which may be summed as follows: First, in the additional security of his capital arising from his division of his risks with his workmen; second, in his immunity from the exactions of workmen, which owing to the actions of trades unions, are becoming more formidable; third, in the saving of the cost of the war of wages; fourth, in the cordial co-operation and harmonious working of all hands, which will be induced by their common interest in the proceeds of their labor; fifth in the augmentation of those proceeds resulting from the incentive of the men to work more, and more intelligently, when working for themselves than when doling out their unwilling labor and dawdling their time away under the system of

fixed time and fixed wage. To the workmen this change of system would prove an unmixed blessing. Under it he would prove a partner instead of a servant and would thus be entitled to an equitable share of the profits of the partnership. If his profit under it were limited to his share of the cost of strikes which would be saved, and the increased profit arising from the substitution of willing and intelligent labor, for labor grudgingly and mechanically performed, the result of which he would share, the change would be amply justified. His profit is, however, not so limited, since he would participate in all the profits derived from the industry in which he would be engaged. The owner of capital and the owner of labor would be linked together in the bonds of union and fellowship. Their fortunes would be inseparable.

While all this is true, the introduction of profit-sharing will not bring the millennium of the workingman. Some artisans will work faithfully, others shirk. Some will be economical, others shiftless and destructive. Some will be ambitious and pushing, others mere parasites as now, under all systems.

Brothers start out together with equal opportunities and resources. One goes up, another goes down, and a third dodges along from pillar to post, living from hand to mouth. Would any new law or new custom change this? I have seen two artisans laboring side by side at the same work for the same wages. One was bright and cheerful, the possessor of a comfortable home, a neat, clean, and happy family, having a general air of contentment. The other was in debt, had no home of his own, and was generally at war with the world, talking of strikes, the crimes of monopoly, the oppressions of capital, and the urgent necessity of passing some law to tear up things and to punish the rich and help the poor.

No new system can change the natural bent of human disposition; but I do think that a participation in profits by workmen will do much towards bringing about more general contentment and more equitable prosperity, and do still more towards preventing strikes and lockouts. If so, let us have that system; and let us call on the 129 employers of Wisconsin, who report to this Bureau that they favor co-operation, to inaugurate it. A good thing can not, generally speaking, come too soon.

I would also recommend labor organizations to save the money spent on strikes, boycotts, parades, political conventions and campaigns and professional agitators, for the purpose of erecting halls, establishing libraries and founding co-operative supply stores or factories for the production of necessities.

No better advice was ever given to the laborers of Wisconsin; and it is my profoundest wish that it might have as much weight as if it were an order for a costly strike or boycott issued by some brawler who cares nothing for workers beyond getting his living out of them and trading upon their votes in politics.

Since compiling Parts II, III and IV, a large amount of matter touching co-operation has come into my hands, but of course it can not be used. I must note, however, that at Eau Claire, capitalists and workingmen are moving together in harmony for the establishment of new enterprises for the general upbuilding of the city. This is indeed encouraging and undoubtedly is the beginning of a new era of prosperity and good feeling. I also notice that numerous persons in the southwestern part of the state are preparing to join in the model co-operative colony at Sinaloa, Mexico, whose features are fully described by George V. Smith's account of the Puget Sound colony, beginning on page 160. As that is an ideal scheme, those who enter into it may learn how to avoid some of the shoals by studying the similar ventures which have failed.

Strikes and Lock-outs.—Beginning on page 238, a very full account is given of the industrial disturbances occurring in Wisconsin during the biennial term now closed.

It is a curious fact that while the strikes of 1885-86 are unprecedented in the history of the state in number and disaster, only six of the wage-workers answering the questions of the Bureau regard them as justifiable, and then only in extreme cases, as a last resort.

Strikes have been aptly likened to war; but they may also be likened to boils, which show the condition of the system — that it is deranged and the blood impure, and that a constitutional remedy is needed to drive the humors out;

not an ointment to scatter and drive them in temporarily only to see them reappear later in a different, perhaps more malignant form.

The growth of civilization began in strife, and the long pathway of civil freedom and progressive enlightenment is strewn with the wrecks of empires and kingdoms, and red with human blood.

Even religion, bearing the gospel of peace, charity and brotherly love, comes down to us stained with blood—its history burdened with dissensions, tyranny, St. Bartholomew nights, inquisitions, witchcraft, banishments, arena massacres and the long-burning fires at the stakes of Smithfield.

We must, therefore, see that the strikes and disturbances which have characterized the upward progress of labor are the merest specks when compared to the bloody struggles of freedom, civilization and religion.

As the most fierce and numerous wars indicate the periods of the most rapid advance in civilization—strides toward a time when bloodshed would not often be required or tolerated in the settlement of national disputes, so we are entitled to hope that the recent epidemic of strikes and lock-outs forebodes an era of peace and more friendly relations between capital and labor.

But so long as wage-workers to any considerable extent receive what is generally admitted to be less than their equitable share of the value they produce; so long as any appreciable number of them, for reasons apparently beyond their control, are unable to give to public affairs, to their families and to mental equipment that attention which the common weal and our higher plane of civilization demand, so long will there be strikes and bitterness of spirit.

Proprietors differ radically in their sense of justice and in their manner of dealing with fellow men; but in the main there is very little difference between different aggregations of workers. Division and corps commanders vary widely in methods, treatment of the men under them and in personal deportment; but the divisions and corps themselves are essentially alike everywhere.

There are many establishments in which strikes are never known. This is not because the workmen in those establishments differ from any other average body of wage-earners, but because the proprietor is more considerate of and more liberal with his employees.

In fact, the majority of strikes might be, and should be prevented by employers; prevented too, without yielding to any unreasonable demand, or granting a larger wage than justly belongs to labor. While it is true that strikes rarely occur without some fault on both sides, the main fault is with employers. And I am bound to believe they should be held more strictly accountable for disturbances or depressions which their errors help bring upon the country, because they are generally better educated than the mass of wage-earners, more enlightened and more familiar with the ways and laws of the world, and because they appreciate more fully, or should do so, the responsibilities of peaceful and progressive citizenship.

The public, without malice, but simply from a lack of information, as well as a false understanding of circumstances, charges workmen with the entire responsibility for industrial disturbances. This can not be rightfully done without first assuming that enlightenment adds no responsibility to the citizen, and that those who labor for others for a livelihood have and should have no discretion but to accept whatever is offered and do whatever is required — starve or fatten like an ox, without saying a word, according as the master feeds sparingly or liberally.

As for myself, while fully appreciating the mistakes that should have been avoided, I only wonder that laborers, led as they often are, by brawling demagogues, have not fallen into more errors. Circumstances have limited their education, narrowed their views of life, dulled their hope of future affluence and social or political distinction. Chained to Ixion's ceaseless wheel of toil, fighting under the gloomy banner of "Dig or Die," who can wonder that the great army of burden-carriers is not sometimes governed by passion, sometimes made the victim of errors, often led by mountebanks?

It is not for us then, to hurl denunciations and harsh epithets into their ranks alone, but to do everything in our power to lighten their burdens, cheer their pathways, broaden their views, encourage their ambitions, succor and speak kindly of their worthy efforts and organizations, and point out their errors.

After all, we must remember that a strike is a remedy for nothing. It only indicates that a remedy is needed.

In the abstract it is as absurd for labor to strike against capital as for the mouth to strike against the stomach or the hands against the brain. Some unions have already learned this, the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors having a clause in their constitution against striking under any circumstances. All honor to the conductors!

Strikes, it is clear, can not be perpetual, nor can they settle the labor problem. A feud between two individuals may be ended forever when one kills the other. Not so, however with the contest between labor and capital. One can not live without the other. Their relations are interdependent and reciprocal, though not identical, as so many assert; and when either conquers the other it conquers itself also. When one goes down the other goes with it.

The problem is not to be solved, therefore, by any "victory" of either side, except the victory of peace. Labor and capital must sooner or later come to terms, and the sooner the better. Capital being the more well informed and discreet, should, in my opinion, make the first overtures.

The Eight-hour Day. — Nothing in the history of Wisconsin equals the great struggle of May, 1886, recorded on pages 341 to 371, for the forcible inauguration of the eight-hour day. Although it ended in grievous disaster, workingmen's conventions, so-called, and most of their *bona fide* organizations still demand that eight hours be made a legal labor-day. Individually, however, there is much opposition among workingmen to the eight-hour system, and the May strike was inaugurated entirely by a few leading agitators, who do no work except with their mouths, but keep the workingmen constantly stirred up for their own personal and political profit.

Many union switchmen out on a strike in St. Louis went to Chicago and took the places, at ten hours, of their union brethren on a strike for eight hours. In Milwaukee, some of the brick and stone masons and hod-carriers who struck for eight hours went to Madison, Minneapolis, La Crosse, St. Paul and elsewhere, and hired out for ten hours at the same and, in some instances, lower wages; and the same is true of some of the carpenters.

By this we can see that many workmen did not regard the strike as "a struggle for a great principle," as a few ever noisy leaders were fond of declaring.

In fact, during all the late cry for eight hours, who mentioned the hotel and servant girls? Who asked eight hours for them? No one, because they have no votes to be cast for or traded off by the "leaders;" yet as a general thing their drudgery never ceases. They work seven days per week and, as a rule, fifteen hours per day.

The Knights of old fought and died for the fair sex.

There is but little in the domain of actual fact and experience for anyone to say on this subject, although it is claimed that it is a success in New Zealand and Australia.

To inaugurate this new day with no increase in wages would injure laborers; for while they would gain one or two hours of time, they would lose by the increased cost of production.

Unskilled labor is now underpaid to a greater extent than any other class, and it can not, therefore, very well stand either a general increase in the cost of supplies or a reduction of wages.

The eight-hour day would tend to draw men from the country into the city, thus cheapening the labor of the city while advancing the cost and decreasing the quantity of the products of the country — the farm.

It would also double the stream of immigration, if we shall leave immigration unrestricted, and increase the importation of foreign goods; for no eight-hour country, paying as high wages as prevail in America, can compete with the long hours, cheap and enormous capital and low wages of Europe.

The long, cold winters of our Northern states also render it necessary in several large branches of business, to work as many hours per day as possible while it is warm. At the equator, many of the arguments to be advanced against the eight-hour day fall to the ground, for there King Necessity is not such a tyrant ruler as in the North.

The eight-hour day would make it necessary to run more machinery; more machinery means more capital and more active capital means an increase in the power and influence of employers, of capitalists, against which agitators are always so loudly protesting.

If the eight-hour day could step in without reducing wages or increasing the cost of production — of the necessities and comforts of life — its coming would be a grand blessing. But it can not, and to ignore this fact and reason from any other standpoint is the height of absurdity.

Perhaps one of the most probable results of a general eight-hour day, has never to my knowledge been brought forward. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of the more shrewd and ambitious workmen would at once leave their places and set up shops of their own. In these shops they would work 12, 14 and 16 hours per day at productive labor, turning out twice or three times as much as a single eight-hour workman in other factories, and receiving not only twice or three times as much wages, but also the profits of the manufacturer on the goods produced.

Such workmen could and would undersell the large employers everywhere, and thus force down wages, or increase the hours of running at the same wages, or shut up a portion of the great factories; for capital will not run long without profit, and can not hold out long at a loss.

There is something to be said on the other side, though nothing in favor of inaugurating by force or law a general eight-hour day. Our American cities are large; that is, they cover large areas of land. Workmen, therefore, must travel long distances to reach their shops, so that some men laboring ten hours a day, are really absent from home 12 and even 13 and 14 hours. They put in ten hours for their employer, and from thirty minutes to an hour and thirty

minutes on the journeys to and from home, and an hour for a cold dinner.

In many parts of Europe the dinner-pail is unknown, the streets being so narrow, tenement houses so high and yards so small, that the remotest workman is only a few minutes from his shop. He can therefore go home to dinner and most of them can lunch at home—a custom unknown in the United States. In the foreign cities, however, the men work slow, and put in long days.

I think I can clearly see that the tendency in this country is toward shorter hours, and that this tendency is both right and inevitable. The enormous increase during the last few years of labor-saving machinery has made a corresponding increase in the amount, and a comparative decrease in the cost, of production.

Of these results, favorable alike to labor and capital, labor has not yet obtained its just share. This share should come, and must come, either in the form of increased wages or shortened hours, or both. But this does not mean that the country can be placed at once under the eight-hour rule in all departments of labor, forcibly or otherwise.

In fact I do not believe that any court of last resort in America will ever declare that a person not a minor or under guardianship shall not be permitted to work more than eight hours for another if he wishes to do so and can come to terms with his employer; except in cases where the work is hazardous to health and therefore injurious to the public welfare. If so, the next thing may be that the law will say he shall not receive more than 50 cents for a bushel of wheat, nor charge more than 25 cents for sawing, splitting and wheeling in a cord of wood.

No, law can not be expected to go thus far. If you can absolutely limit by a general statute the hours of labor, you can also limit the compensation, and that would result in rebellion.

For an insurmountable law bearing on such subjects, I refer studious minds to Section I, Article XIV, amendments to the constitution of the United States, viz:

No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.

To indulge in repetition: The tendency of the age is as clearly and certainly toward shorter hours as it is toward more comforts, better homes and more general intelligence. But the eight-hour or any other system will not, can not come through courts and statutes. It will come through the advancement of skill and intelligence and the further multiplication of machinery; come without a strike, a struggle, or a shock, when and where we are ready for it. But higher wages or lower cost of supplies—of manufactured goods—will come first.

The May Riot.—I do not care to occupy much space in discussing the several riotous proceedings that grew out of the eight-hour movement in Milwaukee, one of which ended in bloodshed, though it is the most conspicuous occurrence of the decade.

I call attention to the laws quoted on page 362, defining riots and unlawful assemblages, as well as the unavoidable duty of a governor under such circumstances as arose in Milwaukee, in May, 1886.

A mob, a riot, is not lawful; it is unlawful. To permit it to run at will is not lawful; it is unlawful. However unpleasant it may be to use military force to suppress a mob, it is the way it is done under the laws of every civilized country on the face of the globe. "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

If there is any one who needs to be backed up and protected by the power of law, of organized society and of orderly administration, it is the humble workingman, the poor man, who can invoke no other power, interpose no other shield when his rights are menaced or assailed.

"The good man needs to fear no law;
It is his safety and a bad man's awe."

To the general public I will say that they are little aware of what might have happened had there been less prompt and decisive action in Milwaukee last May. The community would be startled if I should name some of those who

purchased, carried and peddled arms during the May trouble, some not being satisfied with one revolver, or even a brace of them.

As soon as Gov. Rusk arrived, the various gunshops were closed, their ammunition taken to the armories and the outlying powder-houses placed under surveillance. It was thus impossible for the anarchists who desired to make use of the occasion to inaugurate a reign of massacre and disorder, to secure more arms for their few blind and misguided followers.

Another matter will bear a brief explanation. Those engaged in disorderly proceedings in Milwaukee were, as is well known, wild with rage when they observed the approach of the militia.

This was quite natural, and when explained can be largely, if not wholly, excused by Americans. The rioters, so far as I know or can learn, were all foreign-born. In the military countries of Europe, soldiery means conscription, burdensome taxation, unlimited power, oppression and unrest. It means more and worse; for wherever heavy garrisons are stationed, debauchery and immorality reign to an unusual extent, with deplorable effect.

For these reasons the common people hate not only the military, but the government which controls and directs it. They bring that hatred with them to America, and, not understanding fully the difference between their country and ours, they are frantic with indignation when the militia is called out, and can hardly restrain themselves from attacking it.

Nothing of this spirit is ever seen in American-born citizens, and by and by our new-comers will discover their error. For the present, therefore, let us excuse and forgive them. We should probably be the same if we had been brought up the same.

I wish also to say that the steady, thrifty workingmen of Milwaukee, were not the authors of, nor responsible for the great strike of May 1, nor for the riotous proceedings growing out of it. Although they were indeed workingmen who went to the West Milwaukee Railway shops, to Brand's

stove works, to the Reliance works, to the bakeries, and to the North Chicago Rolling Mills, their passions had been so inflamed and excited by a few leaders, that they did not realize what they were doing. They had lost their heads.

These leaders, therefore, and not the uneducated toilers, should be held responsible for all the consequences of that deplorable period; and if others are punished while they escape, justice will not be done. Even if they shall escape the penalties of the law now, sometime, we must all believe and trust, they will meet their reward. "Justice travels with a leaden heel but strikes with an iron hand."

Boycotting.—Beginning on page 372 may be found an account of various Wisconsin boycotts. The boycott seems to me to be but a modified form of the business of the highwayman. It is, I think, on the wane throughout the Union; certainly in Wisconsin. Let it go. The sooner it is buried beyond resurrection the sooner will toilers free themselves from another enemy.

I notice however a change of tactics, in those who favor and manage boycotts. Instead of organizing against business men and manufacturers in such a manner as to be guilty of conspiracy, as freely as formerly, they now boycott persons — ostracising, hounding and maltreating such members of their organizations as can not be fully controlled. We have had but little of that in Wisconsin, though in other states it has become an enormity.

Some unionists claim that boycotting, even in its extreme form, is a "principle." It is not a principle, but a low and passionate form of revenge. There is not a shred or shadow of principle in it or near it.

It is true that men may, as individuals or in a body, refuse to buy any given article, or refuse to work for an obnoxious employer; but on general principles boycotting is a dangerous instrument of warfare. It is a two-edged sword that may be used by either party.

Suppose manufacturers should band together to deprive union men of shelter, fuel, food, clothing and labor, for the purpose of enforcing some rule, regulation or price? Such a course would indeed be more appalling in its results but

not a more outrageous violation of common sense, common right and common law than the boycotts which have been instituted against the goods, factories, business and reputations of employers.

If laboring men wish to continue boycotting, let them boycott drunkenness, boycott loud-mouthed agitators, boycott charlatan leaders and mountebanks who care nothing for labor except to use it for selfish purposes; boycott dissipation and extravagant habits — boycott them always and everywhere; strike against them, drum them out of camp.

Instead of tearing down and crippling the factories of your neighbors, wherein you earn your daily bread and which builds up your communities, boycott every foreign-made article that could as well be made on American soil.

On pages 386 to 390 may be found representative views of employers on the boycott. Many believe we need new laws on the subject, while almost an equal number are of the opinion that our present statutes, together with the common law jurisdiction of our courts, are sufficient.

As for myself, I think perhaps the conspiracy laws should be made a little more comprehensive, because we have seen occasions, not connected with labor organizations, where it is needed; but, believing that the workmen themselves, in Wisconsin, are abandoning the boycott, I think no special anti-boycott legislation is required.

I trust for the good name of the workingmen, there never will be another instance in Wisconsin. It is an imported evil, devoid of principle, right and good sense; it is simply a war of destruction, a quieter form of highway robbery, a method of revenge.

Arbitration.—Some very interesting matter on this subject may be found on pages 390 to 415.

Arbitration largely means "split the difference." This is so nearly true that under its operations a set of men desiring a 10 per cent. advance in wages would be apt to submit to the board a demand for 20 per cent.; and employers expecting to make a 10 per cent. reduction would announce a proposed reduction of twice that amount. Would it not also be utterly impossible to absolutely enforce the judg-

ments of an arbitration tribunal? If one thousand men employed by the Bay View Rolling Mill Company should refuse to abide by the decision of arbitrators, where does the power reside that could compel them to return to their labors? And if the rolling mill company should regard the decision as unjust and refuse to obey the judgment, what rightful power is there to compel them to open their doors and resume operations?

If, as seems unavoidable, we accept as true the conclusion that arbitration can solve no problem, it nevertheless may bridge over many difficulties and is for that reason worth an honest trial.

Legal tribunals may not accomplish much good, but they certainly can do no harm and to provide for their establishment will cost but a few dollars. They may help the growth of public sentiment against strikes and lock-outs, and in favor of some more broad and equitable basis for a future union of the efforts of labor and capital, which I believe is bound to come.

Poor Richard said, "If angry, count ten before you speak; if very angry, count a hundred." If any arbitration tribunal shall be established in Wisconsin, let no case be submitted to it for decision until ten days after the occurrence of the difficulty to be settled. During that time both parties will cool off, and resentment, anger and revenge will have less to do with the arguments and testimony.

Although hoping the Legislature will enact some measure relating to arbitration, I really have no faith that legally-constituted tribunals can prevent strikes or largely increase industrial harmony. The laws should provide for forming courts of conciliation, rather than to actually form them.

Shop arbitration is the coming arbitration; but to establish by law some method of choosing tribunals, recording their judgments and paying their expenses, may hasten its coming.

Immigration. — On page 416 may be found extracts from the reports of Wisconsin employers relative to foreign im-

migration, and further on a tabulation of opinions on restrictive measures.

Probably scholars and reformers, as well as the masses, will be surprised at the practical unanimity of the sentiment in Wisconsin as developed by the queries of this Bureau, in favor of restricting, suspending for a time, or totally prohibiting immigration from foreign countries.

A very large proportion of the business men of the state are foreign-born. Many of them mentioned this fact in communicating with the Bureau, giving it as a reason why they, better than native Americans, understand the necessity for doing something to at least purify the enormous human stream that is pouring in upon us from Europe. They know the character of the sources of that stream better than we, and therefore more fully comprehend its dangers.

I believe now, as I did ten years ago, that this is the most vital and far-reaching problem of the time. By its side unionism, boycotting, arbitration and co-operation, important as they are, for the present sink into minor significance. The hobby-riders in these several domains will not admit this; but, let me ask, how can the stream be otherwise than unclean so long as the fountain is to any extent impure?

The nation is like the family; its welfare is controlled by the same principles. No matter what rigid rules the head of the house may establish for the government of its inmates, morality and domestic peace and felicity can never be maintained if he opens his doors to all sorts of characters; if he admits the dishonest, the slothful, the scheming, the destructive, the polluting.

Are socialism, land-confiscation, "general leveling day" and anarchy products of American society and institutions? Were not our Mosts, Fieldens, Spieses, Linggs, Gruenhuts, Grottkaus, Schwabs, Liebnechts, Hirths, Schnaubelts, and a score of others like them, born and trained in the old country? Can not all the demonstrations in America against law, society, property, government and peace be traced to foreigners — that is, foreign-born?

Is it not absurd to enter upon a struggle to wipe up the water while still permitting the faucet to run?

Are we not geese to continue to gabble about making America the asylum for all the world, when a part of the stream we are letting in comes only to destroy that asylum? Very soon there will be no asylum here, not even for ourselves, if we shall take no steps to protect and preserve it.

It will be far easier to keep out characters so dangerous and wicked that they can not be controlled in their own country, than to make over or Americanize them here. Nor do we want even professional agitators and preachers against law, order, society and government. The wickedness and oppressions of this world, whatever they may be, can not be cured by destroying the good things that are in it.

But there are industrial phases, separate from political and social dangers, to be considered. This Bureau has discovered that in the manufacturing and commercial centers, at least, the supply of labor exceeds the demand.

Unrestricted immigration, coupled with extremely low passage rates, has brought to our shores thousands upon thousands of people who could barely manage to scrape money enough together to reach the nearest seaport.

By far the greater number of immigrants come from the rural districts of Europe. Unaccustomed to anything but agricultural labor, they find themselves unexpectedly forced upon city life, obliged to find work of any kind. The purchase of land and the cultivation of farms by the class of immigrants we receive at present, is out of the question, on account of a lack of means.

After a short experience in sewer-digging, or hod-carrying, and in other out-door labor, they find their way into planing mills, breweries, tanneries, foundries, brick yards, and other places where a great deal of unskilled labor is required. A visit to any such place will prove this assertion.

Another respectable proportion of immigrants take to the domestic trades, such as carpentering and painting. They soon find that these trades in this country are so subdivided that one year's practice will enable them to pass as an expert in some branch. They know, too, that the smaller employers are looking for them at a little less than first-class wages.

A further surplussage of labor is the children of immigrants. Those that are 12 years of age and over, instead of being placed in schools, are at once sent out to work; not with a view to learn a trade, but simply for the purpose of adding to the family accumulations.

There are many places where children are thus employed. Trunk factories, knitting works, tinware factories, type-foundries, bottling houses and candy factories, readily employ them at \$1 and \$2 per week.

What becomes of these children? Does this class of work make skilled men and women of them? No. Does it enable them to lay the foundation for a future livelihood? No. After having spent three or four years of the best time of their lives in unprofitable and automatic labor, finding the avenues to apprenticeship in useful trades closed, and not desirous of starting anew at the same wages they were receiving, when but 14 years of age, the boys look for employment in nondescript pursuits, as porters, delivery clerks, coachmen, hostlers, bartenders, horse-car drivers, or anything which requires neither education nor skill.

It is the class of men drawn from this source who give the loudest expression to their discontent and are always ready for a strike.

The real skilled mechanic is never long out of employment. He is seldom identified with strikes, unless he is forced into them to save himself from social ostracism, commonly called "boycotting."

No sensible man will deny the fact that more mechanical skill, more taste, more art and a better conception of the beautiful are required in all trades to-day, than there were twenty-five years ago. Carroll D. Wright, in illustrating this assertion, at the national convention of labor statisticians, at Trenton, N. J., in June, 1886, stated that nickel ornamentation alone created employment for 30,000 people.

In arriving at the conclusion that the greatest cause of industrial disturbances is to be found in the excessive immigration and the consequent surplus of unskilled labor, as well as the evil of child labor, I am guided by personal ob-

servation, and by the opinions of employers and employes freely expressed upon the blanks issued from the Bureau.

The fact is potent even to the casual observer, that by far the greater part of all unskilled labor, in Wisconsin at least, is performed by foreigners. Nowhere is this line more distinctly drawn than in the manipulation of railroads. While the rude labor of grading and repairing is almost exclusively done by immigrants, nearly all other employment, from switching upward, is reserved for the native-born.

True, we hear of strikes, and extensive ones, too, in the skilled trades, but they are generally of short duration, and not always a demand for higher wages. Where such is the case, it may again be traced to the employment of child labor, or the importation of foreigners. Especially in the cotton mills and in the mines of Eastern states do we find this to be the cause.

The only important and protracted strike of skilled mechanics in the state, was that of the nailers at Bay View. What do we find here? Of 183 persons in all, but 25 were nailers; except the heaters, all the others, including the feeders, may be classed as unskilled laborers.

The strikes of the shoemakers, tailors and coopers all bear unmistakable evidence of having been caused by a surplussage of new-comers, not by a serious falling-off in the volume or profits of business. And so we might go on, if it were necessary.

I fully appreciate all that immigration has done for America — all the patience, skill and thrift it has brought to us. But we are no longer in need of it; we shall not suffer if we grow a little slower. Immigration now goes mostly into the cities, increasing the disproportion already too great between city and country population. This is a grave source of danger, for the city is the great social volcano as well as the center of culture — the nest where anarchists, socialists and bomb-throwers congregate to plot and plan. All of our disorderly uprisings occur in cities, or originate in them.

In conclusion, I desire to call the particular attention of those who have so much to say about the tyranny of cap-

ital and the desire of employers to "grind workingmen into the dust," to the views of Wisconsin business men on immigration.

The sentiment among them is practically unanimous in favor of such a restriction of it as will tend to reduce the surplus of rude labor. In this they speak directly for wage-earners, not for themselves; for when labor is most plentiful employers can secure it on the most favorable terms.

It is to be hoped the Legislature will carefully consider the views referred to and take some action intended to influence congress to deal with this vital question in a manner to conserve the future welfare of the United States.

Views of Workingmen.—On page 431 will be found the beginning of the views of workingmen on various subjects, and further on in the same chapter, a table compiled from the returns made by employes to the Bureau.

These views are very instructive as far as they go, and some of them conspicuous for their wisdom and conservative tone.

However, as representing the great army of wageworkers, they are simply a farce. The dissatisfied, the unsteady and the thriftless will not reply to our questions, because they do not wish their reprehensible careers placed on record, and many very intelligent men are unable to do so, by reason of their unfamiliarity with the English language.

Generally speaking, the toiler is awkward with the pen. He can think and talk, but he can't write. But our questions are so simple that whoever understands the three R's to any extent, can answer them; and most would do so if they kept their humble accounts in such shape that they really knew whether they had saved money or fallen into debt during the year.

In all my inquiries for the years 1885 and 1886, I found but a single manual laborer who had an accurate account of his earnings and expenses. He knows the number of hours of work put in during any year, the hours of lost time and the cause, and his average earnings per day and per hour. His name is William Mueller, a mason residing on 13th Street,

Milwaukee. Having no English education he is forced to keep his accounts in German. I hope some of his spare moments will be utilized in teaching his fellow workmen to do likewise.

Some years ago the Legislature was induced to offer a large prize for a steam road wagon. A gentleman residing at Oshkosh run his machine out and took from the state treasury the juicy sum of \$5,000. As soon as this was paid steam road wagons went out of sight and hearing in Wisconsin. What was the public gain?

I sincerely wish the Legislature would offer a series of prizes for the best kept and most intelligently planned specimens of book-keeping by mechanics and farmers. Thousands and thousands of these two classes owe their inability to get ahead in the world to their failure to keep a clear and business-like account of their transactions. And, I believe that if the Legislature would offer the rewards suggested, the results would be fully as beneficial as those arising from appropriations to county and other fairs; and certainly as much in the interest of the public as appropriations for steam road wagons.

Trades and Labor Organizations.—It was intended to insert in this Report a census of the various trades and labor organizations in Wisconsin, together with a *resumé* of their objects and the principal features of their constitutions and laws; but it was crowded out.

Perhaps, however, the experience I have gained will justify a few observations relative to labor organizations—especially as to their aims and errors.

To start with, I feel that wage-workers had no alternative but to organize. High above them they could see capitalists, speculators, corporations, dealers and manufacturers combining in their own respective interests; and workingmen, in self-defense, were forced to adopt the same tactics.

The chairs we sit on, the whisky we drink, the medicines and drugs prescribed to preserve our life and health, the oil that lights our chambers, the lumber that shelters us, the

coal that warms our homes and cooks our food—in fact, almost every principal necessity is kept up in price by combinations, rings and pools.

In fact, one of the most unprincipled combinations in the Union is the coal-ring, as it is also the most oppressive to the poor. If it can not be broken up otherwise, I hope the Legislature can devise a law that will reach it. If so they could give the people no more righteous enactment.

If it is unlawful for workingmen to combine and prevent selling goods by the boycott-conspiracy, is it not also unlawful for dealers to combine and prevent workingmen from buying coal without paying more than it is worth?

In view of these facts, could labor do less than organize for the purpose of keeping up a living price for its services? I think not.

Nevertheless, there are many weak places in the labor organizations of to-day—many reprehensible features and proceedings, and too many are more or less led and controlled by from one to three blatant and unbearable demagogues.

These “leaders,” beginning back to the old Trades-Assembly and the great cigarmakers’ strike of 1881, and coming down through the 8-hour strike and the K. of L. revival, turned up as candidates for all sorts of offices. And the workingmen who need the money for books, clothing, food and homes, pay the campaign expenses, receiving in return, what? Not one good thing. Nothing, unless it be the distrust and coldness of the remainder of the community, of the capitalists and manufacturers who give them employment.

Excepting Dr. D. F. Powell, of La Crosse, James Mason of Peshtigo, and J. H. Fitzgibbon, of Marinette, I have had no aid or sympathy from one of those prominent in the labor movement. In fact the Bureau has been systematically denounced and its work impeded by all of these so-called “leaders,” save the three just mentioned, to whom I now extend my thanks; for they at least attempt to do some good and reasonable things for their fellowmen.

Laborers must abandon small-fry politicians and so-called "leaders." They must no longer organize, as is frequently the case, for a strike or revenge.

And let me say emphatically, above all things abandon separate politics. There are now parties enough for all. The workingman needs no separate party nor a separate government; and as for legislation, that which a majority or even a goodly proportion of the people demand, is generally, if not always, granted.

There is no better reason why labor organizations should have a separate ticket than why the bankers, horse-jockeys, ministers, saloonkeepers, manufacturers, boarding-house keepers, lawyers and other classes of the country should go into politics as organized bodies and declare that no one except members of their respective classes should be elected to office.

This entry of workingmen into politics, as such and organized for that purpose, is unpropitious. It is a tendency toward the establishment of classes based alone upon position in life—one of the greatest sources of weakness, distrust and rebellion in any country. When one class is in trouble all the others are delighted and exerting themselves for its injury. Such a condition of things would soon destroy a republic like ours.

Get out of politics, as an organized class, workingmen—go out on the run and stay out. Vote for the good men of the leading parties of the day, and when you wish legislation that you think will be conducive to your interests, go to the Legislature in a dignified and gentlemanly way, and if it is proper you will get it.

Do not be too ugly with what you call "scabs" and "rats." Many of them demand your pity instead of deserving your hatred. Those most in need of money will always work for the least pay. When hard times come, with their pressures and reductions, the married man will displace the single; the woman the married man and at last the child will displace the woman. Sometimes, therefore, duty to family or sick ones, or to himself, may compel a man to be a "scab."

After all, the question is not so much one of higher wages

as it is of how to properly use whatever we may receive. Who goes to the spring with a leaking pail? The miller's pond will not fill so long as the dam has rents. It is digestion, not eating, that makes us fat—saving, not receiving, that makes us rich.

In some respects labor organizations have assumed a too extensive system of dictation. They have attempted to establish minority rule even over workingmen, and, as is well known, have enforced, or attempted to enforce, by strikes and boycotts, shop and factory rules in the making of which the proprietors were permitted to have no part. In retaliation employers have adopted shop-rules that are a disgrace to the age.

This is not right, and therefore it will not last.

They have undertaken to say how many young men in Milwaukee or any other city shall learn to be moulders, or printers, etc., and that no man who does not belong to their organization shall have work at their particular trade in their particular city.

As organized labor does not comprise over one-nineteenth of the labor of the country, it is not right for its leaders to attempt to set themselves up as autocratic rulers of the industrial world.

In Wisconsin there are not less than 300,000 wage-workers; yet a few brawlers in Milwaukee, followed by perhaps one or two thousand honest and sincere workingmen, attempted, by strikes, boycotts and force, to inaugurate the eight-hour day.

There are about 350,000 voters in Wisconsin, yet a half-dozen Knights of Labor "leaders" in Milwaukee have succeeded in forming a new political party with the claim that no other is fit for the suffrages of, or can represent, the people. But I must say, in justice to the staid and steady old unions, that but very few of their members are found in these political manoeuvres.

The Horseshoers' Union of Milwaukee will not allow any of its members to set a machine-made shoe. This is retrogression, not progression. The Masons' Union of Milwaukee will not work or associate or have anything to do with any

of the 3,000 masons in Wisconsin or the 120,000 in the United States who do not belong to their organization. And so I might go on; but these instances fully illustrate what I have said concerning minority rule and the injustice of it.

Unionism in England is very old; but we see nothing there of boycotting, personal ostracism and unlawful or unjust proceedings. There the various organizations create funds for libraries, halls, manufactories and supply-stores; for injured, sick and superannuated members and for benevolent and educational purposes. There they aim to educate, to lift up and protect and to elevate the standard of skill and morality of their members. There they do not enter as organizations into politics, do not denounce employers, nor plot to ruin business.

In England the unions know the exact cost of raw materials, the percentage of waste, taxes, insurance, wear of machinery, interest on capital, cost of labor; also the prices of finished articles at home and abroad, cost of transportation, storage and wharfage, and the proprietor's profits and losses. What union in Wisconsin knows these important facts or makes a close study of them? As stated heretofore, the members do not even study and keep track of their own affairs.

But the English unions were much the same during their earlier years. They knew that organization meant power and felt that they should do something to demonstrate it, much like a boy with a new pair of boots, who thinks he must kick everything he can see.

They learned better after a long and bitter as well as a bloody struggle, and our domestic unions must profit by their experience, must come to the same mode of procedure. The restless and talkative "leaders," so-called, may advise differently, but time will prove the truth of what is said here.

Trades unions have an enormous power to demoralize business and make capital timid. When capital retires, labor suffers. The man who casts away his food must starve. What rational course is there, then, for unions but to reverse the prevailing tactics of the day? Why not use this enor-

mous power for the upbuilding of business and consequently of themselves?

Notwithstanding the many errors they have fallen into, trades unions have been a great blessing in more than one direction. They have been the means of making workingmen acquainted with each other; of spreading information concerning the extent and diversity of industries; of provoking discussions among artisans, which is always beneficial; of enlisting the oratory of the pulpit and the comment and resources of the press; of bringing forth many books on the labor problem; of inducing much new legislation; of turning the attention of the entire world to the condition, progress and needs of the great army of burden-bearers.

No improvement in a class of school-boys was ever more marked than the intellectual change I have seen for the better among a large portion of the wage-earners of Wisconsin during the three and one-half years I have been in this Bureau. They are giving more thought to public affairs, more attention to legislation, more time to reading and discussion. Where, three years ago, we had no real labor newspaper, we now have eight or ten in Wisconsin, and some of them very creditable publications.

In this connection I can not refrain from calling attention to the remarkable manner in which the labor problem has surged to the front. In organs, advocates, unions, societies and assemblies, mostly the growth of this decade, it far outstrips the anti-slavery phalanx in 1860. Does this not mean something? Yes; but it means nothing dangerous, nothing destructive, nothing wrong, nothing even radical.

We do not ask for labor anything so sweeping as the signing of the bill of rights by King John, nor as the Reformation; nothing equal to the material changes wrought by Alexander, of Russia, when he freed 23,000,000 serfs, nor of the immortal edict of Lincoln which stripped the withes of bondage from the South.

Whatever a few noisy radicals may "demand," the conservative, honest masses of laborers ask for nothing but right, for justice; and that, in due time, they expect to obtain, for it is in accord with the spirit of the age.

But every great forward movement has its periods of convulsions, upheavals and disaster. That period, in the labor movement, is the one from which we are barely emerging, and which is characterized by Cannon Farrar as the "ground-swell in the great ocean of humanity which forbodes a storm which will soon cover the whole surface with heaving waves."

We have seen Farrar's rising storm, knew what it meant and know how it will end. The motion of the ocean keeps its waters ever pure; volcanic eruptions relieve the pressure from our interior fires; the terrific storms that burst in the valleys and sweep the mountains, rive here and there an oak and destroy some life and property, it is true, but after they have passed how sweet and fresh is nature, how pure and invigorating the air!

"Bright burns the fire
When wrongs expire."

Convict Labor.—Although there seems to be a general sentiment throughout several of our northern states against contracting convict labor, little or no effort has been made to devise a better system to take the place of it. This is wrong. It will not do for a man to say that potatoes, bread and meat are bad for his wife and children, and so cut them off. He must provide better, at least other articles of food, before abolishing those.

I believe that the present system of contract convict labor is doomed in the northern states, yet we can not and should not abolish it until we have provided something to take its place. That, now, is the great problem. Nor can we temporize with it, for criminals we shall have with us forever.

From a commercial standpoint we have not 38 states, only one state. My own opinion is, therefore, that to abolish prison contracts in Wisconsin while they remain in force in other states will help our manufacturers very little. Our Legislature can not shut out the prison threshing machines of Minnesota, the cheap prison wagons of Texas, nor the prison hardware of New York. If congress can say that no prison product, contract or otherwise, shall be sold outside of

the state in which it is made, the whole matter will soon be adjusted. Otherwise I think that the several states should, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, meet and agree upon a plan of action that shall be as nearly uniform as possible as to the time of abandoning contracts, at least.

By reference to page 457 it will be seen that the most comprehensive move toward dealing with the prison contract system in a practical manner, was undertaken at Chicago on August 26, 1886. The report of the committee appointed at that time to devise a method of employing penal labor, will probably be complete by Jan. 1, 1887, and will be promulgated in every state of the Union.

But whatever may be the outcome of this anti-contract agitation, I can assure our people now, that any change we can now think of, will result in an increase in the cost of prison management.

Considered merely in its relation to the state treasury, the contract system is undoubtedly the best—the most economical. Any burdens however, which arise from competition, fall upon a few under that system, while some other may be devised by which the burdens may be made to fall upon the many.

The state ought not to conduct its business, if it can be avoided, in such a manner as to make one citizen bear, proportionate to his property, greater burdens than another.

It is evident, however, that there is a great deal of loose thought and misinformation afloat concerning prison contracts and their actual effect on labor and manufacturing. The replies of manufacturers given on pages 453 to 457 conclusively show that fact.

Our manufacturers, in common with professional reformers, also show a lack of candid thought in devising methods of employing convicts. Most of them have “no suggestions to make;” the next largest number wish to have prisoners put to “breaking stone and making roads,” while a few think they should manufacture the boots, shoes, clothing, and other articles used in our state institutions.

Those who had “no suggestions to make” belong to the class afore mentioned, who cut off bread, meat and potatoes

without providing any other or better foods to take their place. Those who favor breaking stone and road-making can not have carefully considered our climate, our methods of making roads, the enormous cost of guarding, feeding, sheltering and working prisoners here and there throughout our wide domain, and the utter lack of discipline that must of necessity follow such a system, which would simply be a great chain-gang competing against the unskilled labor of the state.

To my mind this is the most cruel and indefensible of all state competition. The skilled artisan can, by reason of his larger earnings, greater power of production and greater self-supporting ability, stand a reduction in wages or a change in circumstances that forces him into a new trade; but when the man who is unable, by reason of his inferior education and less brilliant natural endowments, to do anything but rude labor, is deprived of that labor, or his scanty earnings are decimated, he indeed must suffer; he has no avenue of escape; and a certain amount of food, warmth and clothing is as necessary to the rude laborer as to the skilled artisan or the nabob.

Another class believes our penal population should be, as is stated on page 457, employed in manufacturing the clothing, hosiery, caps, boots and shoes, required by the inmates of our various institutions. For obvious reasons our delinquent and insane, attending no soirees, weddings, funerals or operas, use but a small amount of clothing, and that of the very plainest character, to make which would not keep 50 persons busy during the year, while we actually have about 2,200 in our asylums, the institute for the deaf and dumb and the reform school; and they can not be deprived of employment without serious results. Probably those who favor this plan do not understand how the work done by convicts and delinquents in Wisconsin, is already varied.

At Waupun 360 men are engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes under contract with M. D. Wells & Co., of Chicago, at 50 cents each per day. This contract, made in January, 1883, will expire on January 1, 1889. Early in 1886, Wells & Co. signed an agreement presented by the

Knights of Labor, under threats of a general boycott, pledging themselves not to renew this contract; but our courts hold that an agreement made under stress or by reason of threats is null and void.

At Waukesha from 60 to 80 boys in the reform school, are making coarse boots and shoes. They have machinery, but the boots are very plain and heavy—for farmers, boys and woodsmen. There are also between 20 and 30 boys in this institution making hosiery. They use machines, but they are of the old-fashioned pattern, run by hand.

In the institution for the deaf and dumb at Delavan, the inmates make boots and shoes and slippers by hand only. The slippers, which comprise the principal product of this institution, are used mostly by the inmates of our state asylums for insane.

At Waukesha the boys make their own clothing, caps, shirts, boots and shoes and raise much of their own food on the state farm. In the asylums for insane including that at Milwaukee, inmates make and repair most of their own clothing, and this employment, as a part of the attempt to cure insanity, is an absolute necessity.

At Waupun the men make their own clothing, caps, etc., and work on the farm, while the women are employed in sewing and repairing.

The Milwaukee County House of Correction manufactures chairs, owning its own machinery, and stock, the inmates also making their own wearing apparel. The inspector belongs to the National Chair Manufacturers' Association on the same footing as private institutions, and since joining that organization does not cut prices. This, I think, is a very significant fact. It shows that manufacturers are not afraid of present competition so long as prevailing prices are maintained.

I wish also to call the attention of those favoring what is called the "state-account system" to the strong complaints made by several boot and shoe manufacturers against the competition of the reform school at Waukesha. There the state owns everything, uses inferior machinery, employs nothing but boy-labor and sells whenever and wherever it can.

Our state prison was formerly run on that plan, but the resulting evils so stirred up manufacturers that the present contract system was devised to take its place.

We now see, even by this superficial glance, that our Legislature will have many things to consider in dealing with the question of prison labor; and professional agitators, reformers and manufacturers who demand the abolishment of the contract system fall far short of their full duty and of statesmanlike conduct when they neglect and refuse to lend their aid toward devising some suitable plan to take the place of that which they propose to destroy.

My recommendation is: Let the contracts run until we shall have discovered and prepared to put in operation, something besides idleness as a substitute for them. But if the labor of our prisoners shall be contracted again after Jan. 1, 1889, I am firmly of the opinion that the employment should be diversified; that two or more other branches of manufacturing should be added to that of boots and shoes, so as to equalize competition amongst the various industries of the state.

Factory Inspection.—To my mind the duties of the Factory Inspector are of great importance. It is his business more particularly than that of any other officer of the Bureau, to enforce the laws in respect of fire escapes, child labor and the general health and safety of workpeople. Through him they can derive some direct benefit; by him in many cases they are rescued from danger; his efforts here and there result in providing employes decently with necessary conveniences. How important, then, that he be alert, ambitious and unmoved by the influence of friendship, society, politics or wealth.

In several instances inducements have been held out to the Factory Inspector for the purpose of influencing his official action. This was doubtless done under a misapprehension. The Factory Inspector is not authorized to accept favors of this kind. Bribes should be sent direct to the Labor Commissioner at Madison.

The Appendix of this volume is the Report of the Factory Inspector. As the office was new he attempted to enforce

the law without resorting to prosecutions, hoping that time would so far educate the people as to make lawsuits finally unnecessary. He has not been wholly disappointed, though several suits are now pending in the preliminary stage. He began in the large cities and has given attention more particularly to the larger establishments in those cities. Sometimes an entire day has not sufficed to inspect a single factory and come to an understanding with the proprietors. Frequently the Inspector has been compelled to go from three to eight times over the road to interior cities in order to enforce the laws without issuing warrants, sometimes taking with him the Commissioner and the Deputy. This entails a large expense as well as consumes much time; exhausts means that we need and expect next term to use for other purposes.

Next year the Factory Inspector will have to proceed more summarily, else he will not live to complete his work. If he should inspect three shops per day, he could complete his task in a little over three years. But he can not go straight on without turning back. Factories are like gardens, which, cultivated and weeded once are not done forever; you must turn right around and go over them again, or be swamped by a noxious growth. In the same manner are we compelled to keep an incessant watch on institutions in which child labor is profitable, or they will return to violations of the law. Bye and bye, however, I think our Factory Inspector can cover the state better than at present, though he has an enormous task before him.

Children in Factories.—From the returns of those employes who reported to the Bureau, a table was compiled (see page 485), showing the employment of 221 children under 14, and 7 under 12 years of age. Those under 12 were shingle packers, temporarily employed, and generally the children of proprietors.

When the Bureau was organized, there were, as near as could be estimated, 600 children under 12, illegally employed. Now we know of none.

I think the law in reference to children in factories should be modified. Up to the age of 14 certainly, boys and girls

should be in school — not one allowed in any factory, workshop or store — except the children of proprietors. There are adults enough in Wisconsin to perform all the labor required for necessities or luxuries.

The children of to-day will be the world of to-morrow. If they are ignorant, wages will average downward, crime upward, national character weaker, public morals lower. The two great questions of the hour are, How shall we check the tide of immigration, and What shall we do with our boys?

I appeal to legislators with families to earnestly consider this matter, remembering that in so doing they will build for the future. Girls should be excluded from tobacco warehouses, factories, rag-picking chambers and workshops of all kinds, until after they are old enough to understand the responsibility they owe to themselves. Some have this understanding at 14 and some at 18. Girls under 14 certainly should be kept out of the promiscuous company of workshops, where the wholesome influence and restraint of parent or guardian is unknown. Here is where some of them lose the instincts of modesty.

Keep children out of the factories for their own sakes, for the sake of the future, for the sake of the labor of to-day that is superabundant everywhere.

The law intended to keep children out of factories should also apply to shops, stores and commercial pursuits. I can find no good reason for the discriminations in our present law, and hope there will be none in the laws of the future.

Compulsory Education.—Our compulsory education law is inoperative — has been a dead letter since its enactment in 1879. Our labor organizations continue to call for compulsory education laws, not knowing, because of their “innocuous desuetude,” that we already have them.

There are about 16,000 officers liable for the enforcement of these laws; and if they would do their duty, I would have little or no difficulty in enforcing the act keeping children under 12 out of factories and workshops. If the law of 1879 is defective, amend it; if it is not defective, enact severe penalties for its enforcement. If it is a good law, it should be active; if bad, it is a shame to have it on the books.

Fire-escapes.—The laws in relation to fire-escapes are very rigid. Some structures are safe without such escapes as are technically required by law, yet the Factory Inspector has no discretion; he must order the proprietor to obey the exact terms of the statute. I think the fire-escape law should be modified a little, or the Inspector should be given some discretion. He frequently finds buildings connected by bridges, the very best of escapes, and otherwise protected, so that the technical escape of the law is not required.

With hotels there is, outside of Milwaukee, little attempt made to obey chapter 375, laws of 1885. This Bureau is not commanded by law to enforce this chapter, but section 6, chapter 247, laws of 1885, says we “may” do so. We have compelled a few dangerous hotels to put up escapes, and as soon as the factories, which, according to law, we “must” look after, shall have been inspected, hotels will receive attention.

Nevertheless, I went so far as to send blanks to all the hotels in Wisconsin, asking for exact information concerning their height, number of rooms, fire-escapes, watchmen, etc. I found, of those two or more stories in height, 55 having night watchmen, 19 with fire-escapes of iron, 70 with escapes of wood, 3 with escapes of brick and 3 with escapes of rope, while 4 reported fire-escape elevators.

Wisconsin has seen several disastrous hotel fires, about one hundred lives having been lost through them during the last ten years. It is now time to make all inns safe, or as nearly so as possible; and I think that where life or limb is lost in hotels not complying with the law, in case of fire, the persons guilty of the neglect should be held responsible by specific statute for the limb and life so lost.

Our public buildings are not all properly provided with fire-escapes. I called the attention of Elisha W. Keyes, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of University Regents, to the fire-escape law and he at once took steps which resulted in placing a good escape on Ladies' Hall, the home of a large number of the lady students of the State University. He said it ought to be done

and he would do it, though he did not think the law reached the case.

I also asked the State Board of Supervision whether they felt bound to take notice of the moral obligation of the State to erect escapes on such of the state institutions as needed them. They replied that the matter had already engaged their attention and would receive their further notice. Subsequently, they caused to be erected iron escapes on the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb at Delavan, and also examined other state buildings.

As stated by N. Smith for the Board, in his letter to me, the two state hospitals for insane have "inside fire-escapes of iron surrounded by brick walls."

The State Prison, of course, has no need of fire-escapes. The cell wings are of solid stone and the cells—ceilings, sides and floors are of the same material.

The blind and the deaf mutes need, perhaps, more thorough protection than any other classes. At Delavan, as stated, the Board has taken steps to afford such protection as was deemed necessary, and the other institutions, including the several buildings now in course of erection at Sparta for dependent children, will be provided with whatever safeguards they may need.

It is very gratifying to have the Board take hold of this matter, for I could not escape the conclusion that if the State required her citizens, under severe penalties, to provide means of escape from fire in factories, hotels, and other buildings, she was logically and morally bound to make the same provisions of safety in the structures owned and controlled by her and occupied by students, delinquents, dependent children, blind, deaf and dumb, and insane. And doing so through her proper officers, gives the Bureau and Factory Inspector a moral backing they could not have otherwise.

I call the attention of the Legislature to the fact that this Bureau was unable to compel Passavant Hospital, in Milwaukee, to erect much-needed fire-escapes; and that it has no power to coerce any such institution, whether belonging to a county, to some religious organization or to private in-

dividuals. This power should reside either in the Bureau or with some local officer.

Semi-Annual Tax-Payments.—In Germany taxes may be paid quarterly, in Ohio and Iowa semi-annually. In the Netherlands taxes are payable in such installments as please the citizen, up to ten, within a year, without interest, fines or fees. In 1885, I favored the Hooker bill to establish semi-annual tax-payments in Milwaukee, but the measure failed; and further thought adds to the conviction that such a law should be enacted, not for Milwaukee alone, but to apply to the entire state. It would be a great relief to the poor, tax-paying time now coming on with winter and the extraordinary expenditures of the year.

Collecting Wages.—Many instances might be cited where laborers — more especially domestic and hotel servants — are cheated out of their wages. If there is any person in the world who ought to be able to collect wages earned and due, it is the young woman so circumstanced that she is obliged to go out among strangers as a servant.

In 1881, J. F. Ware, of Fond du Lac, presented a bill in the Legislature to make all property, of whatsoever kind except homesteads, liable for the wages of laborers and servants. The report of the judiciary committee was favorable, but the bill failed.

Of course no law can collect from a worthless or property-less person; but I think the Ware bill, or a similar one not less comprehensive, should be enacted.

Railway Employes.—I find a sentiment in favor of the re-enactment of section 1816, Revised Statutes, which holds railway corporations "liable for all damages sustained by any agent or servant thereof by reason of the negligence of any other agent or servant thereof without contributory negligence on his part * * and no contract, rule or regulation between any such corporation, and any agent or servant shall impair or diminish such liability."

This law was drafted by Judge Harlow S. Orton, for Robert McCurdy, a senator from Winnebago county, who introduced it in 1873. It became a law in 1874, and was re-

pealed in 1880, though not on account of any demand by railway employes.

Railroading is extra-hazardous employment, and laws made in respect of those engaged in it should be based on that theory. The statutes compel insurance companies to pay 2 per cent. of all their premiums into the treasury of any local fire company containing 30 or more members. I am of opinion that we should extend the principle to railway corporations and require them to make annual contributions for the establishment and maintenance of hospitals for their injured employes, and to create a sinking fund out of which to pay insurance on lives lost while on duty, as well as pensions for legs, arms, hands and other disabilities.

In creating such a system the value of a life would have to be fixed by law, and the pensions to be paid for legs, arms, hands, fingers, etc., would also have to be regulated by statute, after the manner of federal pensions.

No doubt any attempt to inaugurate this plan would fail to meet the approval of the railways, though there is no questioning the power of the Legislature to establish it; and I believe it would prove more economical for the corporations than the present method of paying jury awards at the end of long and costly suits.

The old common-law rule of negligence or carelessness of co-employe by which corporations now escape liability, was made long before the days of railways, steamships and complicated and dangerous machinery, and can not apply to the present. Our laws as well as justice should keep pace with the advance of civilization.

The matter will probably come before the Legislature of 1887, and in behalf of 25,000 railway servants in Wisconsin, who will have no lobby at Madison, I beg that no injustice shall be done to them either by acting or failing to act thereon.

Taxation of Mortgages.— Attempts have been made to enact laws in this state taxing mortgages, but they have all failed. In this matter there is a sharp conflict of interests. Those who own mortgages always have a large lobby pres-

ent to oppose any law looking to their taxation, while those whose possessions are mortgaged are too poor to send lobbyists to represent their interests and urge the justice of their demands.

Organized labor now asks the passage of a law that shall tax only so much of the value of unencumbered property as exceeds the mortgage thereon, and the payment of taxes on the mortgage by its holder.

Weekly Cash Wages.—There is something of a demand for compulsory payment of wages in cash every week. Some call this “mob law,” but it isn’t. Such a law would at once do away entirely with the truck system and enable wage-earners to purchase everything for cash. So far it would, beyond doubt, prove beneficial; while on the other hand it would increase the opportunities of the intemperate and improvident to squander their wages. But employers could guard against this, and where workmen of this class have families to support, I think it is the absolute duty of proprietors to protect those families as far as they can, whether wages are paid weekly or monthly.

Massachusetts now has a law compelling weekly payment of wages, and Connecticut would have had one, if the two branches of the legislature had not failed, previous to adjournment, to agree upon its phraseology. The natural conditions in those states are far different from those of Wisconsin. The former being more thoroughly manufacturing states, have greater need of frequent pay-days. Nevertheless I believe that here in Wisconsin employers are better able to pay their help every week than the men are to wait four or even two weeks for the money they have earned.

If a law shall be enacted compelling weekly cash payment of wages, it can apply only to contracts entered into after its passage; otherwise it would be unconstitutional as “impairing the obligations of contracts.”

Elevators.—Many fatalities result from the use of weak, imperfectly-constructed and worn-out elevators; also from contact with exposed machinery. I think the Factory Inspector should by law be given authority to compel employers to shield dangerous machinery, guard elevator wells,

doors and traps, and renew or strengthen elevators when he finds them unsafe.

We know of many rickety and unsafe buildings but have no power to reach them. I believe the Inspector should have authority to condemn unsafe elevators, machinery and buildings, and that after condemnation shall have been pronounced, the proprietor or occupant should be held liable for any life lost by reason of the further use of such condemned property, the same as if he had deliberately and with malice aforethought taken that life. If the state does not exercise its authority for the protection of the life and limb as well as the property of her citizens, taxation and government fail of the purpose for which they were created.

Bonus Agreements and Cut-throat Contracts.—On page 446 will be found reference to three forms of contracts used by employers to defraud laborers and minors. The matter was mostly gathered, at my request, by Irving T. Ford, an attorney of Milwaukee, who had several times tested these contracts or "agreements" in court. The most damaging to the public interest is the apprentice agreement. By it the minor is first defrauded of learning a trade or profession, contrary to the requirements of law (see page 7) and then he may be, and frequently is, defrauded of a portion of his wages.

The lawyer who will draft such contracts, knowing, as he must, that they are for no other purpose than to defraud minors of wages faithfully earned, deserves to have no further practice in our courts. After a boy has earned the wages agreed upon, no "misbehavior" or "disobedience" mentioned in the contract can legally forfeit what is due him. A slight disobedience in December does not destroy the value earned by the boy for his employer during the previous eleven months.

Hereafter let no minor, guardian or laborer, sign any contract without first submitting it to a competent and honorable lawyer. Minors may go to the probate judge for advice, and laborers may send their contracts to the Labor Commissioner, who will secure counsel for them without charges.

As to Printing.—The report of the Factory Inspector should be printed in separate form. There is now no provision for printing it; so, reduced and emasculated, I have made it the Appendix to this report.

I think it would be well, too, for the Report of the Bureau to be printed in several parts. To do so, would save postage—a very large item. In hundreds of instances parties care for a certain part only—wages, arbitration or factory laws; but where all the parts are bound together, the entire volume must be sent. The postage alone on the complete edition as now printed would be over \$1,400. Aside from its economical aspect, the plan proposed would enable the Commissioner to publish any special investigations at once instead of at the end of two-year periods, as now. Like eggs, statistics and information are best, when fresh. At the end of each term all the parts would go together into the volume called “Messages and Documents,” as now, for the use of the Legislature and other officers.

A Milwaukee Office—The Factory Inspector, while compelled by law to reside in Milwaukee, has no office provided for his use in transacting public business. Appreciating the inconvenience and wrong of this oversight, I rented office apartments for him in the Iron Block, and furnished desks, chairs, stationery, letter-press and books, directories and postage stamps for his equipment. This makes a serious inroad upon the contingent fund of the Bureau, which ought at once to be cut off. I think \$300 a year will, for the present, cover the cost of rent, fuel and light. Stationery, postage and expressage I am still willing to have charged against the Bureau for the Factory Inspector.

Books.—The Bureau is now allowed \$50 per year for books and periodicals pertaining to industrial, labor and statistical matters. I have expended more than this amount, drawing the excess from the contingent fund. We now have in the Bureau library nearly 450 volumes. Of these, over 200 were donated by myself, about 100 have been purchased and the remainder have been secured by begging, exchange, and from other state departments. The sum of \$50 per year will not pay for the labor and industrial newspapers we

need, to say nothing of books; but I shall try to secure the cream of these publications for two years more without asking for an additional appropriation, though we ought to have and keep on file nearly all of them.

A Request to Wage earners.—I desire to have the wage-earners of Wisconsin keep an accurate account, for the year 1887, of their earnings, amount of lost time, date and character of increase or reduction of wages, causes and duration of strikes and lock-outs, hours of labor, expenditures for rent, board, all kinds of clothing (including boots and shoes) for self, if single, or for self and family, if married, for improvements, furniture and tools, for books and newspapers, for travel and amusements, for life and other insurance, for lodge, union and society dues, for medicine and sickness, for interest, family help, etc.; and also the exact earnings of wife or children, and other sources of income outside of the wages of the head of the house.

In this request I desire to include school teachers, domestic and hotel servants, sewing and factory girls, clerks, farmhands, railway men—in fact all at work by the hour, day, week, month or year for their livelihood.

If those who undertake to do this will send in their addresses on postal cards, I will forward to them appropriate printed blanks to be filled out, with return postage; and those who properly comply with the request, will receive the report of the Bureau.

Workingmen's Wives.—Those who bear the real pains and burdens of strikes are the wives and families of strikers. Their privations and sufferings are never known to the public, and not very clearly nor very fully appreciated even by the husbands who brought them on.

This Fall I have discovered that many of the wives of workingmen who suffered by the late strikes, are opposing the entry of organized labor into politics. To most of them parades, picnics, meetings, conventions, strikes, boycotts and campaigns mean nothing but additional unrest and further privations, and they have had enough of both.

The women see that the same leaders who urged their husbands and sons into the 8-hour and other strikes, are now

leading them into politics. And, what excites their suspicion and apprehension still more, they hear the same intemperate and denunciatory speeches that were made in favor of strikes, now offered as a reason why workingmen should enter into politics as against the rest of the world.

Therefore they exercise their quiet influence against such action, and, in certain quarters, with marked results.

Workingmen, oftener consult your wives.

Mechanics' Institutes. — The Legislature of 1885 set aside a sum of money to be used annually in holding Farmers' Institutes in the various counties for the dissemination of modern and scientific information concerning agriculture.

These institutes have been both popular and useful, and I now ask the Legislature to set aside an annual sum for similar methods of instruction for mechanics and artisans in the various centers of population. Why not?

Employers' Reports. — On page 461 begin the tabulations of employers' reports to the Bureau.

No attempt was made to procure returns from all the employers in Wisconsin, because the census for 1885, taken by the Secretary of State, is not only fresh but a valuable document and far more complete than any I could possibly take with the paltry sum at my command.

About 2,000 returns, good and bad, were received, the lumber interest being the most fully covered.

The returns used show 19 firms with 1,212 employes, working 8 hours; 22 firms with 1,299 employes, working 9 hours; 474 firms with 25,921 employes, working 10 hours; 141 firms with 7,914 employes, working 11 hours; 8 firms with 427 employes, working both 10 and 11 hours; 95 firms with 2,024 employes, working any number of hours from 8 to 14.

These replies relate to 38,797 employes — 34,980 males and 3,817 females; 177 males and 44 females under 14, and 7 under 12 years of age.

The total wages paid by 759 firms for 1885, is \$13,710,416.98. The average, including women and children, is \$350.81. This is a theoretical average, but it is not far from correct.

The disposition to evade the queries of the Bureau has nearly disappeared, the petulant ones being now almost

wholly confined to such as have frequent troubles with their employes, though an enormous amount of correspondence was required to secure anything like half-way complete information.

There were, however, a very few notable exceptions; and, strange to say, they occurred among those whose property and business interests received the direct protection of the State during the May troubles.

I entered no suits against them because I expected, until too late to use the matter in this Report, to secure the desired information without recourse to the courts; and further, because I had previously determined to begin no prosecutions, where it could possibly be avoided, until the Bureau had become more widely understood and more fully appreciated.

The following, the last of the letters written to one recalcitrant firm, dated September 15, 1886, will explain the cases referred to immediately above:

My Dear Sirs — Yours received. We ask of you nothing not asked of other employers. It is now too late to secure replies from you for our Report (which must be closed by September 30, inst.) by resorting to law, and I therefore appeal again to you to give us the wages paid by you to all employes during 1885.

You and ——— stand alone in this matter, though the latter finally sent the essential facts needed.

I remember that two years ago you and ——— were very unaccommodating to this Bureau, but I certainly thought that *this* year, after the extraordinary power of the State had been used in your behalf — to perpetuate your commercial life and protect your workmen — you would in return at least *assume* to be willing to reply to the simple questions of the State.

Or must the State respond, at great cost, only when *you* want something, slinking back rebuffed when *we* want something, not of great cost, from you?

If the relation of the State and the citizen is not reciprocal, what is it?

Is a citizen, even though a rolling mill company, greater than the State?

If you still refuse to give the information asked for, I shall enter no suit, for it would be too late to secure what is wanted. All I can do will be to publish the correspondence between us to show that I have attempted to do my duty.

Very truly yours,

FRANK A. FLOWER,
Commissioner.

To this letter no reply was received, and others to the same concern remain unanswered. It is an instance of unpatriotic perverseness, which, under the circumstances, can hardly be matched.

I shall attempt to make no deductions from the tables beginning on page 461, because figures always present conclusions of their own which no argument or appeal can change; and because the returns were more or less imperfect and do not therefore warrant the putting forth of any statement based on them that can be relied on as absolutely correct.

Nevertheless, I recommend those interested in wages and the labor problem, to carefully study the tabulations in question.

Personal. — In my first Report attention was directed to the fact that while no provision was made for clerk hire, or assistance of any sort, the law imposed upon the Commissioner more duties than could be accomplished by a half-dozen men. In order that Wisconsin should make as good a showing as possible by the side of other states having similar Bureaus, I secured the services of E. F. Appleby, from January 1884, to April 1885; of E. W. Keyes, Jr., from September 1884, to March, 1885, and of Matt. J. Simpelaar, of Milwaukee, during his leisure hours for the space of about two months, besides expending various other sums in addition to traveling and other expenses in excess of the contingent fund.

I laid these facts before the joint committee on claims of the Legislature of 1885, explaining the embarrassment the expenditures had entailed. No action was taken; the reason assigned being that it was "too late in the session." The members of the committee, however, volunteered that I certainly ought to be reimbursed.

I heartily agreed with them at that time, and have since seen no reason to change my mind.

Explanation.—The semi-polemical character of portions of the introduction to this Report will certainly be objectionable to those who disagree with my conclusions, as well as to those personally inimical to the Bureau and myself. Others, not of these classes, and friendly to the Bureau, may think it impolitic for me to make any part of the Report ar-

gumentative, or to express any opinions or conclusions therein.

The law not only permits, but invites me to do both. And, while knowing that to do so will subject me to many severe attacks and make me unpopular with the so-called leaders of labor, I feel that the course here pursued of discussing the chief labor problems is also right.

In support of this assumption there may be offered at least two reasons. *First.* Constant investigation gives me a broader view of the field of industry and a greater fund of information than any man busy with his daily labors can possibly have; so that, if I have not less than ordinary ability, I can come to more intelligent, if not more correct, conclusions. *Second.* Workingmen hear but little except denunciations of laws, capitalists, corporations, monopolies, courts and officers; hear mostly the appeals and sophistries of self-appointed "leaders" who wish to run for office or otherwise serve themselves—in short, hear but one side, and that, too, often discolored and exaggerated.

It is wholesome, therefore, to have both sides, backed by facts and figures, laid before them without prejudice or selfish motives, so they may take an antidote for poison where that has been served up to them and find some guideposts by which to escape the errors that inevitably grow out of one-sided or imperfect information. No jury can render a correct verdict without first hearing both sides.

The Bureau has received but little aid or sympathy from labor organizations. On the contrary, their so-called leaders have continually heaped ridicule and misrepresentation upon it.

This hostility is undoubtedly due to their prejudice against logic, facts and truths. They seem to entertain an idea that the Bureau should pre-eminently be a means to advocate and promote their organizations, coloring strikes and industrial events to suit their notions, and joining in the general clamor against capital. They seem to forget that unorganized labor is entitled to equal consideration, and that the statistician, like the historian, must be unswayed by sympathies or prejudice, but record the facts just as they are.

It is to be hoped that, after reading this Report, those heretofore hostile will adopt a different course—not for the sake of myself, but for the sake of the cause in which they profess to be working, and for which the Bureau was created. Their actions so far throw a cloud on their sincerity.

To the Legislature.—In considering laws for working men, I hope the Legislature will attach no significance to the past. Forgive the strikes, errors and disturbances of the year, for the suffering they entailed upon working-men themselves squared the account.

FRANK A. FLOWER,
Commissioner.

I concur in the foregoing opinions and recommendations.

MATT J. SIMPELAAR,
Deputy Commissioner.

Postscript — The Red Flag.—Since this Report was completed, a spirited public discussion arose as to whether the May processions in Milwaukee—especially the one which went to Bay View, and on the morning of the 5th carried red flags.

It is of no significance whether every thread of the banners carried at that time were red. A mob carrying the stars and stripes can gain no subsequent immunity for that reason; nor are its members more guilty if they carry the largest of red flags.

The procession of May 2d was headed by a very large, red flag and the personal decorations of the marchers were red.

The crowd that marched to Plankinton's packing house, down Muskego Avenue, carried three red banners—rather small pieces of red cloth nailed to rude sticks—one to a lath.

The crowd that went first to Bay View carried no banners, but the more demonstrative strikers who refused to obey the commands to disperse on the morning of May 5th, carried a mongrel banner, generally described as red but really striped.

Grottkau's followers, knowing what they did, carried the

red flag as a menace; but the Poles who went to Bay View intended only to carry an 8-hour flag, no matter what its color. They are Catholics, and the Catholic church, much to its credit, tolerates neither anarchy nor socialism.

F. A. F.

PART I.

FACTORY, HOTEL, LABOR AND LIEN LAWS.

BUREAU OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS.

Section 1, Chapter 247, laws of 1885. Chapter 319, laws of 1883, entitled, "An act to create a bureau of labor statistics," is hereby amended by striking out all after the enacting clause and substituting for the part struck out the following: There is hereby created a bureau of labor census and industrial statistics, with headquarters in the capitol building, for which stationery, postage, expressage, printing and facilities for transacting business shall be furnished the same as for other executive departments.

Section 2. The governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint quadrennially on the first Monday of February, a competent person to be commissioner of the said bureau.

Section 3. The said commissioner shall have power to appoint a deputy at a salary not to exceed one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month, who, when acting for or instead of said commissioner, shall have and may exercise equal power and authority. He may also appoint a clerk at a salary not exceeding one hundred dollars per month, and a factory inspector who shall reside in Milwaukee, and be and work under the direction and control of the commissioner, at a salary of twelve hundred dollars per year and actual traveling expenses, stated under oath, while engaged in bureau work outside of Milwaukee.

Section 4. The duties of the said commissioner shall be, to collect, collate and publish statistics and facts relative to the manufactures, industrial classes and material resources

of the state; and especially to examine into the relations between labor and capital, the means of escape from fire and protection of life and health in factories and workshops, the employment of illegal child labor, the exaction of unlawful hours of labor from women and children, the educational, sanitary, moral and financial condition of laborers and artisans, the cost of food, fuel, clothing and building material, the causes of strikes and lockouts, as well as kindred subjects and matters pertaining to the welfare of industrial interests and classes.

Section 5. The commissioner, his deputy, or the factory inspector shall have power to enter any factory, or workshop in which labor is employed, for the purpose of gathering facts and statistics, or of examining the means of escape from fire, and the provisions made for the health and safety of operatives in such factory or workshop; and in case the officer of the bureau shall discover any violations of or neglect to comply with the laws in respect to child labor, hours of labor for women and children, fire escapes, and similar enactments now or hereafter to be made, he shall notify the owner or occupant of such factory or workshop, in writing, of the offense or neglect, and if such offense or neglect is not corrected or remedied within thirty days after the service of the notice aforesaid, he shall lodge formal complaint with the district attorney of the county in which the offense is committed or the neglect occurs, whereupon that officer shall proceed at once against the offender according to law.

Section 6. The factory inspector or any officer of the bureau may examine hotels and lodging or boarding houses, for the purpose of discovering whether they are properly equipped with lawful fire-escapes; and he may post in any hotel, lodging or boarding house so examined, the laws upon this matter, together with his official statement as to whether the said laws are fully complied with by said hotel, lodging or boarding house. And any hotel, lodging or boarding house keeper, or other person, who shall mutilate, destroy or remove from any building or buildings, the said laws or statement so posted, shall be fined \$50 for each and every offense, upon complaint of any

officer of the bureau or any citizen. Whenever any hotel, lodging or boarding house that has been posted as not complying with the terms of the laws in respect of fire-escapes, shall be properly provided and equipped with lawful fire-escapes, and the bureau shall be notified thereof, the commissioner shall at once order a new statement setting forth that fact, to be posted in said hotel, lodging or boarding house. And the bureau shall keep a record of all buildings so examined and posted.

Section 7. The factory inspector, or any officer of the bureau, may post in any factory or work-shop examined by him, the laws now or hereafter to be made in respect of child labor, hours of labor, fire-escapes, or other matters pertaining to the health and safety of artisans; and if the owner, manager or proprietor of such factory or work-shop, or his agent, or any person whomsoever, shall remove, destroy or mutilate the laws so posted, he shall, on complaint of any officer of the bureau, or any citizen, be fined fifty dollars for each and every offense.

Section 8. The said commissioner shall have power to prescribe blank forms, and transmit them to employers, which shall be filled out clearly and completely, under oath, by the person or persons to whom they are sent, with the facts, statistics and statements asked for, and returned to him within such reasonable time as he may fix. In case any owner or occupant, or his agent, shall refuse to admit any officer of the said bureau to his work-shop or factory, he shall forfeit the sum of ten dollars for each and every offense, and if he shall, through his agent or otherwise, neglect, fail or refuse to fill out the said blank forms, and verify and return them as required, he shall forfeit the sum of ten dollars for each and every day the said blanks may be so delayed beyond the time fixed by the commissioner for their return. The forfeits named and provided in this act shall be sued for in the name of the state, by the district attorney of the proper county, upon complaint of any officer of said bureau, or any citizen, and shall be paid into the school fund.

Section 9. There shall be provided a seal of office for the

use of the bureau, and the commissioner or his deputy, for the purpose of making any investigation contemplated by this act, shall have power to administer oaths, take testimony and subpoena witnesses, which witnesses shall receive the same fees as are allowed to persons testifying in circuit courts, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the bureau; provided, however, that no person subpoenaed by the said commissioner or his deputy, shall be compelled to go outside of the city or town in which he resides to testify in behalf of such investigation.

Section 10. The commissioner shall report biennially to the governor, accompanying his report with such suggestions and recommendations as may be deemed wise and proper. The said report shall be printed and distributed according to the provisions of the law governing the printing of other state reports.

Section 11. The compensation of the said commissioner shall be two thousand dollars per annum, and a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars per annum for traveling and contingent expenses, and a further sum of fifty dollars per annum for the purchase of books and periodicals on labor and industrial matters for the bureau library. There is hereby appropriated annually, out of any moneys in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated, a sum sufficient to carry out the provisions of this act.

Section 12. All acts and parts of acts conflicting with this act are hereby repealed.

Section 13. This act shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage and publication.

Approved April 4, 1885.

HOURS OF LABOR.

Section 1,729, Revised Statutes. In all engagements to labor in any manufacturing or mechanical business, where there is no express contract to the contrary, a day's work shall consist of eight hours, and all engagements or contracts for labor in such cases shall be so construed; but this shall not apply to any contract to labor by the week, month or year.

Section 1,728. In all manufactories, work-shops and other places used for mechanical or manufacturing purposes, the time of labor of children under the age of eighteen years and of women employed therein, shall not exceed eight hours in one day; and any employer, stockholder, director, officer, overseer, clerk or foreman who shall compel any woman or any such child to labor exceeding eight hours in any one day, or who shall permit any child under fourteen years of age, to labor more than ten hours in any one day in any such place, if he shall have control over such child sufficient to prevent it, or who shall employ at manual labor any child under twelve years of age in any factory or work-shop where more than three persons are employed, or who shall employ any child of twelve and under fourteen years of age in any such factory or work-shop for more than seven months in any one year, shall be punished by fine not less than five nor more than fifty dollars for each such offense.

FIRE ESCAPES — FACTORIES.

Section 1, chapter 50, laws of 1885. Section 4,575a of the revised statutes is amended so as to read as follows: Section 4,575a. Any person, persons, or body corporate owning, occupying or controlling any factory, work-shop or structure three or more stories high, in which several persons are employed at any kind of labor, on or above the third floor or story, shall provide, and keep connected with the same, one or more good and substantial metallic or fire-proof ladders, stairs or stairways, ready for use at all times, reaching from the cornice to the ground, on the outside of such building, and placed in such position as to be easy of access to the occupants of such building in case of fire, and sufficient to furnish reasonable means of escape to the persons employed therein, from each and every floor or story. And any such person, persons or corporate body who shall for three months after the passage and publication of this act fail to provide and keep such means of escape from fire, shall be subject to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars, or to imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding three months at the discretion of the court.

FIRE-ESCAPES — HOTELS.

Section 1,727, Revised Statutes. It shall be and is hereby made the duty of hotel or innkeepers, keeping a hotel or inn of three or more stories in height, to provide and furnish such hotel or inn with one or more good and substantial metallic fire-proof ladders, reaching from the cornice to the top of the lower story, or to the ground, on the outside of such building, and placed in such position as to be easy of access to the occupants of such building in case of fire. So long as the foregoing provision is uncomplied with by him, no hotel or innkeeper shall receive any charges whatever from any objecting traveler, boarder or guest occupying rooms on or above the third floor of his hotel or inn.

Section 1, chapter 375, laws of 1885. Every inn or hotel, or other building in this state more than two stories in height, containing apartments above the ground floor, designed for occupation for fifty people or more, shall be provided with not less than two flights of fire-proof stairs outside, said stairways to be located on different sides of said inn, hotel or other building, in each case connecting the cornice with the top of the first story of any such inn, hotel, or other building, with a platform, balcony, piazza, or other safe and convenient resting place on a level with the floor of each story so connected. Such stairways herein named shall in every case be convenient of access from the interior of any such building, commodious in construction, and of sufficient strength and firmness to render the same amply safe and reliable for the purposes of ascent or descent in case of danger from fire.

Section 2. The inside walls or casings of every elevator for the conveyance of passengers to and from the upper stories of any such building as is described in the preceding section of this act, shall be constructed of fire-proof material throughout.

Section 3. In all inns, hotels or other buildings hereinbefore described, not less than one efficient watchman shall be on service from 10 o'clock P. M. until 5 o'clock A. M. during each and every night that said inn, hotel or other

building described is occupied, and every said watchman shall be required to establish the fact of his fidelity on every occasion when on duty, by the most efficient methods in use for that purpose.

Section 4. In every inn, hotel or other building hereinbefore described, there shall be posted in every room, in legible print, a brief and accurate statement of all means of safety and escape in case of fire.

Section 5. Any owner, landlord or other person in charge of any building hereinbefore described, and coming within the provisions of this act, who shall omit to comply with the provisions of this act, or who shall knowingly permit any violation of the provisions of this act, shall be held guilty of a misdemeanor in permitting the violation of any provisions of this act, and for such misdemeanor may be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding ninety days, on each conviction thereof.

SAFETY IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SCHOOL-HOUSES, CHURCHES, HOTELS AND FACTORIES.

Section 1, chapter 190. All churches, public and private school-houses, hotels, factories or other manufacturing establishments, constructed at any time after the passage of this act, shall be so constructed that the doors shall swing outward, or both in and out, as the builders thereof may elect.

Section 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage and publication.

Approved March 30, 1885.

APPRENTICES.

Section 2,377, Revised Statutes. Every male minor and every unmarried female under the age of eighteen years, with the consent of the persons or officers hereinafter mentioned, may, of his or her own free will, bind himself or herself in writing, to serve as a clerk or apprentice in any profession, trade or employment; if a male until the age of twenty-one years, and if a female, until the age of eighteen years, or until her marriage within that age, or for any

shorter time; and such binding shall be as valid and effectual as if such minor were of full age at the time of making such engagement.

Section 2,378. Such consent shall be given:

1. By the father of the minor; if he be dead or be not in legal capacity to give his consent, or if he shall have abandoned or neglected to provide for his family, and such fact be certified by a justice of the peace of the town, and indorsed on the indenture, then,

2. By the mother; if the mother be dead, or be not in legal capacity to give such consent or refuse, then,

3. By guardian of such minor duly appointed; if such minor have no parents living, or none in legal capacity to give consent, and there be no guardian, then,

4. By the supervisors, or any two justices of the peace of the town where such minor shall reside, or,

5. If such minor shall be illegitimate, by mother, whether the putative father be living or not.

Such consent shall be signified by the persons or officers entitled to give the same, by writing at the end of or indorsed upon, each part of the indentures signed by such persons or officers and not otherwise.

Section 2,379. No minor shall be bound as aforesaid, unless by indentures in two parts, sealed and delivered by both parties. Every such indenture shall provide for instructing the apprentice or clerk in some profession, trade or employment, specifying the same; for teaching him to read and write, and for such other instruction, benefit and allowance as may be agreed upon, and that the master shall give to such apprentice, at the end of his service, a new bible; but whenever any minor shall be so bound for less than three years, such agreement in reference to instruction may be such as shall be deemed reasonable.

Section 2,380. The age of every minor so bound shall be inserted in the indentures, and shall be taken to be the true age, without any further proof thereof; and whenever any public officers are authorized to execute any indentures, or their consent is required to the validity of the same, it shall be their duty to inform themselves fully of the minor's age.

The counterpart of any indentures executed by any public officer, or other officers, shall be by them deposited in the office of the clerk of their own town or city.

Section 2,381. All considerations of money or other things paid or allowed by the master upon any indenture of apprenticeship or service made in pursuance of this chapter, shall be paid or secured to the sole use of the minor bound thereby.

Section 2,382. Any parent, guardian or other person may become a party to any indenture of apprenticeship, by signing and sealing the same, together with the minor, and may thereby become liable to the master for the performance of any or all covenants contained in such indenture to be performed by the minor.

Section 2,383. All persons shall enquire into the treatment of apprentices bound by them respectively, or with their consent or approbation, or who shall have been bound by their predecessors in office, and defend them from all cruelty, neglect and breach of the indentures, on the part of their masters.

Section 2,384. If an apprentice shall be misused, illtreated or neglected by his master, or by any person under the direction or by the permission of such master, any person in his behalf may file a complaint in the county court for the county in which the master resides, setting forth the facts and circumstances of the case, and the court, after having caused such notice as it shall deem reasonable to be given to the master, shall proceed to hear and determine the cause, whether the master shall appear or not; and if the complaint be sustained, may make an order that the minor be discharged from his apprenticeship or service, and that the costs of the proceedings be paid by the master; but if such complaint be not sustained, the court shall order the costs to be paid by the complainant to the master; and in either case may issue execution therefor; provided, that if such complaint be made by any officer authorized to bind out minors, the court shall not award costs against him unless it shall appear that the complaint was made without any just or reasonable cause. Either party may appeal from any

such order to the circuit court, in a manner provided for appeals from orders made in probate proceedings.

Section 2,385. Every master shall be also liable to an action on the indenture for a breach of any covenant thereof on his part, which action shall be brought by the minor.

Section 2,386. No such action shall be maintained by any apprentice, unless it be commenced during the term of apprenticeship, or within two years after the expiration thereof. If in any such action, a recovery be had during his minority, the damages recovered, after paying the necessary expense of the prosecution, shall be the property of such minor, and may be appropriated to his use, or invested for his benefit. Upon final judgment rendered in any such action in favor of the plaintiff, the court may, by an order to be entered in its minutes, discharge the minor from his apprenticeship.

Section 2,387. If any apprentice, bound as aforesaid, shall unlawfully depart from the service of his master, any justice of the peace, upon complaint on oath made to him by the master, or by any one in his behalf, may issue his warrant to apprehend the apprentice and bring him before such justice.

Section 2,388. If, after hearing the parties, the justice shall find that the complaint is supported, he may order the apprentice to be returned to his master, or he may commit him to the county jail for a time not exceeding twenty days, unless sooner discharged by his master; and may issue his warrant, directed to any officer or other person by name, which shall authorize him to deliver such apprentice to his master in any county in this state. All costs incurred on any such process against an apprentice shall be paid on the first instance by the master; and if the complaint be supported, the amount of such costs may be recovered in an action against the minor, after he shall arrive at full age.

Section 2,389. All time wilfully or unlawfully lost from the service of his master by any apprentice, shall be returned by him day for day, immediately at the expiration of the apprenticeship; and if such apprentice refuse thus to return the same, he shall be liable therefor to his master for dam-

ages; but no action shall be maintained, either under this or the preceding section, unless the same be brought within three years after the expiration of such apprenticeship.

Section 2,390. If any such apprentice or servant shall be guilty of any gross misbehavior, or refusal to do his duty, or willful neglect thereof, his master may file his complaint in the county court of the county where he resides, and the court, after causing such notice as it shall deem reasonable to be given to the parent or guardian who consented to the binding of such apprentice or servant, or to the officers who bound him, or their successors, shall proceed to hear and determine the cause; and if, after a full hearing of the parties or of the complainant, if the adverse party does not appear, may make an order that the master be discharged from the contract or apprenticeship or service, and for the costs of proceeding, which cost may be recovered against the minor, with interest thereon, within three years after he shall have arrived at full age.

Section 2,391. No master shall accept from any apprentice any contract or agreement, nor cause him to be bound by oath or otherwise, that after his term of service has expired, such apprentice shall not set up his trade, profession or employment in any particular place, shop, house or cellar; nor shall any master exact from any apprentice, after his term of service has expired, any money or other things for using or exercising his trade, profession or employment in any place.

Section 2,392. No indenture of apprenticeship or service, made in pursuance of this chapter, shall bind the minor after the death of the master; but the minor shall be thenceforth discharged therefrom, and may be bound out anew.

Section 2,393. An indenture of apprenticeship or service, made in pursuance of this chapter, by or on behalf of the minor, may be made either with a woman or a man, capable in law of contracting; and all the foregoing provisions shall apply as well to mistresses as to masters.

Section 2,394. Nothing in this chapter contained shall prevent or affect the right of a father, by the common law, to

assign or contract for the service of his children, for the term of their minority, or any part thereof.

Section 1,500, subdivision 6, Revised Statutes. Every minor who shall be bound as an apprentice to any person, shall, immediately upon such binding, if done in good faith, thereby gain a settlement where his or her master or mistress has a settlement.

Section 1,501. When any minor shall become or be likely to become chargeable to any town, either because of being an orphan, or because the parents or other relations are unable or refuse to support such minor, the supervisors of such town shall bind such minor as an apprentice to some respectable householder of the county, by written indenture, which shall bind such minor to serve as an apprentice, and shall be executed in like manner, and shall be of the same tenor and effect, as indentures executed pursuant to chapter one hundred and ten, Revised Statutes; and every minor so bound, and the supervisors binding him, and his master, shall be subject to all the provisions of said chapter.

PROTECTION OF LABORERS ON MILWAUKEE PUBLIC WORKS.

Chapter 261, laws 1882. Section 1. Any person, corporation or party that shall hereafter furnish supplies or materials for the use of the contractor or contractors, or of his or their assigns, in the performance of any contract made with the board of public works of the city of Milwaukee, in the name of said city, or that shall do any labor for such contractor or contractors, or for his or their assigns, in the performance of any such contracts, shall have a lien for the amount due and unpaid by such contractor or contractors, or by his or their assigns, to the person, corporation or party furnishing such supplies or materials, or doing such labor in the performance of such contract, upon any certificates of said board and upon any city orders of said city, to be issued and delivered to such contractor or contractors, or to his or their assigns, under such contract; provided, that any person, corporation or party claiming a lien shall, within twenty days after the date of the last charge for such supplies or materials furnished or labor done, file in

the office of the city clerk of said city notices in writing of such claim (one notice in each office), which notice shall set forth the nature and particulars of the demand, the date and amount of each charge therefor, the name of the person or party indebted, and the amount that is justly due and owing to the claimant from the contractor or contractors, or from his or their assigns, for supplies or materials furnished, or labor done in performance of a contract, stating the general nature of the contract and its date, each of which notices shall be verified by affidavit of the claimant; and provided, further, that within twenty days after the filing of such notice, the claimant shall begin an action against the person or party named in such notice for the recovery of the amount of such claim, and for the enforcement of such lien in some court in Milwaukee county having jurisdiction of the matter, in which action the city of Milwaukee shall be made a party defendant, and shall be served with process, and may appear and defend as in other actions, but said city shall in no case be liable to any judgment for cost or charges in such action. In case of the filing of the notices as herein directed, claiming lien on any certificates or city orders, or both, it shall be the duty of the respective officers having charge and custody of the same, to retain them twenty days, and in case an action is begun within that time as herein provided, then to retain the same until the determination of such action in court.

Section 2. No contractor under any such contract as is mentioned in the preceding section, and no assignee of any such contractor shall receive, either in certificates of the board of public works or in city orders, any amount exceeding seventy-five per centum of the amount named and provided in the contract until after the expiration of twenty days from the completion of the work contracted for, or other termination of the contract; and if any person, corporation or party shall file notices of claim of lien, as provided in the preceding section, against such contractor or contractors, or his or their assigns, all certificates and all city orders not then delivered shall be held and retained by the respective officers in whose charge or custody they are, until

twenty days after the filing of such notices, and if within such last period of twenty days an action shall be brought as provided in the preceding section, such certificates and such city orders shall be retained until the determination of such action in court.

EARNINGS EXEMPT FROM EXECUTION.

Section 2,983 R. S., as amended by chapter 141, laws of 1883. The earnings of all married person or persons having a family dependent upon them for support, for three months next preceding the issue of any attachment, execution or garnishment, or proceedings supplementary to execution, to the amount of sixty dollars only for each month in which such earnings are made or earned, shall not be liable to seizure or sale on execution, or any provisional or final process issued from any court or any proceedings in aid thereof, and in case any creditor proceeds by a garnishment against any person or party who shall be indebted to, or have any property whatever, real or personal, in his possession or his control, belonging to such creditors debtor, and such money or property at the time of serving such process was by law exempt from seizure or sale upon execution, said garnishee shall be entitled to judgment for his costs of suit; provided, that no property exempt by the provisions of this section shall be exempt from attachments or upon execution issued upon a judgment in action, brought by any person for the recovery of the whole or any part of the purchase money of the same property.

WAGES DUE FROM BANKRUPTS AND ASSIGNORS.

Chapter 48, laws of 1885. Section 1. Whenever in the course of any action or proceeding a receiver shall be appointed by any of the courts of this state, to manage or conduct the mercantile or manufacturing business of any person, firm or corporation, or to settle, adjust or close up any such business, it shall be the duty of such receiver to report immediately to the court so appointing him the amount due by such person, firm or corporation to employes and laborers in such business, and it shall be the duty of

said court to order the said receiver to pay out of the first receipts of said business after the payment of costs, debts due the United States or the state of Wisconsin, all taxes and assessments levied and unpaid, and the current expenses of carrying on or closing said business under his administration, the wages of all such employes and laborers, which had accrued within three months immediately prior to the appointment of such receiver.

Section 2. In every voluntary assignment hereafter made for the benefit of creditors the claims of all servants, clerks or laborers for personal service or wages owing from the assignor for services or labor performed for the three months preceding such assignment, shall be preferred over the claims of all other creditors, and shall be paid first by the assignee, after the payment of costs, debts due the United States or the state of Wisconsin, all taxes and assessments levied and unpaid, expenses of the assignment, and executing the trust.

LIABILITY OF SUCCESSOR RAILWAYS.

Chapter 85, laws of 1885. Section 1. Whenever any railway corporation in this state shall become the successor of a pre-existing railway corporation, it shall become charged and liable for the amount then due the employes and laborers upon said road for a period not exceeding six months prior to becoming such successor.

INTIMIDATING LABORERS.

Chapter 174, laws of 1885. Section 1. Any person who prevents, hinders, controls or intimidates another from exercising or in exercising the right of suffrage, by means of threats or depriving such person of employment or occupation, or by threats of refusing to renew contracts for labor, at any election in this state, shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail, not more than one year, or by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars.

PROPERTY EXEMPT FROM EXECUTION.

Section 2,982, Revised Statutes. No property hereinafter mentioned shall be liable to seizure, or sale, on execution,

or on any provisional or final process issued from any court, or any proceedings in aid thereof, except as otherwise specially provided in these statutes:

1. The family bible.
2. Family pictures and school books.
3. The library of the debtor and every part thereof; but this provision shall not be deemed to extend to circulating libraries.
4. A seat or pew in any house or place of public worship.
5. All wearing apparel of the debtor and his family; all beds, bedsteads and bedding kept and used for the debtor and his family; all stoves and appendages put up or kept for the use of the debtor and his family; all cooking utensils, and all other household furniture not herein enumerated, not exceeding two hundred dollars in value; and one gun, rifle or other firearm, not exceeding fifty dollars in value.
6. Two cows, ten swine, one yoke of oxen and one horse or mule, or in lieu of one yoke of oxen and a horse or mule, two horses or two mules, ten sheep and the wool from the same, either in the raw material or manufactured into yarn or cloth, the necessary food for all the stock mentioned in this section for one year's support, either provided or growing, or both, as the debtor may choose; also one wagon, cart or dray, one sleigh, one plow, one drag and other farming utensils, including tackle for teams not exceeding two hundred dollars in value.
7. The provisions for the debtor and his family necessary for one year's support, either provided or growing, or both, and fuel necessary for one year.
8. The tools, implements, stock in trade, of any mechanic, miner, merchant, trader, or other person, used or kept for the purpose of carrying on his trade or business, not exceeding two hundred dollars in value.
9. All sewing machines owned by individuals, and kept for the use of themselves or families.
10. Any sword, plate, books, or other articles, presented or given to any person by congress, the legislature of either of the United States, or by either body of congress, or of such legislature, whether presented by a vote or raised by

subscription of the members of either of the aforesaid bodies.

11. Printing materials, and press or presses used in the business of any printer or publisher, to an amount not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars in value; provided, that no sum exceeding the sum of four hundred dollars shall be exempt from execution for payment of wages of laborers or servants for services rendered to the defendant.

12. Horses, arms, equipments and uniforms of all officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, used for military purposes in organized militia of the state.

13. All books, maps, plats and other papers, kept or used by any person for the purpose of making abstracts of title to land.

14. The interest owned by any inventor in any invention secured to him by letters patent of the United States.

15. The earnings of all married persons and of all other persons, who have to provide for the entire support of a family in this state, for sixty days next preceeding the issuing of any process of attachment, execution or garnishment, or proceeding supplementary to execution.

16. All fire engines, apparatus and equipments, including hose, hose carts, and hooks and ladders, belonging to, or which may hereafter belong to any town, city or village in this state, and which are or may be kept and used for the protection of property in such town, city or village from fire, together with the engine houses and hook and ladder houses for the protection of the same, and the lot or lots on which such engine and hook and ladder houses may be situated, when owned by any such town, city or village; and any lot or lots owned, used and occupied by any such town, city or village, for corporate purposes.

17. All moneys arising from insurance of any property exempted from sale or execution, including the homestead, when such property has been destroyed by fire.

18. All private property shall be exempt from seizure and sale upon any execution, or other process, issued to enforce any judgment or decree of any court, which shall have been

rendered against any county, town, city, village or school-district in this state.

19. All moneys arising on any policy of insurance on the life of a minor, payable to his father or mother, or both, shall be exempt against the creditors of such father or mother, but not against the creditors of such minor.

20. Cemetery lots, owned by individuals, and all monuments therein, the coffins and other articles for the burial of any dead person, and the tombstone or monument for his grave, by whomsoever purchased.

The exemptions provided for in subdivisions three, six, seven, eight, nine, eleven, thirteen, seventeen and nineteen, of this section, shall extend only to debtors having an actual residence in this state, and when such debtors and their families, or any of them, shall be removing from one place of residence to another. And no property exempted by the provisions of this section, shall be exempt from execution or attachment issued upon a judgment in an action brought by any person for the recovery of the whole, or any part, of the purchase money of the same property. All articles exempted by the provisions of this section may be selected by the debtor, his agent, clerk or legal representative, when necessary to distinguish the same.

PROTECTION OF CHILDREN.

Chapter 239, laws of 1880. Section 1. Any person having the care, custody, or control of any child under the age of fourteen years, who shall exhibit, use or employ, or who shall in any manner, or under any pretense sell, apprentice, give away, let out, or otherwise dispose of any such child to any person, in any place whatsoever, for any obscene, indecent or immoral purpose, exhibition or practice whatsoever, or for any business, exhibition or vocation, injurious to the health or dangerous to the life or limb of such child; or who shall cause, procure, or encourage any such child to engage therein, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

Section 2. Any person who shall take, receive, hire, employ, use, exhibit or have in custody any child under the age

and for the purposes mentioned in the preceding section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

Section 3. Any person found guilty of the violation of this act by any court having jurisdiction of the same, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

LIABILITY OF STOCKHOLDERS FOR LABORERS' WAGES.

Section 1,769. The stockholders of every corporation other than railroad corporations, shall be personally liable to an amount equal to the stock owned by them respectively in such corporation, for all debts which may be due and owing to its clerks, servants and laborers for services performed for such corporation, but not exceeding six months' service in any one case. Whenever any railway corporation in this state shall be placed by any court of this state in the hands of a receiver, whether upon foreclosure or creditors' bill, it shall be the duty of such receiver to report immediately to the court so appointing him, the amount due by said railroad company, or by the person or persons who were operating such road at the date of such receivers' appointment, to employes and laborers upon said road, and it shall be the duty of said court to order said receiver to pay out of the first receipts and earnings of said railway, after paying current operating expenses under his administration, the wages of all employes and laborers, which had accrued within six months prior to the appointment of such receiver.

LABORERS' LIENS — RAILROADS.

Section 1,815, Revised Statutes. As often as any contractor for the construction of any railroad, or part thereof in process of construction, shall be indebted to any laborer for thirty days' labor or less, either manual or team labor, or both, including team and driver, performed in construction of such road, such laborer may within thirty days after the claim or demand of such laborer shall have accrued, serve notice in writing, signed by him, his agent or attorney, on the corporation either owning or constructing such road,

that he claims such indebtedness, stating the amount thereof, the number of days' labor, and the time when performed, and the name of the contractor from whom due; and thereupon such corporation shall be directly liable to such laborer for the amount so due him, provided he bring his action therefor within sixty days after the service of such notice. Such notice shall be served by delivering a copy thereof to an engineer, agent or superintendent in the corporation's employment, having charge of the part of the road on which such labor was performed, personally, or by leaving the same at his office or usual place of business, with some person of suitable age therein.

MECHANIC'S LIEN.

Section 3,314, R. S., as amended by chapter 349, laws of 1885. Every person, who as principal contractor performs any work or labor, or furnishes any materials, in or about the erection, construction, repairs, protection or removal of any dwelling house or other building, or of any machinery erected or constructed so as to be or become a part of the freehold upon which it is situated, or of any bridge or in the filling up of any water lot, or the construction thereon of any wharf or permanent erection, or in the dredging of the channel in front of such water lot, or in digging or constructing any well or fountain, or in building or repairing any fences upon land, or doing manual labor thereon, shall have a lien thereupon, and upon the interests of the owner of such dwelling house, building, machinery, bridge, wharf, erection thereon, well, fountain or fence, in and to the land upon which the same is situated, or of the person causing such manual labor to be done, and upon the water lot so filled or in front of which such dredging is done, not exceeding forty acres, or if within the limits of an incorporated city or village, upon the piece or parcel of land used, or designed for use in connection with such dwelling house, building, machinery, bridge, wharf, erection thereon, well, fountain or fence, or upon such water lot or land on which such manual labor is done, not exceeding one acre. Such lien shall be prior to any other lien which originates subse-

quent to the commencement of the construction, repairs, removal or work aforesaid, of or upon such dwelling house, building, machinery, bridge, wharf, or erection thereon, well, fountain, fence, water lot or land, and shall also attach to, and be a lien upon the real property of any person on whose premises such improvements are made, such owner having knowledge thereof, and consenting thereto, and may be enforced as provided in this chapter. In case any person shall order or contract for the purchase of any machinery to be placed in or connected to or with any building or premises, and such person not having an interest in such building or premises, in or connected with which such machinery is placed, sufficient for a lien, as provided for in this chapter, to secure payment for said machinery, the person furnishing such machinery shall have and retain a lien upon such machinery, and shall have the right to remove from such building or premises such machinery, in case there shall be default in the payment for such machinery when due, leaving such building or premises in as good condition as they were before such machinery was placed in or on the same.

Section 3,315, as amended by chapter 312, laws of 1885. Every person who, as sub-contractor of a principal contractor or employe of any contractor or sub-contractor, performs any work or labor for or furnishes any material to a principal contractor or sub-contractor, in any of the cases mentioned in the preceding section, shall be entitled to the lien and remedy given by this chapter, if within thirty days after performing such work or labor or furnishing such materials, he shall give notice in writing to the owner or his agent, of the property to be affected by such lien, setting forth that he has been employed by such principal contractor or sub contractor to perform or furnish and has performed or furnished such work, labor or materials, with a statement of the labor performed or materials furnished, and the amount due therefor from such principal contractor or sub-contractor, and that he claims the lien given by this chapter; but the claim of such sub-contractor or employe shall not constitute such lien, except so far as such owners shall, at the time of giving such notice, be or shall there-

after become indebted to such principal contractor for work done or materials furnish under the principal contract. In no case shall the owner be compelled to pay a greater sum for or on account of such house, building or other improvement than the price or sum stipulated in the original contract of agreement; provided, if it shall appear to the court that the owner and contractor fraudulently and for the purpose of defrauding sub-contractors or employes fixed an unreasonably low price in their original contract for the erection or repairing of such building, then the court shall ascertain how much of a difference exists between a fair price for labor or material used in said building or other improvement and the sum named in said original contract. Said difference shall be considered a part of the contract and be subject to a lien; but in no case shall the original contractor's time or profits be secured by this lien, only so far as the sum named in the original contract or agreement

Section 3,316. All claims for liens and rights of action to recover therefor under this chapter, shall be assignable so as to vest in the assignee all rights and remedies herein given, subject to all defenses thereto that might be made, if such assignment had not been made. Notice in writing of such assignment, together with copy thereof, shall be served upon the owner of the property affected by such claim for lien within fifteen days after such assignment is made; and all payments made by such original owner, before service of such notice of assignment, shall discharge his original debt to the amount so paid.

Section 3,317. The taking of a promissory note or other evidence of indebtedness for any such work, labor or materials, done or furnished, shall not discharge the lien therefor hereby given, unless expressly received as payment therefor, and so specified therein.

Section 3,318. No lien hereby given shall exist and no action to enforce the same shall be maintained, unless within six months of date of last charge for performing such work and labor, or of furnishing of such materials, a claim for such lien shall be filed as hereinafter provided in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of the county in which the

lands affected thereby lie, nor unless such action be brought within one year from such date, unless within thirty days next preceding the expiration of one year, the person filing the lien shall make and annex to the instrument on file an affidavit setting forth the interest which he has by virtue of such lien in the property therein mentioned, upon which affidavit the clerk shall endorse the time when the same was filed. The effect of such affidavit shall not continue beyond one year from the time when such lien would otherwise cease to be valid as against subsequent purchaser's lien or mortgages in good faith. Such claim for lien may be filed and docketed within such six months, notwithstanding the death of the owner of the property affected thereby, or the person with whom the original contract was made, with like effect as if he were then living.

Section 3,319. Every clerk of the circuit court shall keep a separate docket to be entitled "lien docket," in which shall be entered proper entries under appropriate headings herein specified, relative to each claim for lien filed with him, immediately upon its filing, opposite the names of the persons against whom the lien is claimed, which name shall be entered therein alphabetically, or an alphabetical index thereof shall be kept, as judgment dockets are required by law to be kept. Each page of such docket shall be divided into eight columns, with written or printed headings to the respective columns as follows:

Name of person against whom lien is claimed.	Name of claimant or assignee.	Attorney for claimant.	Last date of performance of labor or furnishing of materials.	Date of filing petition.	Description of property.	Amount claimed.	Satisfaction.
.....
.....
.....

Such docket shall be presumptive evidence of the correctness of the entries therein made.

Section 3,320. Such claim for lien shall contain a statement of the contract, or demand upon which it was founded, the name of the person against whom the demand is claimed, the name of the claimant or assignee, the last date of the performance of labor or furnishing of materials, a description of the property affected thereby, a statement of the amount claimed, and all other material facts in relation thereto. It shall be signed by the claimant, or his attorney, and need not be verified, and may be amended, in case of action brought by order of court as pleadings may be.

Section 3,321. Any person having so filed such claim for lien may foreclose the same by action in the circuit court, or any county court having jurisdiction thereof. All persons having filed such claims for liens, for work done or materials furnished, in the construction, repair, protection or removal of or upon the same dwelling house or other building, or the same machinery, bridge, wharf, well, fountain, fence or water lot, may join as plaintiffs; and if any do not so join or refuse to join, they may be made parties defendant. All persons having liens upon the premises by mortgage, judgment or otherwise, subsequent to the lien sought to be foreclosed, and all purchasers of the premises subsequent to such lien, may join as parties defendant. In case of any person who has filed such claim, prior to the commencement of such action, or who has such subsequent lien, or who is such subsequent purchaser, is not made a party to such action, he may, upon application, at any time before judgment, be made a party defendant thereto; and any person who shall file such claim for lien after the commencement of such action, or who shall obtain such subsequent lien, by mortgage, judgment or otherwise, or become such subsequent purchaser after the filing of the notice of the pendency of such action, may, at any time before judgment, upon application, be made a party defendant thereto. If such action be brought by a subcontractor, the principal contractor may also be made a party defendant thereto.

Section 3,322. The complaint in each action shall be suf-

ficient, if it set forth the contract, in substance, under which such work was done, or material furnished with the last date of doing or furnishing the same, and the assignment of the claim, if any; and allege that the plaintiff or his assignee has filed a claim for a lien therefor, as required by law; giving the date of such filing, that such work was done or materials furnished for some of the purposes mentioned in section three thousand three hundred and fourteen, stating for what particular purpose the amount claimed to be due to the plaintiff or plaintiffs, respectfully; and give a description of the premises claimed to be affected by such lien; as to defendants who have filed claims for liens on said premises under the provisions of this chapter, that they have filed such claims, giving the date of filing and the amount claimed by each; as to defendants having subsequent liens or being subsequent purchasers, that they have or claim to have some lien upon the premises, subsequent and subject to the lien of the plaintiff; and shall demand judgment that the demands of all persons having filed claims for liens upon such premises, whether plaintiffs or defendants, be ascertained and adjudged; and that interest of the person owning such premises at the time of the commencement of the construction, repairs, removal or work of or upon the dwelling house, building, machinery, bridge, wharf, or erection thereon, well, fountain, cistern, fence, water lot, or land, on account of which such liens are claimed, or which he or any other person claiming under him has since acquired, be sold to satisfy the amount of the liens so ascertained and adjudged, with the costs of action. If the action be brought by a sub-contractor, the complaint shall also set forth in substance the contract between him and the contractor, and allege that he gave the notice required by section three thousand three hundred and fifteen, and the date of the service thereof.

Section 3,323. Any issue of fact in such action shall on demand of either party be tried by jury, whose verdict thereon shall be conclusive as in other cases.

Section 3,324. The judgment in such action shall adjudge the amount due to the plaintiff, or in case several claims for

liens are embraced in the action, the amount due to each claimant who is a party to the action. It shall direct that the interest of the owner in the premises at the time of the commencement of the construction, repairs, removal, or work upon the dwelling house, building, machinery, bridge, wharf or erection thereon, well, fountain, cistern, fence, water lot or land, on account of which such liens are claimed, or which he, or any person claimed under him, has since acquired, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be sold to satisfy the amount of the lien of the plaintiff, or of the several liens embraced in the action, with the costs of such action, including the costs of filing the claims for liens; and that after satisfying the same, together with such costs, that the residue of the proceeds be brought into court with the report of sale, to abide the order of the court. If the premises can be sold in parcels without injury to, or to the advantage of the parties, the court may adjudge that the sale be so made. If the plaintiff, in any such action, fail to establish his lien upon the premises described in his complaint, and claim for lien, but establish a right to recover upon contract for his alleged work and labor done, or materials furnished, he may have a personal judgment in the action against the party liable for the amount due him, with or without costs, to be taxed in his favor, or favor of defendant in like manner, as if the action were for the recovery of money only.

Section 3,325. From the proceeds of such sale, the several claimants, whose liens were established and adjudged in the action, shall be paid equally and alike, without priority among themselves; and if the sum realized at such sale shall be insufficient, after paying the costs of the action and the costs of making the sale, to pay the full amount adjudged to be due all such claimants, then the same shall be distributed and paid to each of them in the proportion which the sum adjudged to each bears to the whole amount adjudged to all, and the judgment shall so direct.

Section 3,326. All sales under such judgments may be made by the sheriff, or a referee appointed by the court for that purpose, who shall give notice thereof in the manner

provided by law for the sale of real estate upon executions, unless the court shall order other or different notice to be given, and shall be absolute and without redemption; and the deed given thereon, in case such sale is confirmed, shall be effectual to pass to the purchaser all the interest in the premises directed to be sold. Such sheriff or referee shall, within ten days after making such sale, file with the clerk of the court in which the judgment is rendered, a report of the sale for confirmation thereof, and shall, immediately after the sale, pay to the parties entitled thereto the amounts adjudged to them respectively, after deducting the costs thereof, unless otherwise ordered by the court. If any deficiency arise upon such sale in payment of the sums adjudged to be due to any such claimant of a lien given by this chapter, the sheriff or referee shall specify the amount of such deficiency in his report, and if demanded in the complaint or in the answer of any such lien claimant, the court, upon confirming such sale, may render judgment therefor against the defendant legally liable to pay the same, which judgment may be docketed and enforced in the same manner that ordinary judgments are. And the purchaser or purchasers at such sale shall be entitled to a writ of assistance to obtain possession of the premises sold, in the same manner as is provided in section three thousand and twenty-five, chapter one hundred and thirty of the revised statutes.

Section 3,327. Every person who has received satisfaction or tender of his debt, with the costs of any action brought thereon, or of any judgment recovered therefor, for which he has filed any such claim for lien, shall at the request of any person interested in the premises affected thereby, or in having such lien removed on costs of satisfying the same, execute and deliver by himself or his attorney the necessary acknowledgment of satisfaction thereof; on filing which the clerk of the court with whom such lien is docketed, such clerk shall enter satisfaction of such claim; or the lien claimant may enter the same satisfied on the docket of such lien. On failure to so execute and deliver such acknowledgment of satisfaction, or to so satisfy such lien on docket,

the person refusing shall be liable to pay to the person requiring such acknowledgment, a sum equal to one-half of the sum claimed in his claim for lien, to be recovered by action.

Section 3,328. Any sub-contractor who has done work or labor, or furnished materials to any principal contractor, for the construction, repair or removal of any building or machinery for any county, town, city, village or school district, may maintain an action therefor in the county in which such work, labor or materials were done or furnished, against such principal contractor, and such county, town, city, village, or school district jointly, for the recovery thereof; but no judgment shall be rendered against any defendant therein, other than such principal contractor, for any amount greater than the amount due from it to such principal contractor at the time of the commencement of such action. Such county, town, city village or school district, when served with the summons in any such action, may give notice thereof to such principal contractor, and on so doing need not further defend such action. On rendition of judgment in such action against such principal contractor, the court may also render judgment against such county, town, city, village or school district, for the amount due from it to such principal contractor at the time of the commencement of such action, or to a sufficient amount to pay the judgment recovered against the principal contractor, and the payment thereof shall discharge its indebtedness to such principal contractor to the amount so paid. Such principal contractor may, in such action, file in the court in which it is commenced, a bond, in such sum and with such sureties as the judge of such court shall approve, conditioned for the payment of any judgment that may be rendered in such action, and thereupon the liability of such county, town, city, village or school district hereunder, shall cease, and the action as to it shall be discontinued without costs to it.

LIENS UPON LOGS AND TIMBER.

Section 3,329, as amended by chapter 469, laws 1885. Any person who shall do or perform any labor or services in cut-

ting, felling, hauling, running, driving, rafting, booming, cribbing, towing, sawing or manufacturing into lumber, any logs or timber in any of the counties in this state, shall have a lien upon such logs, timber or lumber, for the amount due, or to become due, for such labor or services, which shall take precedence of all other claims or liens thereon. In the counties of Door, Florence, Kewaunee, Marathon, Langlade, Marinette, Oconto, Portage, Shawano, Taylor and Waupaca, any person furnishing any supplies in the cutting, felling, hauling, running, driving, rafting, booming, cribbing, towing, sawing or manufacture into lumber any logs or timber, or any person furnishing any supplies or doing or performing any labor or service in cutting, felling, piling, handling or hauling cord-wood, or in cutting, felling, peeling, scoring, hewing, handling or hauling any railroad ties, tan or other barks, piling telegraph poles, telephone poles or fence posts, shall have a lien thereon, for the amount due or to become due for such supplies, labor or services, provided, such lien for labor or service shall take precedence of all other claims thereon.

Section 3,330, as amended by chapter 469, laws of 1885. The word supplies as used in the preceding section, shall be construed to mean and include all rafting or other material and food used by the men and teams in and about the cutting, felling, hauling, driving, running, rafting, cribbing or towing any such logs or timber, or in cutting, felling, peeling, piling, handling or hauling any such cord-wood, railroad ties, tan or other barks, piling, telegraph poles, telephone poles, or fence posts, and all other materials and articles usually used in the performance of such labor or services, including all groceries, provisions, clothing and other articles ordinarily used by the laboring man and his family, or either of them, and which are furnished to any such laboring man or his family, or to his employer to be used by any such laborer or his family while doing or performing any such labor or services upon any such logs, timber, cord-wood, railroad ties, tan or other barks, piling, telegraph poles, telephone poles or fence posts, and the same is furnished to apply in payment for the labor and services on

such logs, timber, cord-wood, railroad ties, tan or other barks, piling, telegraph poles, telephone poles or fence posts, and to an amount not exceeding the agreed wages for such labor or services, but the word supplies shall not include horses, cattle, team, bob-sleighs, sleds, wagons, harnesses, bed or bed clothing.

Section 3,331, as amended by chapter 192, laws of 1885. No debt or demand for such labor or services shall remain such lien unless a claim therefor in writing shall be made and signed by the claimant or his attorney, and verified by the claimant or some one in his behalf, in the same manner that pleadings in civil actions may be verified, setting forth the nature of the debt or demand for which the lien is claimed, the amount claimed to be due, a description of the logs, timber or lumber against which the lien is claimed, and that the claimant claims a lien thereon pursuant to this chapter to which this is amendatory, such petition, except for labor or services done in the counties hereinafter particularly named, shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of the county in which such labor or service was done or performed, and for such labor or services done or performed in the counties of Shawano, Waupaca, Outagamie and Fond du Lac or in such parts of the counties of Brown, Oconto and other counties, wherein such logs, timber or lumber are got out upon the Wolf river or any of its tributaries, or for the purpose of being run down said river or its tributaries, such claim for lien shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the city of Oshkosh. If the labor or services are done between the first day of September and the first day of May following, the claim for the lien shall be filed on or before the first day of June next thereafter, except as hereinafter provided, but if done after the first day of May and before the first day of September thereafter, or if said labor or services shall be continuous from the first day of September beyond the first day of May following the claim for lien shall be filed within thirty days after the last day of doing or performing such labor or services, and such labor or services shall be deemed continuous notwithstanding a change of ownership in said logs, timber or lumber or

employers for whom said labor or service shall be done or performed; provided, that such claim for lien or labor, or services done or performed on telegraph poles, railroad ties, cord wood and tan or other bark as aforesaid, shall be filed within thirty days from and after the last day of doing and performing such labor or services. Such clerks shall receive twenty-five cents for filing each such claim for lien, and for certified copies thereof, the fees allowed by the law for certified copies of papers to clerks of circuit courts.

Section 3,331, as amended by chapter 469, laws of 1885.* No debt or demand for such supplies furnished or labor or services done and performed shall remain such lien unless a claim therefor, in writing, shall be made and signed by the claimant or his attorney and verified by the claimant or some one in his behalf, in the same manner that pleadings in civil actions may be verified, setting forth the nature of the debt or demand for which the lien is claimed, the amount claimed to be due, the description of the logs, timber, lumber, cordwood, railroad ties, tan or other barks, piling, telegraph poles, telephone poles or fence posts against which the lien is claimed, and that the claimant claims a lien thereon, pursuant to this chapter and the chapter to which this is amendatory; such claim for labor or services done or performed, or for supplies furnished, shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of the county in which such supplies were furnished or labor or services were done or performed, except that the claim for such liens for any such labor or services done or performed, or supplies furnished upon logs, timber or lumber gotten out upon the Wolf river, or any of its tributaries for the purpose of being run down said river or its tributaries, shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the city of Oshkosh. If the supplies were furnished or labor or services done or performed between the first day of November and the first day of May following, the claim for such lien shall be filed on or before

* Section 3,331 was amended twice by the legislature of 1885, chapter 193 leaving out the very important words, "supplies," "telephone poles," etc., and changing the periods in which liens attach.

the first day of June next thereafter, but if such labor shall have been done or performed or supplies furnished after the first day of May and before the first day of November thereafter, or if the furnishing of such supplies or the doing or performing of such labor or services shall be continuous from the first day of November or a day prior thereto, to a date beyond the first day of May following, the claim for lien shall be filed within thirty days after the last day of furnishing such supplies, or of doing or performing such labor or services, and such furnishing of such supplies and such labor or services shall be deemed continuous notwithstanding a change of ownership in said logs, timber, lumber, cord-wood, railroad ties, tan or other bark, piling, telegraph poles, telephone poles or fence posts. The clerk with whom such claim for lien is filed shall receive twenty-five cents for filing each such claim or lien.

Section 3,332. All actions to enforce such lien may be brought in the circuit court of the proper county, when the amount stated in the affidavit for the attachment, over and above all legal setoffs, exceeds one hundred dollars, or before any justice of the peace having jurisdiction of the amount claimed and of the parties. Action may be commenced to enforce such liens, if the same be due, immediately after filing such petition or statement, and such lien claim shall cease to be a lien on the property named in the petition or statement unless action be commenced within four months after the filing of such petition or statement. In all such actions the person, company or corporation liable for the payment of such debt or claim shall be made the party defendant. Any person claiming to be the owner of any such logs or timber may be made a party defendant on application to the court having jurisdiction of the action, at any time before the final judgment therein.

Section 3,333, as amended by chapter 469, laws of 1885. The plaintiff in such actions may have the remedy by attachment of the property upon which the lien is claimed, provided by law in personal actions, and such attachment may be issued and be served and returned, and like proceedings had thereon, including the release of any attached

property upon giving security as in civil actions. The affidavit for the attachment must state the defendant who is personally liable to the plaintiff therefor, is indebted to him in the sum named, over and above all legal set-offs, for such supplies furnished, or such labor or services done or performed, as entitles the plaintiff to a lien thereon under this chapter and the chapter to which this is amendatory, describing such logs, timber, lumber, cord-wood, railroad ties, tan or other barks, telegraph poles, telephone poles, or fence posts, and that the plaintiff has filed his claim or lien pursuant thereto and no other fact need be stated in such affidavit; no undertaking upon such attachment or security for costs in actions hereunder before justices of the peace need be given unless upon application of some defendant in the action, showing by affidavit that he has a good and valid defense to plaintiff's claim, and to how much thereof and if it be only to a part of such claim, unless the residue be paid to the plaintiff at the time of the application, which payment, if made, shall not affect the jurisdiction of such court; and no order shall be made by any circuit court or judge thereof, requiring the giving of such undertaking or security for costs, except upon ten days' notice to the plaintiff; the attachment shall direct the officer to whom it is issued to attach the property named in the affidavit or so much thereof as shall be necessary to satisfy the sum claimed to be due thereon and to hold the same subject to further proceedings in the action. The officer executing the attachment shall pay any boomage due upon the property attached and the amount so paid shall be taxed as a part of the cost of the action.

Section 3,334. The attachment issued by any justice of the peace shall be returned as an ordinary summons, and may be in the following form:

— County — ss.

The state of Wisconsin, to the sheriff or any constable of said county:

You are commanded to attach the following good and chattels (here insert a description of the property described

in the affidavit), or so much thereof as shall be sufficient to satisfy the sum of ——— with interest and costs, and disbursements of suit, in whosoever hands or possession the same may be found in your county, and so provide that the same, so attached, may be subjected to further proceedings thereon, as the law requires; and also to summon ——— if to be found, to be and appear before me at my office in said ——— on the ——— day of ———, A. D. 18—, at ——— o'clock in the ——— noon, to answer to ———, to his damages two hundred dollars or under.

Given under my hand at ——— this ——— day of ———, A. D. 18—.

J. P., Justice of the Peace.

Section 3,335, as amended by chapter 469, laws of 1885. The taking of a promissory note or other evidence of debt for any such labor or services done or performed, or supplies furnished, shall not discharge the lien therefor hereby given, unless expressly received in payment therefor and so specified therein.

Section 3,336. When more than one person has a claim for a lien given hereunder upon the same logs or timber, any person having such claim may purchase and take an assignment of the debts or claims of others, subject to all defenses and set-offs to such claim against the original owner, may file a claim for lien for all such debts, and bring an action to collect the same in his name; but such claim for lien, and the complaint in the action, shall allege such purchase or assignment.

Section 3,337. Whenever two or more persons own logs or timber on any river in this state, or any of its tributaries, which are so intermixed that they cannot be conveniently separated for floating or driving them to the place of destination, and either owner shall refuse or neglect to make the necessary provisions, or to furnish the necessary labor and material for floating or driving them to such place, any other owner may drive all such logs or timber to such place, and shall receive reasonable compensation for so driving the portion thereof belonging to such owner so neglecting or refusing from such owner, and shall have a lien for such

compensation, and may enforce the same by action as herein provided for the enforcement of liens upon logs or timber.

Section 3,338. Every company incorporated for the improvement of rivers and streams, whose charter authorizes it to collect tolls on logs, lumber or timber, for such improvement, or for any other done on or about the same, shall have a lien thereon; with remedies herein given to enforce the same to the same extent and in the same manner that liens are hereby given for labor and services in respect to logs or timber.

Section 3,339. The complaint in any action hereunder to enforce a lien upon logs or timber shall, in addition to the other ordinary allegations in actions upon contracts, allege the filing of the claim for lien as hereinbefore provided, and such allegation shall be taken to be true, unless expressly denied by the defendant, or by some one in his behalf, in a sworn answer or affidavit, and shall also allege a description of the property upon which a lien is claimed.

Section 3,340, as amended by chapter 469, laws of 1885. The court or jury which tries any action hereunder shall, in addition to the sum due the plaintiff, find, if such be proven, that the same is due for supplies furnished or labor or services done or some part of them alleged in the complaint, and that the same is a lien upon the property or some part thereof, described in the complaint, and the judgment shall be in accordance with the findings, costs shall be taxed and allowed as in personal actions. The execution in addition to the directions and command in ordinary executions upon judgments for money shall direct that such logs, timber, lumber, cord-wood, railway ties, tan or other barks, pilings, telegraph poles, telephone poles or fence posts, describing them or so much thereof as may be necessary for such purposes, to be sold to satisfy said judgment and costs, including the cost of sale. If the court justice or jury shall find that the amount found due the plaintiff is not a lien upon any part of such logs, timber or lumber, cord-wood, railroad ties, tan or other barks, telegraph poles, telephone poles or fence posts, they shall be released from the attachment if

they have been attached. The plaintiff shall in such case have judgment for the amount so found due, with costs, as in ordinary civil actions, but he shall not recover the costs of executing such attachment.

Section 3,341. Any person performing manual labor upon any lumber, or in cutting, peeling, piling or hauling any hemlock or other bark, for or on account of the owner, agent or assignee thereof, at any place within this state, or performing any such labor on any logs or timber in any other counties than those mentioned in section three thousand and three hundred and twenty-nine, for such owner, agent or assignee, shall have like lien upon such lumber, bark, logs or timber as is given in this chapter for work and services upon logs and timber; and he may avail himself of the provisions of this chapter in relation to liens upon logs and timber, to enforce such lien. The notice of such lien shall, in all cases, be filed in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of the county in which such work was done, within the time prescribed in section three thousand three hundred and thirty-one, and the action to enforce the same may be commenced without any notice given to the owner, or any other person, of his claim.

Section 3,342. Appeals may be taken from all judgments rendered by justices of the peace, and the judgments of circuit and county courts hereunder, may be reviewed by the supreme court as in ordinary civil actions.

MECHANICS' LIEN.

Section 3,343. Every mechanic who shall make, alter or repair, any article of personal property at the request of the owner or legal possessor of such property, shall have a lien thereon for his just and reasonable charges therefor, and may retain possession of such property until such charges are paid.

LIENS FOR BOARD AND LODGING.

Section 3,344. Every inn-keeper and every keeper of a boarding house shall have a lien upon and retain possession of the baggage and effects of any guest or boarder for the amount which may be due him for board from such guest

or boarder until such amount is paid, and every keeper of a livery or boarding stable, and every person pasturing or keeping any horses, carriage, harness, mules, cattle or stock, shall have a lien upon and may retain possession of any such horses, carriage, harness, mules, cattle or stock, for the amount which may be due him for keeping, supporting and care thereof, until such amount is paid.

LIENS AGAINST SHIPS, BOATS AND VESSELS.

Section 3,348. Every ship, boat or vessel, used in navigating the waters of this state, shall be liable for, and the claims or demands hereinafter mentioned shall constitute a lien on such ship, boat or vessel, which shall take precedence of all other claims or liens thereon:

1. For all debts contracted by the master, amount claimed to be due, shall be given to the owner of such property personally or by leaving the same at his place of abode, if a resident of this state, and if not, by publication thereof once in each week, for three weeks successively, next before the time of sale, in some newspaper published in the county in which such lien accrues, if there be one, and if not, by posting such notice in three public places in such county. If such property exceeds in value one hundred dollars, then such lien may be enforced against owner, agent or consignee thereof, on account of supplies furnished for the use of such ship, boat or vessel, or on account of work done or services rendered on board of such ship, boat or vessel, or on account of labor done or material furnished by mechanics, tradesmen or other, in and for building, repairing, fitting out, furnishing or equipping such ship, boat or vessel, or on account of any indebtedness for insurance effected upon such ship, boat or vessel, the engines, machinery, sails, rigging, tackle, apparel or furniture thereof, against any fire or marine risk.

2. For all sums due for the wharfage, towage or anchorage of such ship, boat or vessel within this state.

3. For all demands or damages accruing from the non-performance or malperformance of any contract or affreightment, or any contract touching the transportation of persons or property, entered into by the master, agent, owner or

consignee of the ship, boat or vessel on which such contract is performed; and

4. For all damages arising from injuries done to persons or property by such ship, boat or vessel; but no person employed as master or otherwise, on board of any such ship, boat or vessel, to collect or receive freights or passage money, shall have any lien as provided in this chapter, or be entitled to his action in accordance with its provisions. Such lien may be enforced by proceeding in admiralty, or in cases herein mentioned as prescribed in this chapter.

Section 3,349. The receiving of the note or other evidence of indebtedness of the owner, master, agent or consignee of such ship, boat, or vessel, for any such claim or demand, shall not affect the right of the party to his lien under this chapter, unless expressly received in payment therefor, and so specified therein.

Section 3,350. The owner or owners of any such ship, boat or vessel, shall be personally liable for the payment of every debt, and for every demand and claim arising under the provisions of subdivisions one and two of section three thousand, three hundred and forty-eight. Such liability shall not in any way impair or affect the liability that may exist against the master, agent or consignee for the same debt or demand.

Section 3,351. In all cases where the owner of any ship, boat or vessel, is personally liable for any claim mentioned in section three thousand, three hundred and forty-eight, the claimant, his personal representative or assigns may, in action against such owner for the recovery of such claim, have a writ of attachment, by virtue of which all the right and title such owner had in such ship, boat or vessel at the time such claim accrued, or at any time thereafter, may be attached to secure the payment thereof. Before any such attachment shall issue in any such action, the plaintiff, or some one in his behalf, shall make and annex thereto an affidavit, stating:

1. That the defendant in such action is indebted to the plaintiff, or has a claim or demand against him, in sum named, over and above all legal setoffs.

2. That such indebtedness is due for, or accrued or arose out of, or upon one or more of the causes specified in the first section of this chapter, specifying it.

3. The name of the ship, boat or vessel, if it have any name, and if not, then a description of the same as near as may be.

4. That the action in which such attachment is applied for was commenced within three months after such debt, demand or claim accrued or became payable, and no other or further affidavit shall be required for that purpose; and except as otherwise provided in this chapter, the proceedings upon such attachment, in an action in the circuit court, shall be the same as provided in chapter one hundred and twenty-four; but no attachment shall be issued out of the circuit court in any such action, unless the amount claimed in such affidavit shall exceed one hundred dollars.

MUTUAL LOAN AND BUILDING CORPORATIONS.

Section 2009, Revised Statutes. Any five or more persons may form a mutual savings fund, loan or building corporation, in the manner prescribed in chapter eighty-six, but shall not exist for a longer term than twenty years; and thereupon such corporation shall have all the power and privileges and be subject to all the liabilities conferred and prescribed by this chapter, and such other powers conferred on corporations by these statutes as are necessary or proper to accomplish the purpose prescribed by its articles of organization.

Section 2,010 as amended by chapter 127, laws of 1885. The capital stock of any such corporation shall not exceed five million dollars in the aggregate, and no single series of said stock shall exceed five hundred thousand dollars, and shall be divided into shares, of not less than twenty-five nor more than two hundred dollars each. If any such corporation heretofore or hereafter organized, shall have a capital stock less than the sum of five million dollars, it may in the manner prescribed in section 1774, increase its capital stock to any amount, not exceeding the limit hereinbefore fixed. But the resolution proposing such increase must be offered

at the regular meeting next preceding the meeting at which the same shall be voted upon; payments for such stock shall be made in installments, not exceeding two dollars each, on each share, at such time and place as the by-laws shall prescribe; and every share of stock shall be subject to a lien for the unpaid installments and other charges incurred thereon. The by-laws shall prescribe the form and manner of enforcing such lien. The stock may be issued in one or more successive series, in such amount as the board of directors or the stockholders may determine; and new shares of stock may be issued in lieu of shares withdrawn or forfeited. Any stockholder wishing to withdraw from the corporation may do so by giving thirty days' notice of such intention, and shall then be entitled to receive the amount paid in by him and such proportion of the profits as the by-laws may prescribe, less all fines and other charges due such corporation, but no stockholder, whose stock is held in pledge for security, shall be allowed to withdraw; and at no time shall more than one-half of the funds then in the treasury be applicable to the demands of withdrawing stockholders, without the consent of the board of directors. Upon the death of a stockholder, his legal representatives shall be entitled to receive the full amount paid by him and legal interest thereon, first deducting all charges that may be due on the stock; but no fines shall be charged to a deceased member's account, after his decease, unless his legal representative shall have assumed the future payments on the stock.

Section 2,011, as amended by chapter 1, laws of 1882. The by-laws of every such corporation shall provide for the ratio and manner of voting by its members, and fix the time of holding periodical meetings at which the money in the treasury shall be offered for loan in open meeting and the stockholder who shall bid the highest premium for the loan shall be entitled to a loan of at least the full amount of a share for each share of stock held by him, but not exceeding the sum then in the treasury and offered for loan, upon giving good and ample security upon property situate in the county where such corporation is located, or such other am-

ple security as the board of directors may accept, for the repayment of the loan; provided that a stockholder may borrow such fractional part of the full amount of a share as the by-laws may prescribe. In case the borrower shall neglect to offer security or shall offer security that is not approved by the board of directors within the time prescribed by the by-laws, he shall be charged with one month's interest, together with any expense incurred, and the money shall be reloaned at the next periodical meeting. The premium bid by a borrower may be by a certain sum or percentage on the loan, to be deducted in advance from the loan, or may be by certain periodical payments during the existence of of such loan, as the by-laws may prescribe. In case of the non-payment of installments on shares, interest or premium by borrowing stockholders for the space of six months after due, payment of the whole principal and interest, without deduction of any premium paid, or interest thereon, may be enforced by proceedings on their securities according to law.

Section 2,012, as amended by chapter 1, laws of 1882. A borrower may repay a loan at any time, and in case of repayment thereof before the expiration of the term for which the loan was made, there shall, in all cases where such premium was deducted from the loan in advance, be refunded to such borrower such proportion of the premium paid as the part of the term unexpired bears to the whole term of the loan; and when a loan is collected by process of law, and the amount collected by the corporation exceeds the amount of the loan taken by the borrower, with the interest and charges, the money shall be reloaned at the next periodical meeting, and the excess recovered beyond the amount required to pay the loan, with interest and charges, shall be returned to the borrower from whom the money was collected, or his legal representatives; but in case the corporation shall have issued its stock in series, such re-loan shall be made only to stockholders of the same series, and if the premium received for the re-loan shall be greater than that originally given by the defaulting borrower, no part of such excess of premium shall be paid to him. Any defaulting borrower may, at any time after the securities given by him

have been collected by such corporation, withdraw his stock upon the same terms prescribed in section two thousand and ten, but the corporation may retain out of the moneys due upon such withdrawal so much as may be requisite to save it from loss, in case the amount so collected shall not be sufficient to pay his loan with interest and charges.

Section 2,013. No premiums, fines, or interest on such premiums that may accrue to any such corporation under the provisions of this chapter shall be deemed usurious.

Section 2,014. Every such corporation may purchase at sheriff's or other judicial sale, or at any other sale, public or private, any real estate upon which it may have or hold any mortgage, judgment, lien, or other incumbrance, or ground rent, or in which it may have any interest, and sell, convey, lease or mortgage, at pleasure, the real estate so purchased.

PART II.

DISTRIBUTIVE AND INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE.

In May, 1885, the legislature of Massachusetts instructed Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, to investigate co-operation in Great Britain and elsewhere. He did so, and gave this Bureau permission to make full use of the results thereof, in any of its reports. Advantage is taken of this kind offer, and nearly everything presented herein, except descriptions of co-operative enterprises in America, was taken from Mr. Wright's exhaustive report to the Massachusetts Legislature.

Whatever is presented under this head is more a record of facts and history than of theory; and it is to be hoped that no person interested in the welfare of labor will fail to read it carefully.

Co-operation, not striking and boycotting, seems likely to become the greatest of all factors in settling, to some extent, the financial problems of wage-earners; therefore no one can begin a conscientious study of the subject too early, or carry it too far.

Distributive co-operation, being the simpler, would seem to be naturally the first step in this direction. Particular attention should therefore be called to the retail stores of England and other countries — even those now in operation in America — and the ease with which they may be founded and managed.

The cause of failures in co-operative enterprises in Austria — to-wit, politics — should likewise be made conspicuous. Political action by leaders or officers has ruined so many

unions and defeated so many worthy objects, that a warning to all organizations, associations and ventures of the workmen to eschew politics altogether, in everything, can not be too often or too emphatically uttered.

A very suggestive feature of the matter taken from Mr. Wright's report may be found in his statement touching co-operation in Italy, wherein he describes the manner in which laborers — those who use the shovel, pick, and scraper — band together and take contracts for excavating, grading, etc., thereby securing better wages for themselves and cheaper if not better work for owners.

By thus banding together and obtaining legal incorporation, workmen can give bonds, become collectively liable to suit and able to sue and carry on all forms of their business responsibly and legally.

WHAT IS CO-OPERATION?

At the outset it is proper to define exactly what the subject is that we are to treat. The term co-operation as applied in practice at the present day is not used in its strict etymological meaning. Nor is co-operation as at present conducted what its early advocates proposed. Etymologically considered co-operation means *to labor together*. It has an industrial significance. On the contrary the co-operation of the present has won its greatest success in commercial rather than industrial directions. Its application to productive industry is still largely experimental, and the experiments that have succeeded are, in most instances, not purely co-operative.

Co-operation as proposed by its early advocates contemplated a social transformation, introducing into the operations of industry and trade, that is, into the operations of production and distribution, such principles as would overcome the evils that attend competition. It aimed to reconstruct society upon the communistic basis, its motto being "each for all and all for each," rather than the too common one of "every man for himself." Individualism it deemed contrary to the general good, and it sought to substitute for individualism some system of joint endeavor through which the

laborer, the capitalist, and the consumer should be brought into relations of mutual help rather than remain in their usual position of rivalry. Ideally, something like this is still hoped for by ardent co-operators, but practically no such social transformation has yet taken place. Competition still flourishes, and the reconstruction of society upon the communistic basis is not to-day the chief end of co-operative endeavor. The co-operation of the present that is highly successful, and which we are mainly to consider here, relates to the distribution of products rather than to production. It is co-operative trading, not co-operative labor, if, indeed, the latter term is permissible. We shall show hereafter how success in co-operative distribution has, in some cases, paved the way to experiments more or less complete and more or less successful in co-operative production, but it is chiefly with distribution that we have to deal; and it is in this field that co-operation, in the sense of mutual effort, has won its greatest triumphs. The benefits obtained by those who have engaged in this form of co-operation are so great that its history, methods, and present condition are well worth our study and will amply reward our investigation.

One who by virtue of his experience, and his services to the co-operative movement, is certainly entitled to formulate a definition has presented the following:

Co-operation, in the social sense of the word, is a new power of industry, constituted by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality, by which honesty is rendered productive.

It is the concert of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment.*

The definition which is comprehensive, while no doubt embodying the author's views, would not be accepted by all co-operators, many of whom are unwilling to admit the claim of the consumer, *as a consumer*, to a share of the profits arising from productive effort. However this may be, all are agreed that in co-operative *distribution* the con-

* Holyoke. History of Co-operation, Vol. I, page 2.

sumer should share in the profits derived from his trade. This feature is essential in modern co-operative distributive associations and distinguishes them from early attempts in this direction, and from joint stock associations.

Joint stock associations divide profits by payment on capital, that is, *on shares*. Co-operative distributive associations divide profits *on purchases*, not on shares, and pay to shareholders a *fixed rate of interest* on the capital invested.

Applying to the scheme of co-operative distribution the spirit of the last clause of Mr. Holyoake's definition just quoted, we may define it as:—A union of many consumers for the purpose of securing in the purchase of commodities advantages impossible to be obtained by one, through an equitable division of the profits derived from their purchases.

Such co-operative unions are upon the continent of Europe termed "consumers' societies." As has been said by another, "they have succeeded in making 20s. of earning go as far as 22 or 23 in an ordinary shop. The true problem of co-operation lies deeper, that is, how to secure the original 20s. in workshops under their own management."

Leaving for the present this deeper problem we shall describe the manner in which the distributive societies of England have grown up, their mode of operation, and what they have accomplished. Afterward we shall glance briefly at the other phases of the co-operative movement.

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

At the beginning of the present century the condition of the common people attracted the attention of certain social philosophers who, seeing the misery that often existed among the working classes, endeavored to devise some scheme for the reconstruction of society upon more favorable conditions. Among these reformers Saint Simon and Fourier, in France, and Robert Owen, in England, each in his own way, hoped to re-create society upon an ideal basis by a sudden and radical change from existing conditions. It is now seen that it is only by gradual steps that society advances, and that numberless influences and the slow

progress of years are necessary to effect important social changes. Therefore it is not surprising that none of these schemes succeeded, although some of them were, in their day, exceedingly attractive.

The influence of Robert Owen upon the co-operative movement in England was immediate and important. He has indeed been credited with the origin of the term co-operation as applied to industry. "In no literature," says Holyoake, "before the active days of this social devisor, does any trace of this new industrial shibboleth, co-operation, appear."* "The principles of co-operation were first put together and clearly stated by Mr. Owen in his earliest writings."†

But by co-operation, Owen meant a communistic organization of society for the mutual benefit of all. Between 1820 and 1830 great enthusiasm was aroused in England in this direction, having its practical outcome in the establishment of communities upon the co-operative plan. The first newspaper organ devoted to the theories then in vogue was the *Economist*, in 1822, although Owen and others more or less inspired by him had previously published pamphlets unfolding their plans for social improvement. William Thompson, in 1827, produced a little work called "Labor Rewarded," in which he aimed to set forth a scheme for a more just distribution to labor of its share of product; and presented directions for the establishment of co-operative companies. Later the Combes and Robert Dale Owen among others, aided the movement with their pens.

In 1824 the London Co-operative Society was formed. In its rooms were held meetings for discussion, and it also undertook the sale of goods made by provincial societies. In 1826 the *Co-operative Magazine and Monthly Herald* was established, this being the second co-operative organ in England, and two years later the *Co-operator*, a four-paged penny paper, was published. The latter, however, failed in 1830. Meantime other periodicals and a number of other

* History of Co-operation, Vol. I., page 53.

† Co-operative Miscellany, No. 2, 1880.

societies were established for the discussion and advancement of co-operative views.

The first co-operative congress was held at Manchester in May, 1830. Fifty-six societies were represented by delegates. These societies comprised 3,000 members, who had by co-operative trading and weekly contributions acquired within fifteen months £6,000 capital.* Congresses continued to be held for several years.

There were said to be nearly 300 societies in Great Britain in 1830, their aggregate membership being about 20,000.

Most of the periodicals started before 1830 had ceased to exist by that year. In 1832 Owen began the publication of a new paper called the *Crisis*, and from time to time thereafter others appeared in the British provinces.

The early attempts at co-operation took various forms. It seemed as if those interested, intoxicated with the hope of a brighter world than that which they were unhappily familiar, were ready to accept any scheme, no matter how wild or ill-digested, that had in it the promise of improvement. The enthusiasm with which these schemes were embraced afforded in most instances a striking contrast to the failure which finally overtook them. But the discussion of the general subject in congresses and through the medium of the press widely disseminated co-operative views. Most of the enterprises suggested were based on the communistic plan. The central idea around which clustered the co-operative experiments projected by the leaders of the movement was in those days the re-casting of society upon the basis of a community of united interests. But, as Mr. Holyoake has pointed out, "these dreams were postponed on the part of many, and were regarded as separate objects by more, and not regarded at all by the majority of co-operators, who had formed stores and established numerous manufacturing societies for the mutual advantage of the members."†

Most of the early stores did not succeed. The reasons for

* History of Co-operation, Vol. 1, pages 150, 151.

† History of Co-operation, Vol. I., page 188.

their failure were various. The law did not afford co-operative enterprises adequate protection, and through its technicalities unprincipled men might easily embezzle the funds of the society and escape punishment. Non-adherence to the cash system was in many cases disastrous. But, besides these difficulties under which co-operative stores labored, the great obstacle to success was the defective plan upon which they were based. Most were joint stock concerns dividing profits among shareholders only, and no arrangement was provided for capitalizing profits upon the plan of allowing dividends to remain undrawn as interest-bearing deposits. This we shall hereafter see was remedied in the Rochdale scheme of co-operative distribution which has become so successful. By reference to official tables on the subject it will be noticed how few of the early stores still remaining divided profits on sales until after the year 1844 in which the Rochdale scheme was made public. Many early stores failed, also, because after the first enthusiasm was exhausted members had no sufficient motive to continue their work.

After the social reformers whom we have named — Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, — came Leroux, Cabet, Proudhon, and Greaves, and, finally, M. Louis Blanc, who, in 1840, published *L'organisation du Travail*, a work which gave a decided impetus to co-operative endeavor.

Blanc proposed to reorganize labor under government direction so as to regulate production and ultimately to prevent competition. In brief, he contemplated the establishment of social factories, under government patronage and control, upon a plan at first circumscribed and adapted to indefinite expansion. The regulations governing these social factories were to be made by legislative enactment and to have the force of law. All workmen of good character were to be eligible to admission to these factories, limited only to the number possible to be employed with a a given amount of capital. Salaries were to be equal.

Mutual interest in the success of the factories was to be secured by the mode of division of profits which were to be

apportioned in three parts, one to be distributed to all members equally; one set aside for support of the aged or incapacitated and to alleviate the effect of industrial crises; and the third part to be used for the extension of the industry, the idea being so to expand the business as to furnish employment to all who might desire to join.

Upon the scheme proposed "each social factory may be composed of different businesses grouped round some great industry, parts of the same whole, obeying the same laws, and sharing in the same advantages."

M. Blanc contemplated the admission of capitalists to these associations or factories upon the basis of a fixed interest on capital invested, but not to share in profits except as laborers.

With respect to M. Blanc's influence upon the growth of the co-operative idea, Mr. Thomas Hughes, after pointing out that his scheme is characterized by the French tendency of reliance upon government to do for the people what they despair of doing for themselves, very justly says:

Nevertheless it marks a great epoch in the history of social reform by the clearness with which it pointed out three principles ever since more or less distinctly felt to be the life blood of co-operative efforts: first, the looking to the association of workers carrying on their accustomed work in common as the true means of raising their social condition through the use of the profit arising from their work; second, the restricting the payment of capital to a fixed rate of interest, and giving the capitalists security for his capital in lieu of profit; third, the elimination of the ruinous effects of competition, and the substitution of a healthy emulation in its place, by the union of different establishments carrying on the same industry by common centers by means of which diverse industries may also be united. Thus, setting aside the arbitrary rule of an absolute equality of salaries, which experience has not justified where the attempt to act upon it has been tried, and which seems to err as much by sacrificing the individual to the body as the present inequality of payment errs in sacrificing the body to the individual — this *Organization du Travail* may still be regarded as the prolific egg out of which the ideas of co-operation sprang in France, and which has had no inconsiderable influence on the ideas of co-operators in England.

Our review has now brought us to the date of an important event in the history of co-operation in England. The experi-

ments in communistic co-operation had practically failed. A few stores, principally upon the joint stock plan, still remained, but there was no cohesive force binding them together. There was, however, considerable co-operative sentiment existing in the country, waiting a favorable moment to spring into activity.

Not entirely unfamiliar with the theory of co-operation were the weavers of Rochdale, 28 of whom, massing their meagre capital of £1 each, were to engage in a scheme of co-operative distribution upon a plan so practical and with an energy so determined as to carry the assurance of success. Under the name of "The Rochdale Pioneers," these weavers secured quarters in an old weavers' shop in Toad Lane, Rochdale, and with the limited stock of groceries purchasable with their united capital of £28, began business in 1844. The insignificant character of their enterprise provoked the ridicule of the public.

When the day and hour for commencing business arrived the little party assembled within to take part in the ceremony were abashed at the largeness of the crowd assembled to witness it. Some delay took place before any one could muster up courage to take down the shutters, and when at last the 'store' and its contents were exposed to public view, all Toad Lane was in a roar. Loud and long were the shouts of derision that rose from a host of 'doffers,' a species of street boy peculiar to the clothing districts, who, set on by persons who ought to have known better, stared through the windows or blocked up the doorway, evincing their characteristically precocious sense of the ridiculous by the nature of their comments on the modest display of the 'owd weavers' shop.*

But success, instant and unmistakable, overcame ridicule. Not long were these 28 weavers left unsupported in their effort to supply themselves with groceries free from the adulterations and imperfections found in those furnished at the ordinary shops, and, at the same time, divide among themselves the profits accruing from their sale. A scheme so practical, conferring benefits so great, at once attracted new members. The next year the association numbered 74, and the joint capital rose to £181. The whole story of their progress is most eloquently told by statistics, and we there-

*W. T. Thornton on Labour, page 376.

fore present it in that form, availing ourselves of the following table:*

DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATION.

YEAR.	No. of Members.	Funds.	Business done.	Profits.
		£	£	£
1844.....	28	28	—	—
1845.....	74	181	710	22
1846.....	80	252	1,146	80
1847.....	110	286	1,924	72
1848.....	140	397	2,276	117
1849.....	390	1,193	6,611	561
1850.....	600	2,299	13,179	880
1851.....	630	2,785	17,938	990
1852.....	680	3,471	16,852	1,206
1853.....	720	5,848	22,760	1,674
1854.....	900	7,172	33,364	1,763
1855.....	1,400	11,032	44,902	3,106
1856.....	1,600	12,920	63,197	3,921
1857.....	1,850	15,142	79,788	5,470
1858.....	1,950	18,160	71,680	6,284
1859.....	2,708	27,060	104,012	10,739
1860.....	3,450	37,710	152,063	15,906
1861.....	3,900	42,925	176,206	18,020
1862.....	3,501	38,465	141,074	17,564
1863.....	4,013	49,361	158,632	19,671
1864.....	4,747	62,105	174,937	22,717
1865.....	5,326	78,778	196,234	25,156
1866.....	6,246	99,989	249,123	31,931
1867.....	6,823	128,435	284,910	41,619

Not only did the business expand financially but its scope was broadened. The original stock in trade was confined to the leading staple groceries, such as flour, oatmeal, sugar, and butter. The following departments were afterward added: Linen and woollen drapery, butchering, shoe and clog making, tailoring, coal dealing, baking. Ten or more branch stores are now carried on in the town of Rochdale, and extensive premises owned by the association have taken the place of the old weavers' shop of 1844.

From the first, part of the profits were set aside for educational purposes, and an extensive library and liberally equipped reading room are now maintained.

* Reproduced from "On Labour," Thornton, page 377.

The following statement exhibits the condition of the association in 1834, and when contrasted with its humble origin is itself a striking justification of the principles upon which the business has been managed:

Members.

Number of members, December 31, 1884.....	11,161
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Liabilities.

Share capital, December 31, 1884.....	£329,470
Loan capital, December 31, 1884	£14,561
Reserve fund, December 31, 1884	£2,065

Assets.

Value of saleable stock, December 31, 1884	£28,593
Value of land and buildings and fixed stock, December 31, 1884	£53,412
Investments, December 31, 1884	£242,432

Trade and Profits.

Received for goods sold during 1884	£362,270
Total net profit made during 1884	£36,992
Average dividend paid per £	2s. 9½d.
Applied to educational purposes during 1884	£920
Applied to charitable purposes during 1884	£118
Subscription to Central Board	£16 0s. 10d.

The Rochdale store was not the first to engage in co-operative trade, as we have already shown, nor was it the first to divide profits on sales. But whether the time was more propitious or the character of its founders more favorable to success, it became, unlike its predecessors, true to its name, the pioneer of the distributive associations now numbered by hundreds in Great Britain. Unlike the joint stock companies, the cardinal principles of co-operative distribution were observed by them:— *All profits to be divided on purchases, and all purchasing members to be made shareholders with a fixed interest on the capital invested. The cash system to be strictly adhered to.*

The germ planted at Rochdale was not long in developing.

It was not, however, till the great revolutionary crisis of 1848-9 that any strong impulse was given to co-operation in England. * * * Co-operation at this time took a start (in the north of England) as note-

worthy, and more permanent in its results, than the famous Parisian movement, which after surviving the barricades, withered in the first year of the second empire.

The stores in Lancaster and Yorkshire rose rapidly from units to tens, from tens to hundreds. The need of some sort of federation began to be felt, and conferences of neighboring societies to be held in different localities to consider questions of organization and joint action. For, as the societies grew in number and importance, their trade began to extend beyond the supply of the simplest necessities of life, the state of the law was found to press very severely upon them. They were hampered at every turn, and found themselves going into action, as it were, in the great struggle for existence, not as men in proof armor, but as men in fetters.*

The remedy was at hand. Workingmen throughout England were seeking through legislation to obtain wider opportunities and the freedom of action that had been denied them. The years 1844, 1846 and 1847 witnessed the passage of important statutes affecting factory administration, the hours of labor, and the formation of friendly and trade societies, and, saw also, the repeal of the corn laws. The progress of the working classes was once more under discussion and their condition grew brighter day by day. And now Mr. Frederick Maurice, with others attracted by his energy and enthusiasm, came forward in aid of the co-operative movement. It was fortunate that when the need of favorable legislation was most pressing the influence of Maurice was enlisted. For he from his position as reader at Lincoln's Inn, was able to interest many young and ardent lawyers, members of his congregation, in the progress of the working classes, and to impart to them his own firm conviction that co-operation was to be an important element in that progress.

In 1850 a society for promoting workingmen's associations was formed, Mr. Maurice being at its head. Co-operation it declared to be "the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry." This society became an active force in behalf of the co-operative movement in the practical direction it had now taken. Attracting to

* Thomas Hughes. Lecture on the History and Objects of Co-operation (Co-operative Board Pamphlets), page 7.

itself many co-operators of the Owen school and numbering among its members, besides Maurice, such men as the late Canon Kingsley, J. M. Ludlow, and E. V. Neale,* its attention was immediately devoted to securing the needed reform in law so as properly to guard and foster co-operative societies.

The first act affording an adequate legal basis for such societies was passed in 1852, 15 Victoria, 31. The efforts put forth to secure this legislation drew together those engaged in co-operation throughout Great Britain. It is estimated that at the time of its passage about 140 co-operative stores were in existence. The society under Maurice's administration became a sort of working co-operative centre, and in its hall, July 26, 1852, was held a conference of delegates from the provincial societies, at which the new law was discussed, the establishment of a wholesale supply depot considered, the need of a newspaper organ debated, and other important matters brought forward.

In 1857, Mr. Holyoake published his "History of Co-operation in Rochdale," a work which was widely read, and thus exerted an important educational influence in behalf of co-operative progress.

In 1862 the number of societies in Great Britain was estimated at 450; their estimated membership being 90,000; their share and loan capital, £450,000; their annual sales, £2,350,000; and their profits, £166,000. In this year parliamentary returns were first made to the Registrar, and thereafter annual statistical statements were presented.

The Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1863 gave co-operative societies a corporate existence, and permitted one society to hold shares in another. This gave the requisite legal basis for the formation of co-operative wholesale societies, which are federative associations, their capital

* Now Secretary to the Central Co-operative Board. Mr. Ludlow is now Registrar of Friendly Societies. The members of this society were known as Christian Communists or Christian Socialists. In Parliament, Messrs. Walter Morrison, Thomas Hughes, and Messrs. Slaney, Henley, and others rendered material aid to the society in its efforts to secure legislation.

being in shares held by the societies composing the federation. Such an institution had long been needed to render the independence of the retail stores more complete, to allow them to disregard the jealousy of rival traders who exerted their influence against them with private wholesale dealers, to enable them to secure supplies of undoubted purity, and, while utilizing the surplus capital accumulating in their hands, to permit them to save to themselves the profit arising in the wholesale trade.

After much discussion the English Co-operative Wholesale was established in 1864, with a capital of £999, which was soon largely increased. Attempts at wholesale co-operative distribution had previously been made, but never upon the broad plan now adopted. Such attempts had failed. The scheme now devised was perfectly logical. It was in principle simply an extension of the plan upon which the retail business had been conducted. The relation of the retail societies to the wholesale is exactly analogous to the relation existing between individual members and the retail, and will be more fully explained hereafter. We are now dealing with the history rather than the economics of the movement. The Scottish wholesale was founded in 1868. The formation of these wholesale societies marks an epoch in the progress of co-operation, and established the commercial autonomy of the co-operative organization.

From time to time experiments in co-operative production were made, which, in accordance with our plan, we shall here disregard, presenting their salient points later, and for the present confine ourselves to co-operative distribution.

In 1869 a central co-operative board was formed and annual congresses composed of delegates from the societies represented in the board have since been held. The Central Board at first consisted of two sections, the London and the provincial, but was afterwards organized as a Union, composed of representatives from six districts or sections, and sustained by annual subscriptions from the societies. This union, in conjunction with the congresses, exerts a strong cohesive force upon the societies, and also becomes an efficient agent in propagandism. To operate especially in the

latter direction the Southern Co-operative Guild, having its headquarters in London, was formed in 1877.

The unity of action secured among co-operators by the organization described proved of the utmost value. The annual discussion in the congresses of matters of peculiar interest, and the union of delegates from sections widely separated but engaged in the same work and actuated by similar motives, gave the movement a vitality it previously lacked and materially aided its growth and prosperity.

Since 1860 a newspaper organ of co-operation has been maintained. This is now owned by the societies.

Before closing this historical review it is proper to notice a distinct branch of co-operative distribution in Great Britain — that conducted by societies on the so-called civil service plan. There are several of these, the largest in point of sales being the Civil Service Supply Association, and the Army and Navy Society, of London, the latter differing only in having been founded by officers of the army and navy instead of by employees in the civil service.

In reality these societies are consumers' joint stock distributing agencies, dividing no profits on purchases, and selling, not at the ruling market rates, as do the stores on the Rochdale plan, but at the lowest prices consistent with the payment of expenses and a fair interest on capital invested.

The first association on this plan was formed in 1866, and the movement, originated by government employés for their mutual benefit, has made rapid progress.

The trade of these associations is not confined to shareholders, although profits are divided only on shares in the form of interest on capital invested, nor do they attract the trade of workingmen. They conduct a very extensive business at a low expenditure for expenses, and are of great benefit to the classes supporting them. The volume of their trade has been estimated to bear a similar relation to their members' income that the trade of the working class societies bears to their members' income. Co-operation in London is confined to these societies, except in a few outlying districts inhabited by workingmen.

The growth of the civil service societies was stimulated by the success of the stores established on the Rochdale plan, and while they have not adopted some of its vital features, and have confined themselves to cheap buying and selling on the joint stock rather than the co-operative basis, they still have interests in common with the workingmen co-operators, and three of these societies have joined the Co-operative Union. The essential difference between them and the great body of workingmen's societies will appear in our subsequent analysis. As part of the general movement their work can not be overlooked in this review.

THE FOUNDATION IN LAW.

The legal basis of co-operation in the United Kingdom rests at present upon the following statutes now in force: The Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1876; the Customs and Inland Revenue Act of 1880; and the Provident Nominations and Small Intestacies Act of 1883.

These Acts contain provisions for the formation of co-operative societies; set forth the rights of such societies, and the rights of their members; and prescribe the duties to be performed by the societies.

It is required that in the formation of a society application shall be made to the registrar appointed by the government. A separate registrar is provided for England and Wales, for Scotland, and for Ireland. Blank forms of application are furnished, specifying twenty distinct matters relating to the conduct of the society's business, which must be incorporated in its rules, two copies of which signed by seven persons and the secretary, who are also to sign the application, must be forwarded with the latter to the registrar.

After registration the society becomes a body corporate, may sue and be sued, and may hold and deal with any kind of property, including shares in other societies and companies and real estate to any amount.

The rules of a society bind its members, notwithstanding they may have signed no assent to them. The rules may be amended in the manner originally provided for such

amendment, but any amended rule must be registered. Application for such registration must be made upon a form supplied by the registrar, and a fee of 10s. is charged.

A society may sue its members. It may make a contract, and a contract made by it is binding as if similarly made by an individual, and when made under its seal, or by a writing executed by a person authorized to sign in its behalf, or verbally by one duly authorized to speak for the society.

Any or all of its shares may be made withdrawable. It may carry on any trade, except banking, including trade in real estate. It may apply its profits in accordance with the provisions contained in its rules.

It may, if the rules so provide, receive money on loan from any one, to an amount limited by its rules, or it may accept deposits, limited to 5s. in any payment, and to £20 for any depositor, payable at not less than two days' notice.

It may also, if its share capital is not withdrawable, carry on the business of banking.

It may make loans to members on real or personal security. It may also invest on the security of other societies or companies, save those only where liability is unlimited.

It is exempt from the payment of income tax on profits, provided the number of its shares is not limited by its rules or practice.

It may, by procedure duly set forth in the act, unite with any other society, or may acquire the business of any such society, or may change its organization into that of a company.

It may provide the mode of settlement of disputes that may arise between itself and its officers or members.

A society may dissolve itself by an instrument signed by three-fourths of its members, or dissolution may be effected by a three-fourths vote at a general meeting called for the special purpose. If such dissolution be voluntary the resolution must be confirmed at a second meeting, but if on account of debts, the action of the first meeting is sufficient.

If the society is in dissolution on account of debts, hostile proceedings may be stayed.

Minors, if not under the age of sixteen, may become members, and may act as if of full age, but can not hold office.

Members are not liable individually for the society's debts, and their liability in any event is limited to the amount remaining unpaid on shares legally theirs, or which they have agreed to take. They are not liable for debts contracted subsequent to transfer or withdrawal of the shares held by them; nor for debts existing at date of such transfer or withdrawal, unless the other assets are insufficient to meet the liabilities of the society.

The number of shares permitted to be held by an individual or company may be fixed by the rules, but must not exceed in the total the nominal value of £200. The number of shares permitted to be held by a society is unlimited, and likewise there is no limit to the amount which may be received as a loan from an individual or company, except the limit, if any, fixed by the rules.

A member may by instrument duly recorded nominate the persons who shall take his investment in the society at his death, provided at the latter event this investment in loans, deposits or shares does not exceed £100, and a nomination may be varied or revoked. If no nomination subsists in the event of a member dying intestate, the committee of management becomes administrator of the fund.

Whenever upon the death of a member his investment exceeds £80 the Commissioners of Inland Revenue are to be notified.

Upon application to the registrar members may secure an official investigation into the affairs of the society.

Every society must have a registered office with its name conspicuously displayed outside. A change of location must be at once reported to the registrar. It must have an engraved seal bearing its name, must have its accounts audited at least annually, and a copy of its last balance sheet and auditor's report must be constantly displayed in its office. Annual returns of its affairs must be made to the

registrar, and a copy furnished, when applied for, to all interested parties.

Its books may at any time be inspected by any one interested in its funds.

Special returns are required if the society conducts a banking business.

Copies of its rules must be supplied by every society to any applicant, at a price not more than one shilling.

The duties set forth in the act must be performed by the society under penalties. These penalties affect the society and its officers and vary from £1 to £50, and are in some cases cumulative during the time neglect continues.

THE RETAIL STORE.

The unit of the co-operative organization is the retail store. In starting such a store in a new district in Great Britain, it is considered desirable to make use of the advice of the Co-operative Union. At the present day its work has become so systemized through experience that its help is of great benefit to the unpracticed co-operator. It has prepared model rules for the administration of co-operative societies which are in harmony with the requirements of the English law, and it is ready at all times to aid every new enterprise by showing those interested every thing essential to the successful establishment of a store.

In the first place, after a few persons have become impressed with the advantages of co-operative distribution, and have determined to found a society, a meeting is usually held to awaken public interest and to secure members. Speakers may be obtained from the Co-operative Union or from the Southern Co-operative Guild. The advantages of co-operation are explained and every effort made to stimulate interest in the movement. An informal organization is effected, collectors appointed, and the work of securing the required capital begins.

The co-operative scheme rests on the basis of cash payments. The outfit and goods are bought for cash and no sales on credit ought to be allowed. Considerable capital, therefore, must be paid in before the store opens. The

amount to be raised and the number of members to be secured before business is begun will depend on circumstances. It is considered that 100 members, with £130 capital, and a guaranteed trade of from £40 to £50 per week are required to ensure expenses and a dividend if the store is to be constantly open. But the beginning may be much more humble. The store may be open only at certain times, for instance, evenings, or on particular days in the week, thus reducing the expense of a storekeeper by employing only a portion of his time. A member who is otherwise employed may, if capable, serve as storekeeper in the evening, or a member's wife may be selected for the position.

It is deemed essential that, however established, the store should depend for its prosperity on the support of actual members, and not rely upon loans or gifts from those who may have a sentimental interest in the scheme. The trade of some members may at first be limited. If in debt to private traders they can not at once transfer their entire patronage to the co-operative store. Slowly they may by economy extinguish their debt and increase their trade. An independent beginning of the store, no matter how humble, and a gradual expansion as business increases is always advised.

The number of shares held by each member may be not less than one nor more than 200, the value of each share being £1. A fixed rate of interest is paid on capital invested, usually five per cent., and members are encouraged to leave undrawn the dividends accruing on their purchases, such undrawn dividends being added to the capital, thus permitting an increase of the business. The store in this way performs the functions of a savings bank of deposit, thrift on the part of members is stimulated, and while on one hand the evils of debt are prevented by adherence to the rule of cash payments, on the other members form the habit of saving, by the inducement offered to allow their dividends to go on deposit at a fair rate of interest.

To determine the nature of the share capital, that is, whenever it shall be withdrawable or only transferable, opens an

important question which the new society must meet and settle. Its bearings are considered in the following:

In the general rules three cases are provided for:— first, where all the shares are withdrawable; second, where they are all to be transferable; third, where some are to be transferable and some withdrawable. In the early days of co-operative societies the law compelled them to make their shares withdrawable. The early societies were accordingly all formed on this principle; and the large majority of those formed after the alteration of the law, when shares were allowed to be made transferable in the case of joint stock companies, followed the example of their predecessors. Cases, however, have occurred where rumors have been spread as to the solvency of such a society; a run has taken place upon their funds, the more selfish members seeking to secure themselves from sharing in any loss, careless of the result to their members; and the society, having almost all its capital locked up in buildings, fixed stock and trading stock, has had to stop payment, though perfectly solvent, so as to gain time to realize its assets. Some of the older societies, hampered by the fact of their members having been accustomed to withdrawable shares, have met this difficulty by altering their rules, and making a portion of their capital transferable.

It is, however, generally considered among co-operators that in the case of new societies it is much the best plan to make all the capital transferable. To meet the case of members leaving the locality, or wishing to draw out a part of their capital in order to provide for any given expenditure, as in the case of illness, you should have a rule enabling the committee to purchase the shares of members at a price not exceeding their par value, *i. e.*, the sum paid up on them. In this manner the capital becomes in fact withdrawable, except in the one case of a panic as to the financial position of the society, in which case it is only fair that if there be any ground for alarm, all the members should share equally in any loss sustained. You may also very well have a rule empowering the committee to take money on loan from members, after they have contributed some definite amount to the share capital, to be withdrawable on demand, or after so many days' notice according to the amount withdrawn.*

Many co-operators think that the matter is best settled by making every member have one non-withdrawal transferable share of £1, and let his remaining shares, which he acquires through undrawn dividends or by other investments, be withdrawable.†

*Walter Morrison, Esq. Village Co-operative Stores (Co-operative Board Pamphlets).

† Workingmen Co-operators, page 36.

Not all the money subscribed for shares need be paid up at once. It is usual to make payments at the rate of 3d per week. In some societies subscribers do not acquire full membership until an entire share or even several shares have been paid for in full. In general, however, after a shilling has been paid in, members are allowed to have full privileges. Concerning this matter, Mr. Morrison, in the pamphlet already quoted, says :

Urge your members to pay up their shares in full if they can, in order to simplify your accounts. It may be useful to this end to provide a special rule that no interest will be allowed on any sum under £1,* so as to induce a member who may have £1 18s. invested to pay up the balance of two shillings at once. You should also adopt the provision in the general rules that no individual on purchases shall be paid to any member until he has some definite sum to be fixed by a special rule, invested in the share capital; all such dividends being credited to him until this amount is made up. You will require an average capital of £10 per member. If you can rely upon the richer members contributing more than this sum, you might fix the minimum amount which each member must invest at perhaps £5.

Before beginning business the society must be registered at the government registration office for industrial and provident societies. No registration fee is charged.

The selection of the executive committee is a matter of scarcely less importance than that of raising the required capital. This committee appoints the storekeeper and other employes, controls the purchase of the stock in trade, overlooks the finances of the society, and is, in fact, entrusted with the entire supervision of its affairs. The nature of these duties suggests the care that ought to be taken in selecting the men who are to perform them. The success of the society will largely depend on the efficiency and honesty of the committee. It may consist of from seven to twelve members who are usually elected at quarterly meetings, their terms of office being so arranged that part of the committee goes out of office at each meeting, or in some cases semi-annually or annually, although, as respects this, many societies have no rule. Members of the committee

* Or, more explicitly, on any fractional part of a £, thus supplying a motive to cause subscribed capital to be fully paid up.

may or may not be eligible to re-election immediately upon the expiration of their terms of office. Sometimes it is provided that a member after having served a certain fixed time must retire for an interval before becoming eligible again. Generally speaking, experience in the duties of the office should count in favor of the retention of a committee-man, and sweeping changes ought to be discountenanced.

The president of the society is sometimes elected by the members and sometimes by the committee, the secretary and treasurer by the latter. Many societies dispense with a treasurer. Members of the committee are usually paid a small fee for attendance at the weekly business meetings.

It is most desirable, in fixing the scale of payment, to avoid the likelihood of men trying to get on to the committee *simply for the sake of the fees*. This is a danger to be carefully watched in the co-operative movement. The work of its managing men (not its paid officials, to whom it is a profession) should be that of volunteers, who are repaid in moderation of their expense or trouble, and who will withdraw or resign their position at once, without a moment's hesitation on the score of money, if that is being done of which they so strongly disapprove that they believe this to be the right course. Otherwise they are not independent, and may tend to get into the hands of men more powerful than themselves, who are well aware that they will not resign if they can possibly help it. From 6d. to 2s. a time for weekly committee meetings, and nothing for sub-committees or adjourned meetings, is a common rule in a moderate sized society.*

The secretary and the treasurer, if there be one, furnish security to the society for the proper performance of their duties, either by deposit or bond, and are usually paid a salary proportioned to the labor devolving upon them.

The first duties which demand the attention of the committee will be the selection of premises in which to conduct the business of the store and the engagement of a store-keeper. As to premises, conditions of eligibility, rental, etc., will effect their decision. The aim, of course, is to make the store as convenient as possible to the majority of members. If the beginning is to be quite humble the dwelling house of a member may be selected as headquarters, and more extensive, and consequently more expensive

* Workingmen Co-operations, page 49.

quarters taken as business expands and the success of the movement becomes assured.

The storekeeper should be a man of unquestioned integrity and, if possible, not only a believer in co-operation, but of some experience in co-operative trading. Now that co-operative stores have multiplied a man possessing the latter qualification is not hard to find if the committee exercises proper care, and especially if the aid of the Co-operative Union is sought. It is considered undesirable rather than otherwise that a storekeeper has been trained as a private trader. The average salary of a storekeeper in English towns is about 25s. or 30s. a week, besides rooms and gas; in country villages, 18s. to 25s. suffices.

Premises and fittings having been secured and a storekeeper engaged, a stock of goods must be purchased, and here again, as well as in the future purchase of supplies, the judgment of the committee will be put to the test. The maxim that goods well bought are half sold, applies to co-operative as well as ordinary stores. It is also well understood, and so generally practiced as to become the rule, that no adulterated or inferior goods are to be allowed upon co-operative counters. No credit, it will be remembered, is to be given purchasers, and stock in trade is to be bought for cash upon the best terms.

A store in the beginning usually confines itself to the staple articles of groceries, and increases the variety of its stock as the demand of its patrons warrants. Thus to ordinary groceries, hardware, tinware, crockery, etc., may first be added. Ready made boots and shoes, dry goods of the staple sorts, clothing, hats, caps, etc., are eventually supplied. As to the latter articles greater care and experience in buying are, of course, demanded, so as to avoid loss by depreciation owing to change of fashion.

In some instances a department for making boots to measure and others for custom tailoring and millinery have been successfully incorporated.

A bakery forms a favorite and generally profitable branch of English co-operative stores. Many fully equipped co-operative bakeries exist as departments of these stores and

do a large business. Butchering, also, has been tried, and with some profit, but, as this requires greater experience and trained judgment on the part of the buyers, and as greater difficulty has been found in procuring efficient department superintendents in this line than in the others mentioned, it has not as yet been found equally successful.

The sale of coal, on the contrary, is common and profitable.

As to the advisability of conducting several departments under one management, the following is to the point, and the statistics give a glimpse at what has been accomplished :

Speaking generally, make one department a success at a time, keep the accounts of the departments separately, and publish the profits of each department in the balance sheet, would be the advice of many co-operators. The number of the chief departments carried on by societies is as follows : 1185 societies do business in groceries and provisions; 772 in drapery; 715 in boots and shoes; 333 in coal; 211 in butchery; 188 in baking; 185 in furnishing; 187 in hardware; 76 in tailoring. The amount of stocks should usually not exceed the amount of sales for three or four weeks in groceries; for ten to fourteen days in provisions; for one month in bakery; for three or four days in butchery; for ten to thirteen weeks in drapery, boots and shoes, and furnishing.*

In sales the ordinary prices of the locality are charged, no attempt being made to undersell private traders. It is not in reduced prices but in division of profits that the purchaser reaps his reward.

As dividends are to be declared on purchases, arrangements must be made for registering the latter and enabling each customer to prove quickly the amount of his purchases in order to collect his share of profits. This is accomplished quite simply by giving each customer a check or token either of metal or paper representing the amount of his purchase. These are retained and presented at the end of the quarter to secure payment of the dividend. Members are from time to time during the quarter required to exchange tokens of small nominal value for those of higher denominations, in order to reduce the number of tokens of

* Workingmen Co-operators, page 68.

small denomination required in circulation and to simplify matters generally.

In the use of these tokens fraud may occur, as, for instance, employés have been known to purloin them and afterward secure their presentation through an accomplice for exchange. On the other hand, purchasers have held them back for presentation during a quarter subsequent to that in which they were issued, when the dividend might be larger, thus unfairly sharing in a larger division of profits than was justly their right, besides disarranging the accounts of the society.

The paper checks may be so made as to guard against the latter evil by changing the color in each quarter, but the paper checks may have their nominal value increased by fraudulent alteration of the amounts borne upon them.

Great care is needed to insure against corrupt use of the checks, and the ideal check system has yet to be devised.

Various methods are employed to check the operations of the manager and to discover the amount of cash passing through his hands. The system of dividend tokens just described affords a partial check, but, for the reasons stated, fraudulent use of the tokens may render this sort of checking nugatory, and, if relied on, cause a perfectly honest manager to be unjustly suspected. Among other plans one is "giving the customer a ticket, who takes it to a boy, who gives metal checks in exchange and registers each shopman's sales." This is of course applicable to the larger stores only. No absolute check upon the manager's operations has yet been devised. The best safeguard is the watchfulness of the committee. A dishonest manager cannot long retain his place if the duty of the committee is well performed.

The matters of detail to which we have alluded having been attended to, the store is now ready to open its doors for trade. All, whether members of the society or not, are welcomed, and non-members are permitted to share in the profits, but not to the same extent as members, it being usual to allow them but one-half the regular dividend. It is always desirable to induce non-members to join the society, and some-

times a full dividend is given them, one-half being paid in cash on demand, and the balance credited to a share account in their name, thus in time creating a deposit sufficient in amount to create them full members.

The business of the society, now that the store is in active operation, will depend upon the fidelity with which members patronize it, refusing, as they should, to be drawn away by the insidious solicitations of private tradesmen, who frequently attempt to undermine co-operative stores by cutting prices, offering liberal credit, running special lines of goods at cost prices, and by other devices contrived to lure co-operative customers into their shops.

These attempts are likely to be more effective in the infancy of the co-operative store than later, for the participation in profits soon teaches the thoughtful patron of co-operation that his position as a partner is of more benefit to him in the end than any temporary gain which he may appear for the moment to reap by purchasing at under-rates elsewhere.

But if the store is to be thoroughly prosperous each member must do more than merely give to it his trade. He must take a deep interest in its affairs, must exercise a watchful supervision over its administration, attend the business meetings, participate in the election of officers, carefully study the financial reports, or balance-sheets, so-called, issued quarterly,* and teach himself to criticise intelligently the policy pursued by the committee who are his servants in immediate control of the enterprise.

At the business meetings all members have equal voting power, so that the society in its organization is thoroughly democratic. Women, too, are usually eligible to membership on the same terms as men, and in some cases have been given places upon committees.

Besides the quarterly business meetings it is usual to hold monthly meetings at which it is customary to read the minutes of the meetings held weekly by the committee, and discussion is permitted thereon. Social gatherings of the members are also held annually, or even more frequently,

* Or semi-annually if dividends are thus declared.

as a means of welding together more firmly the interests of all who are connected with the movement.

Account of stock is to be taken quarterly or half-yearly, and profits divided, and this should be carefully and honestly done, with no attempt at over-valuation or desire to increase the dividends beyond the percentage fairly earned. Accurate bookkeeping is essential to the pecuniary welfare of the society, and a "Manual of Bookkeeping," giving full advice upon this head, has been published by the Co-operative Union.

The Union has also published a "Manual of Auditing." Great responsibility rests upon the auditors, who are to make a complete examination of the society's affairs and who are to assure themselves that the balance sheet is correct, and to vouch for it by their signatures. They ought to be men familiar with accounts and, if possible, of some financial experience.

They may be of such number as the society may direct, usually two. Provision is made for the appointment of a public auditor in lieu of auditors elected by the society. No employee of the society is eligible to the office of auditor. Auditors are paid such remuneration as may be voted to them at ordinary business meetings.

Any member or person in interest has an individual right of inspection of the accounts of the society under proper regulations, but is not permitted, without special authorization, to inspect the loan or deposit account of any other member without the latter's written consent.

In certain contingencies it is provided that the affairs of the society shall be examined and reported upon by inspectors appointed by the government registrar. The government requires annual returns to be made from every society, containing a general statement of its receipts, expenditures, funds and effects.

The model rules provide for the following allotment of profits: (1) Interest on loans, deposits and preferred shares, if any; (2) Reduction of the value of fixed stock and plant at such a rate as the society may direct (subject to change by the society at the annual rate of ten per cent. on fixtures,

and of two and one-half per cent. on buildings); (3) Reduction of expenses, if any, incurred in forming the society; (4) Dividend on share capital; (5) Reserve fund; (6) Educational fund; (7) Congress fund; (8) Social fund; (9) Dividend on purchases and bonus to employees.

The second item in the foregoing list relates to the amount written off at each stock-taking to allow for the depreciation in value of fixtures and buildings owing to wear and tear. There is a temptation to neglect this as any amount so charged decreases the amount of net profits, and consequently reduces the dividend. But prudent management requires this depreciation to be conscientiously made in order that the assets of the society may not be found over-rated if a financial panic should overtake it.

The third item is temporary only and confined to the early years of the society. The fifth item provides for the establishment of a reserved fund, the possession of which adds to the financial stability of the society. Besides the allotment to such a fund of a portion of the profits, usually ten per cent. all fines are carried to it. The fund is applicable by resolution of the society to the equalization of dividends, to meet contingencies affecting the business of the society, or to any other purpose to which the general meetings may from time to time direct. The income from the fund is used to increase dividends in the same manner as other income of the society.

The application of a portion of the profits to educational, social, and benevolent purposes, contemplated by the sixth and eighth items, is always considered to be in harmony with the underlying principles of co-operation. Many societies apply two and one-half per cent. of the profit to educational purposes such as technical classes, maintenance of library and reading room, etc. Others neglect the matter altogether, although it is always advised by leading co-operators.

The congress fund mentioned in the seventh item provides for paying the annual subscription to the Co-operative Union or to any official organ recognized by the congress.

The practice of allowing employees to share in profits by

means of a bonus, provided for in the second clause of the ninth item, would seem to be clearly in accord with co-operative principles, but, although some societies practice it, it is not generally popular. When given it may be said to be awarded on the ground that if employes share in this way they will take a livelier interest in the society's welfare, and thus the bonus will be money well expended in that it will in reality tend to increase profits. Except in theory, the practice does not seem to rest upon the abstract justice involved in the principle of awarding to all who co-operate in producing a given result a share in the benefits obtained. This principle would seem to demand the admission of all employes to an interest in the business but it appears to be self-interest purely that induces most of the societies that have adopted this plan to pursue it. At present, profit sharing with employes, although nearly always advocated as a matter of theory, is not extensively practiced among co-operative trading societies.

The balance sheet issued to members forms a complete report of the financial status of the society. Members rely upon it for their knowledge of the society's affairs. It should show clearly, and in as simple a form as possible, so as to be readily understood by the average man, the cash account of the society, giving its cash assets and receipts upon one side, and its liabilities and cash expenditures upon the other. The trade account should also be shown, giving upon the debit side the value of stock at beginning of quarter, amount of subsequent purchases, with expenses and outstanding liabilities, if any, for purchases, and on the credit side the amount of sales liabilities at beginning of quarter, value of stock at end of quarter, etc., the balance of the account showing the net profit. The expense account should be shown in detail, and a concise summary of the capital account should appear, giving the assets and liabilities in detail, followed by a detailed statement of the disposal of profits. The balance sheet ought to be published several days before the grand meeting, so as to give members an opportunity to study it and compare it with former issues,

that they may be able to criticise it, if need be, and to question it intelligently at the meeting.

We have now given such a description of a retail distributive society as will, we believe, enable the reader to understand how such a society is formed and carried on. Besides the points we have mentioned the model rules contain provisions for settling by arbitration disputes arising between a member or any interested person and the society or an officer thereof; for expelling any member who may be guilty of conduct detrimental to the society and for the payment to such a member of the sums paid in on shares held by him; and the necessary provisions for conduct of business, transfer of stock, change of name of society, etc.

We now present the following summary of essential points and causes of success and failure, for which we are indebted to the manual entitled "Workingmen Co-operators." We find them nowhere else so succinctly stated:

Essential Points. (a) The store is open to all; (b) charges ordinary market prices; (c) receives ready money only, and gives no credit; (d) gives dividend in proportion to purchases; (e) every member must have a share or shares, and receives good interest on them; (f) all are equal in voting power, whether they have few or many shares; (g) the store sells genuine articles, which are what they profess to be; (h) the store has an honest manager and an active committee; (i) the society insists on an efficient and intelligent audit and stock-taking.

Causes of Success. (1) A clear understanding and performance of the duties of an officer, an employe, and a member; (2) competent and painstaking officers; (3) competent and trustworthy employes; (4) proper security for the honesty and efficiency of the principal employes; (5) amicable and earnest working together; (6) promptitude and punctuality in business; (7) impartiality, civility, and pleasant manners in the members and in the staff; (8) generous treatment of the employes; (9) judicious purchasing and careful regulation of the stocks; (10) ready money purchases and ready money sales; (11) carefully regulated expenses; (12) judicious investment of all surplus capital; (13) ample

depreciation of property; (14) ample reserve funds; (15) good bookkeeping and auditing; (16) officers giving full and free explanations to the members' meetings; (17) members having full confidence in the officers.

Causes of Failure. (1) Allowing the storekeeper to do as he likes; (2) allowing credit to purchasers; (3) bad bookkeeping and auditing; (4) bad rules; (5) carrying repairs and renewals to property account instead of expenses account; (6) competing with all the 'cutting' shops; (7) expenses too great for the business; (8) employment of incompetent persons; (9) dishonesty; (10) injudicious purchasing; (11) injudicious and frequent changes of policy; (12) members purchasing away from the store; (13) not taking ample security from persons in a position to misapply the society's effects; (14) permitting the manager to buy away from the wholesale societies; (15) inefficient officers; (16) members being unreasonable and quarrelsome; (17) purchasing goods on credit; (18) overbuilding; (19) starting branches or new departments before society is strong enough to bear the burden; (20) waste behind the counter from bad stock keeping or careless weighing.

The success and multiplication of retail stores suggested the propriety of establishing a central purchasing agency or wholesale depot. The benefits which it was expected would be derived from such an institution, and which have been largely realized, were, among others, the following:

Stores will be enabled, through the agency, to purchase more economically than heretofore, by reaching the best markets.

Small stores and new stores are at once put in good position, by being placed directly (through the agency) in the best markets, thus enabling them to sell as cheap as any first-class shopkeeper.

As all stores will have the benefit of the best markets by means of the agency, it follows that dividends paid by stores must be more equal than heretofore, and by the same means, dividends will be considered augmented.

Stores, especially large ones, will be able to carry on their businesses with less capital. Large stores will not, as now, be necessitated, in order to reach the minimum prices of the market, to purchase goods they do not require for the immediate supply of their members.

Stores will be able to command the services of a good buyer, and will

thus save a large amount of labor and expense, by one purchaser buying for some one hundred and fifty stores, while the great amount of blundering in purchasing at the commencement of a co-operative store will be obviated.*

In our historical review we have mentioned the unsuccessful experiments which preceded the establishment of the English Co-operative Wholesale in 1864. It is not necessary to elaborate these experiments. They failed, partly because the co-operative movement had not become sufficiently strong to sustain such an institution, and partly on account of defective business principles embodied in their administration. The great success of the existing English wholesale and of the Scottish wholesale, established at a later date, is sufficient to commend the plan upon which they are organized to those desiring to found a similar enterprise elsewhere, and we therefore give a detailed description of its features.

In its organization the English wholesale is a federation to which none but co-operative societies are admitted. Such an organization presupposes the existence of retail associations for whose benefit the wholesale society is formed. At first each retail society in joining the wholesale subscribed capital in the proportion of one share to each of its members, the value of each share being 5s., the same being transferable, one shilling to be paid up on each share at time of subscription and interest and dividends to remain undrawn until balance of capital subscribed is paid up.

In 1871 the value of shares was changed to £5, and the number of 5s. shares decreased accordingly. Societies were now required to take up one share to each twenty members, and in the following year this provision was changed to one share to ten members.

It was at first proposed to sell goods at cost, with a small commission added to cover expenses. This was soon abandoned as impracticable, and a plan identical with that adopted in the retail stores was substituted, goods being sold at a profit, and all net profits divided among purchasers.

* Co-operative Annual, 1885; page 70.

in proportion to purchases. As in most of the retail stores, non-shareholding purchasers are allowed one-half the dividend given to shareholders.

Business was begun in 1864 at Manchester, where the central offices are now located. The growth of business led to the establishment of main selling branches at Newcastle, in 1871, and at London in 1874, and sub-branches at Leeds in 1882, and at Bristol in 1884.

Buying branches, also, have been established at Tipperary, Killmallock, Limerick, Armaugh, Waterford, Tralee, and Cork, in Ireland, for the purchase of Irish butter, an important staple, of which the wholesale society is the largest purchaser. A purchasing branch, which is also a forwarding depot, is maintained at Liverpool, a buying agency for American produce at New York, N. Y., and purchasing agencies at Calais, Rouen, Copenhagen, Hamburg, and a special agency for the purchase of tea and coffee at London.

The society also conducts a shipping business, which owes its origin to its extensive importations of foreign produce, much of which it was desirable to obtain directly from the producers and to secure its careful packing and prompt despatch. Four steamers are now owned by the society, running regularly between Garstow and Rouen, Goole and Calais, and Goole and Hamburg.

The society also sustains a banking department on the usual plan of such institutions.

Besides dealing largely in groceries and provisions the society manufactures biscuits, sweets, dry and soft soap, and boots and shoes; and supplies drapery, hardware, carpets, crockery, fancy goods and general furnishings. It is the selling agency of several co-operative productive societies manufacturing dry goods, dress goods, ready-made and ordered clothing, miscellaneous textiles, furniture, watches, machinery, etc.

Just as the retail stores are administered by a committee chosen by members, so the wholesale, conducting the widely diversified business that we have outlined, is governed by a committee elected by ballot by delegates from the societies

composing its membership, each society being entitled to one delegate to every 500 members or fractional part thereof, every delegate having one vote.

The manner of conducting the wholesale business is analogous to that of the retail. The general committee at Manchester has 16 members. The London and Newcastle branches are conducted by branch committees of 8 members each, responsible to the general committee, and in the deliberations of the latter represented by one delegate from each branch. As to stock-taking, which is done quarterly, auditing, etc., the description which we have given of the retail stores applies equally to the wholesale. Four auditors are employed who are elected by the shareholders, and paid an annual salary of £40 each, besides the allowance of second-class railway fares. Full quarterly balance sheets are published. A strong reserve fund is maintained. The value of the property is written down, or depreciated at each stock-taking, at the following rates: land, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; buildings, at 5 per cent.; fixed stock, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; all depreciations being taken upon the original cost. All shares are transferable without charge, and the society has a lien on all shares.

When societies desire to open an account with the whole, sale they are required to furnish a copy of their last balance sheet and registered rules. If a balance sheet has not been issued they are directed to state the number of their members, amount of paid-up share capital, whether credit is allowed, and, if so, to what extent, and the amount of business done or probable amount which will be done by them. If not registered at time of application but in process of being so, cash is required with each order. After registration cash must be forwarded with the first order, and on subsequent orders payment must be made within seven days from date of invoice. An application for shares from any society or company must be made by resolution of some general or committee meeting of such society or company, contained in writing and attested by the signatures of the secretary and three members. The number of shares to be taken by each society, as before stated, must be not less than one to every ten members, and this number must be increased

annually as the number of members increases. The liability of each shareholding society is limited to the amount of its shares. Share capital receives interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum.

The administration of the Scottish wholesale is substantially the same as that of the English wholesale, except that shares therein may only be transferred with the consent of the committee and two-thirds majority of a special meeting of shareholders, and that employes share in dividends in proportion to wages at double the rate per pound that is allowed on members' purchases. Shareholders have one vote each, and one additional vote to each £500 purchases. Shares are 10s. each, one shilling to be paid in on application. Both the English and Scottish wholesale societies are authorized to carry on any business.

Although the co-operative wholesale society is a federation composed of the retail associations, its capital being evolved from shares taken up by the latter, yet a comparatively small part of the supplies of the retail stores are purchased by them from the wholesale. The table shows that during 1883 the purchases from the wholesale society were but 25.5 per cent. of the total sales made by the retails. That is to say, although the fundamental principle upon which co-operative distribution rests is mutual trade in such manner that profits may be saved and equitably divided among the traders, yet when the associations themselves become buyers they have not adhered to this principle so far as to confine their purchases to the wholesale society founded by themselves for the express purpose of carrying out more completely the fundamental co-operative idea. The English and Scottish wholesales at present supply only about one-third of the goods required by the retail stores.

Undoubtedly a certain percentage of the balance of purchases made by the retails is made from other co-operative sources besides the wholesales, such, for instance, as co-operative corn (flour) mills in their immediate neighborhood, of which there are a number in England, but after this is conceded it must still be true that a large part of their purchases is made from private traders.

The reasons for this apparent neglect of what would seem to be the legitimate source of supply for the retail associations are no doubt various, and do not plainly appear. That the success which has attended the wholesales has abundantly justified their establishment is uncontested, and it must be admitted that the quality of the supplies furnished by them, like that of all supplies distributed upon the co-operative plan, is above criticism. It is, therefore, a little strange that no greater proportion of the wholesale trade of the stores falls into their hands. Especially is it strange, because this trade is altogether controlled by the leading co-operators of the kingdom, in that it rests entirely with the committees of the retail associations, who contend that co-operation rests upon a principle of mutual help as well as mutual pecuniary profit. If these representative bodies are, as may be supposed, imbued with the ideal upon which the movement rests, ought it not to be expected that in practice this ideal would be adhered to more closely?

The disposition to look elsewhere than to the wholesales for the purchase of supplies has, now that a considerable amount of co-operative capital is invested in the latter, in part contributed to an interesting phase of the co-operative movement.

In the first place, the general purpose of the co-operative societies, as stated by an authority fully competent to speak for them, is "that the business and the work done shall be done not in the interest of, nor in order to enrich one individual or a few, but in the interest of the general body of those who are concerned."* Now it is apparent that whenever purchases are made outside the co-operative wholesales a profit which otherwise would be saved is paid to private traders. To this extent, therefore, the general purpose, as above stated, is disregarded.

But other results follow. Capital accumulates with the wholesales to a greater extent than can be used in the ordinary trade proceeding from the retail stores. To discourage the investment of the surplus capital of the latter would

*Messrs. Acland and Jones. Workingmen Co-operators; page 9.

discourage the thrift which is one of the best outgrowths of the co-operative system, inasmuch as it would at once turn back upon the retail societies the savings of profits left in their hands as undrawn interest-bearing dividends by their members, and leave them with a surplus which oftentimes could not otherwise be profitably used.

Considerable amounts of capital have thus from time to time accumulated with the English wholesale which might have been made available in distributive trade had the entire wholesale trade of the societies been given to it. This surplus if deposited in bank would, indeed, draw the usual rate of interest on deposits, but would, of course, be loaned by the bankers in the ordinary course of business at a much higher rate. Here again, therefore, a profit would fall into the pockets of individuals which ought to be saved to the co-operative membership, and in this instance, as well as in every case where supplies are purchased outside the wholesale, co-operative capital would be used to benefit competitive trade.

This condition of affairs, soon perceived by those interested in the extension of the co-operative idea, was instrumental in engrafting upon the wholesale society, which until then had attempted nothing beyond co-operative distribution, a system of production. An avenue of investment was needed for the investment of surplus capital, and it was desirable that this capital, if possible, should be directed into co-operative channels. Certain staple articles were in constant demand by the retail associations. If such articles were purchased by the wholesale to be resold to the retail stores, or if they were purchased by the retail stores directly from the purchasers, competitive trade was directly benefited. It was also desirable to keep travelers for private firms out of co-operative stores, and as far as possible equip the wholesale store with everything needed by the retails. What more natural, therefore, than that the wholesale society should undertake the manufacture of such articles, using for that purpose the surplus capital accumulating in its hands?

To employ this capital in productive enterprises involved

a new departure, which was not undertaken without full discussion. This discussion has not yet entirely ceased. It was held then, and is still held, that the wholesale society should confine itself to distribution and leave production to other organizations. If the wholesale were to engage in manufacturing it would become a powerful and injurious competitor with small and struggling productive societies, whom it ought rather to aid by liberal loans of capital. Finally, both plans were adopted. Large advances were made to productive companies, and experiments were cautiously begun in co-operative manufacturing under the direct management of the wholesale society.

The first productive department opened was the manufactory of biscuits, confections and soap, at Crumpsall, near Manchester. From these works none but registered co-operative societies were supplied. The establishment is equipped with the best machinery; in the baking department flour from co-operative mills is used, and goods free from adulteration are produced.

The Crumpsall works were started in 1873. During the same year a boot and shoe manufactory at Leicester was founded, confined to light goods, and, in 1880, a factory for the production of heavy boots and shoes was put in operation at Heckmondwike in Yorkshire. More than 800 styles of men's, women's, children's, and infants' shoes are produced at Leicester, and both establishments make goods to measure upon special orders. Nothing but genuine goods are made, and paper or composition as a substitute for leather has never been used.

Since 1874 the society has also carried on the manufacture of soap upon a limited scale at Durham.

The productive departments conducted by the wholesale society have been generally successful, as will appear from the following table showing the average percentage of profit on capital employed for the year ended September 22, 1883, and also from the commencement of each department:*

* Co-operative Annual, 1884.

DEPARTMENTS.	Percentage of profit for year ended September 22, 1883.	Percentage of profit from commence- ment of work.
Crumpsall	22½	18½
Leicester.....	5½	7½
Durham	3½	3½
Heckmondwike	5½	loss 1½

The result is certainly not much to boast of in the shape of direct profits, but it must be remembered that, in addition to the usual difficulties of a new establishment in each case, the private manufacturers who were already selling to the stores had to be displaced, and that this could only be accomplished by goods of sterling quality at low prices; so that if the stores have not received large dividends directly from the wholesale, their members have been benefited by the low prices at which sterling quality goods have been supplied to them. And it is not a small thing to be able to say that in a series of years which have resembled a prolonged panic, when individual traders and joint stock companies have been falling into bankruptcy on every side, no failure has occurred in any of the direct adventures of the Wholesale Society. †

The investments made in outside companies have not been so successful, a loss of £52,057 being reported up to the year 1884 upon loans of this sort.

The shipping enterprises of the wholesale have not returned a direct profit, but the advantages of being brought into close communication with foreign producers and of being independent of private ship owners, are thought to more than offset the lack of direct financial returns. As a rule, however, as in the productive departments, the investments wholly controlled by the society have proved more profitable than those in which the society has a partial interest only. The vessels owned by the society have many times gained a profit while those chartered for its use from private owners have been sailed at a loss. This is graphically shown by the record of the steamship "Cambrian," on the Goole-Calais and Goole-Hamburg lines, which was

† Dr. John Watts. Co-operative Annual, 1884.

sailed 33 voyages on charter at a total loss of over £553, and was then purchased by the society, her subsequent 104 voyages returning a profit of more than £1,455. The extension of the shipping business is contemplated and it would not be surprising if further productive enterprises were undertaken. For capital still continues to accumulate faster than trade increases.

It will be seen that whatever difficulties surround the administration of the co-operative stores the lack of capital is not one. As the stores perform the functions of savings banks of deposit a glut of capital becomes itself a difficulty not easily overcome in the absence of avenues of investment at once safe, remunerative, and in harmony with co-operative principles. Although the number of shares which may be held by one person is limited to 200, it is part of the policy of the societies to encourage the investment on the part of members of whatever savings they may be able to make in any way out of their wages as loan capital, and if it could be profitably used the capital of the stores might be indefinitely increased. No question is more frequently discussed than this of making the surplus capital productive.

In the United Kingdom since 1862 the number of societies, including those making and those not making returns, has risen from 400 to 1,304, an increase of 226 per cent., while the membership based upon the returns has risen from 90,341 to 680,165, an increase of 652+ per cent. During this time the total sales amount to £303,326,024, and the total net profit to £24,084,113; the latter amount representing capital saved to the members by this mode of trading, it being the sum divided among members since 1862.

Official tables show in England and Wales from 1872 to 1883, an increase of 16.2 per cent in number of societies and 91.4 per cent in membership. Capital increased 156.6 per cent.; sales 106.9 per cent., and profits 138.0 per cent. The rate of progress in Scotland, it appears, is greater than that in England and Wales, the increase in societies in that country being 54.4 per cent.; in membership, 164.7 per cent.; in capital, 352.9 per cent.; in sales, 181.0 per cent.; and in

profits, 209.2 per cent. The progress in Ireland is comparatively slight.

It has been estimated that the membership of the societies must be quadrupled if we would arrive at the total population connected with the movement. This would give a total of 2,720,660 for the year 1883. In the northwest of England, especially, the movement has great strength, and it has been stated that in this section at least one-fourth of the population in the larger towns procure their supplies from co-operative stores, and that this is true also of the entire counties of Durham and Northumberland.

It is interesting to note that the average amount of sales to each member, which in 1862 was £25.83, had in 1883 become £41.31. The ratio of expenses to members has considerably increased, also, the average in 1862 being £1.41 to each member, and in 1883, £2.54. The average net profit to each member has nearly doubled, it being £1.83 in 1862 and £3.41 in 1883. The percentage of net profit upon share and loan capital was 34.2+ in 1862, and 25.7+ in 1883.

The total amount of sales by the English wholesale is £43,329,995, while the expenses reach the total of £619,422, the rate of expenses per £ on total sales being 3½ per cent. The net profits amount to £529,884, affording an average dividend per £ of 2½*d*. The total amount transferred to the reserve and insurance funds is £80,157. The figures show conclusively the financial prosperity of this society and indicate as far as can be done by aggregates the volume of business transacted. In certain staples the trade is very large. For instance, the shipments of Irish butter for the year ended June, 1885, amounted to 116,168 firkins, the total weight of the article sold in the single quarter ended June 27, 1885, being 15,577 cwts.; and besides this 31,977 cwts. of other foreign butter was disposed of.

The value of tea sold for the year ended June, 1885, was £249,228; and of coffee, £36,457.

The business of the society is still increasing. Comparing the quarter ended June 27, 1885, with the corresponding period in the previous year, and the net value of goods increased 5½ per cent.; the total capital—shares, loans, de-

posits, reserves and insurance — $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the number of members belonging to the shareholding societies, 10 per cent.; the number of societies holding shares, $5\frac{3}{8}$ per cent., and the number of societies supplied with goods, $5\frac{3}{8}$ per cent. On the 27th of June, 1885, the nominal value of land held by the society was about £83,624; of buildings, £109,692, and of steamships, £30,070.

In October, 1884, the total number of employes in the service of the society was 1,570, of whom about one-half, or 771, were engaged in the Leicester shoe works. One hundred and thirty-two were employed in the shoe works at Heckmondwike; 258 in the Manchester departments; 106 at Newcastle, and the others at the various branches and upon the steamships.

When we remember that this institution rests entirely upon capital invested by workingmen, and largely upon capital saved through co-operative trade, these statistics afford conclusive evidence of the soundness of the principles upon which co-operative distribution rests, and of the clear business insight possessed by those who have controlled the affairs of the society.

Although the Scottish Wholesale Society is a much smaller institution, its record is also highly successful.

The co-operative societies are bound together by the organization of the Co-operative Union. This organization affords moral support to the societies, and through its executive, the Central Co-operative Board, is an effective agency in promoting their welfare, and an invaluable aid in disseminating information respecting the movement and in promoting the extension of co-operative work.

By its constitution the Union declares its purpose to be "the promotion of the practice of truthfulness, justice and economy in production and exchange." It proposes to effect this purpose:

(1) By the abolition of false dealing, either — *a. Direct*, by representing any article produced or sold to be other than what it is known to the producer or vendor to be; or, *b. Indirect*, by concealing from the purchaser any fact known to the vendor material to be

known by the purchaser, to enable him to judge of the value of the article purchased.

(2) By conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, through an equitable division among them of the fund commonly known as *profit*.

(3) By preventing the waste of labor now caused by unregulated competition.

This platform is broad and far-reaching in its scope. It not only comprehends all that has yet been accomplished by the co-operative societies, but includes all that the ardent co-operator hopes to see realized in the future. It seeks a division of profit not only among consumers, but among capitalists and workers also, and aims, as co-operative advocates generally do, at restricting competition.

The Union is open to all industrial and provident societies, friendly or building societies, trade unions or associations, joint stock companies or industrial partnerships, provided always that such societies or associations accept the statement of principles enunciated by the Union and agree to be guided by them in business transactions, and agree:

To contribute to the Congress fund an annual subscription, at the rate of 2d. for each member, or, in the case of industrial partnerships, each employe, up to 500. Contributions on any larger number of members give the controlling body, for each additional 500 members, or fraction, for whom it pays at the rate above mentioned, the right to send an additional delegate to the annual Congress, by which the Union is governed.

The Central Board, as the executive of the Union, is prepared to give legal and general advice to the societies in matters affecting their interests. It is also a statistical bureau collecting and collating information for their benefit, and, lastly, it is a propagandist agency aiming to disseminate co-operative principles, especially in the United Kingdom, but generally throughout the world.

Besides the general Congress of the Union, held annually, and composed of delegates from the societies in fellowship, local conferences are held in the various conference districts for the discussion of subjects in interest.

The executive committee of the Central Board is termed the United Board, and consists of representatives from each local council.

The Central Board in its entirety meets twice each year, once just prior to the assembling of the Congress and once immediately after the appointment of a new board. The United Board meets three times each year, at Manchester. The executive of the United Board is termed an office committee, and its members are appointed from the general body by the Central Board at its first meeting in the year. Attached to the United Board is a paid staff comprising a secretary, assistant secretary, bookkeeper, and clerks.

The members of the several boards and councils are paid travelling and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

The conference districts of the sections are variously organized; some have a chairman, secretary, and committee; others have in addition a statistical secretary; others have a secretary only, while a few have no officers.

At the Congresses reports are presented upon the condition of the societies in the various sections, papers are read upon co-operative subjects, and the usual discussions ensue. The Congresses are opened by an inaugural address by some person of eminence, and it is customary to listen to a sermon from some noted divine. The rules of the Congress provide for meetings upon two days only, but it is now usual to prolong the sessions to three days.

Among others, the following subjects have been discussed: The law relating to co-operation; associated homes; co-operative banking; methods of voting and auditing in co-operative societies, and the best methods of managing such societies; co-operative cottage building; education in connection with co-operation; credit; land and agriculture; bonus or profit-sharing; prospects of co-operation; policy of high dividends; propagation and organization in the co-operative movement; surplus capital; trade unions; transferable or withdrawable shares; workingmen's clubs; co-operative journalism; co-operative production; a labor exchange; industrial partnerships, and wholesale distribution.

The proceedings of the Congresses are annually published. The Central Board, in the exercise of its function as a prop-

agandist agency, also publishes and circulates, either by gift or sale, many pamphlets and documents upon co-operative subjects.

The attentive reader of this report must perceive that so-called co-operative distribution, upon the plan formulated by the Rochdale Pioneers, and as at present followed in the United Kingdom, having for its unit the retail store; possessing the advantage of strong and energetic wholesale societies composed of and supported by the stores, and fostered by a Central Board and Annual Congresses, has been in the highest degree successful in what it has undertaken.

The organization, considered as a whole, is admirable, adapted to hold together the members, and to advance their common interests. Its success might have been predicted, for the whole movement rests upon approved and well-recognized business principles. There seems to be no reason why similar enterprises might not be equally successful elsewhere if the same plan is followed.

Every store before it opens has its support assured in the trade of its members. If honest men are selected as officers; common prudence observed in the conduct of business; reasonable care exercised in the purchase of stock in trade, and the cash system strictly adhered to, failure should be impossible.

The business may expand as membership increases, and expenses may at all times be kept well in hand.

Of course, in the United States, the isolated store must miss the valuable help which the English stores have in the organization that has grown up as the movement in that country has gained strength; but if stores were to multiply in America the same organization would follow here, and meantime, the recorded experience of English effort, if availed of among us, would prevent serious errors in the conduct of business.

It becomes proper then to review just what this movement has accomplished, and what, if anything, it has failed to achieve; and in entering upon this inquiry we desire to be perfectly fair, while at the same time presenting the actual

facts. For, in justice to those who in this country are interested in co-operative effort, and may seek to establish such stores here, it is well clearly to point out its limitations as well as its possibilities, in order that no more may be expected than is likely to be realized.

In the first place, how far is this movement co-operative?

The answer must be only so far as it rests upon the participation of all customers in the profits they produce by their trade. This is the sole co-operative feature. We speak broadly, and disregard for the moment the limited number of societies which have gone one step farther and allowed a share in profits to employees.

The division of profits upon the basis of purchases, and the restricting of stockholders to a fixed rate of interest on their capital stock, entitles these stores to the name co-operative, in distinction from the Civil Service distributive societies and other joint stock companies in which profits are divided upon the basis of stock. In the latter only stockholders gain from increase of trade. In co-operative stores all customers gain, and the store is open to all who come. The stockholder receives only his stipulated interest, that being the remuneration to which, as a capitalist, he is entitled. All who assist in making the profit, share in its division. The principle is modified in its operation but not disregarded by the plan of allowing members to share at double the rate of non-members; for no limitation exists as to membership, and non-members may by a small payment become members at any time, and begin at once to share at the members' rate.

The stores are justly open to the criticism that while calling themselves co-operative, they are, except in the feature we have mentioned, not really so. Perhaps, considering the sense in which the term co-operation is used in economic discussion, and the persistency and good faith with which it is urged by many as a remedy for industrial evils, the name "Consumers' Societies" would be more appropriate. For it is no detracting from the solid benefits these societies have reaped to admit that as yet they have done little to solve the

vexed questions affecting labor and capital, or to advance co-operative principles as they are generally understood.

This mode of distribution is organized, economized, and made effective for consumers almost entirely, and producers, as such, are not materially benefitted. The societies as purchasers keenly appreciate and follow the rule adopted by the private trader, buying at the lowest possible competition prices, and in their transactions with producers making use of the same expedients as those employed in private trade to drive good bargains, and thus swell profits for the benefit of their customers.

The maxim that "goods well bought are half sold" is kept constantly in view, and the importance of keen and shrewd buying is so well understood that employes possessing the requisite ability in this direction are highly prized and liberally paid. To the producer, therefore, this system of distribution offers no special advantages.

How does it affect the wage worker? The English wholesale conducts with co-operative capital a considerable manufacturing business, and production under the management of the societies is likely to increase. Supposing it to increase under the policy already pursued, what benefit would accrue to the employes other than those obtained from private employers? None. Exactly the same principles appear to govern the co-operative and the individual employer. The Co-operative Wholesale pays competition wages and manufactures its goods at the lowest possible labor cost. Its workmen have no share in profits.* Its object is to divide the largest possible profits among its customers. Its mode of operation is identical with that of the private employer.

This has, indeed, provoked criticism.

So far then as relates to removing the evils which it is alleged spring from competition, these societies have not yet conspicuously succeeded. This does not indicate failure, for it does not appear that in practice much has been at-

*The Scottish Wholesale escapes this criticism. Its employes, as previously noted, share in dividends.

tempted in this direction. Probably any other course than that pursued would have diminished the profits which have been divided among the members. It is shrewd business management that has helped to amass these profits, and if the societies be judged solely by their success in what they have attempted no fault can be found.

It is only when this success is used to attest the efficacy of co-operative theories, that the impartial critic must dissent. As a rule, the co-operative societies have contented themselves with financial success, leaving to the future the extension and application of the theories, which, up to this time, although seeming to disregard in practice, they have never ceased to discuss and advocate.

Whatever hope and future promise may rest in co-operation, it is not as a scheme for removing all the evils which many feel to be inherent in the present industrial organization that this plan of co-operative distribution is to be recommended. It may be a help, however. As a method of capital saving it affords the groundwork of a system of co-operative production, which might be made safe and remunerative so far as the market for product could be assured by the demands of the stores themselves. Such an assured market would materially relieve the co-operative producers from the struggle which must always be before them in any effort to secure a market in competition with private manufacturers. Taken for what it is, it has been of great benefit to the working classes in Great Britain, and under similar social conditions might be equally beneficial elsewhere.

It has brought to 680,165 members, £24,084,113 in profits, and incidentally it has produced other results which no statistics can adequately portray, results moral rather than material. It has stimulated thrift, taught self-reliance, encouraged the ownership of property, prevented debt by making cash payments obligatory, and placed in the hands of its patrons goods practically free from adulteration. In the English manufacturing towns it has promoted the social spirit by bringing members together in reunions and in educational work. And despite all criticism which may be made upon the slowness of these societies to advance far-

ther upon the co-operative line, it must be conceded that there is much truth in the following from the pen of the able Secretary of the Central Board:

"The supporters of such a store have, as they ought to have, ample reasons for supporting it in their own interest. And those who join these institutions when they are successful too often have no other motive than the notion of personal advantage. Still the feeling that the store is an institution essentially unselfish, excluding no one from its benefits, founded for the common good of all who can be induced to take part in it*—this feeling, derived from the noble spirit of the original founders of these stores, has given a characteristic tone both to their own action and to the public appreciation of them. Their educational funds, their social parties, the attendance at public meetings connected with them, the absence of a disposition to ridicule their rejoicings at the founding of a new store, are proofs of this. There is a general perception that the co-operative society has in view an end beyond the private interest of those who set it up, which gives to these trading establishments a sort of consecration, even in the eyes of those who do not belong to them.†

Much of what has been done abroad through these societies is done in the United States by the savings bank, the evening school, the public library, free lectures, and other institutions common here, and growing out of our conception of a free State and republican institutions. Much of the need for these stores is also met in our larger towns by enterprising private concerns who put before the public the best goods at lowest cash prices. But still there is no doubt that in many towns the same financial benefits might accrue to any society formed and conducted on the Rochdale plan, the work being modified in some respects to meet local requirements, and to conform to the needs of American communities. The experiment is one easily tried, not involving loss if carefully managed, and the results, if successful, well worth the effort.

CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The second step in co-operation, according to the leaders of the movement, is in its application to production. The

* In contradistinction to the joint stock companies, where the stock is limited.

†Co-operative Board Pamphlets.

theorists, who have devoted their lives to the advancement of co-operative principles, will never rest satisfied with its application merely to the business of buying and selling commodities, however admirable the results may appear. To them the whole structure of co-operative distribution is but the foundation of a far nobler edifice.

It is unfortunate that there seems to be no well-matured plan commending itself to general acceptance upon which co-operative production can go forward. Two distinct schools exist; the individualists and the federalists. The first hold that individual bodies of workingmen should start for themselves in productive enterprises, obtaining their capital either from their own savings or by loan. The business should then be conducted independently of the distributive societies, and managed by the workingmen immediately interested, who may if necessary, go into the open market and secure trade by superior energy or on account of the high quality of their product. The federalists, on the other hand, believe that the federative stores should provide the basis for productive effort; the capital saved in the stores should be used; the demand of the stores should supply the necessary market, and the management should be by committee, precisely as the wholesale societies are managed. Either individual societies might begin by manufacturing goods to supply their local needs, or, as would seem more feasible, the wholesale societies, possessing a wider market, and able by their experience accurately to gauge production to demand, might proceed upon the plan already adopted in the Leicester Shoe Works.

The individualist would permit individual shareholders; the federalist would not, believing such permission dangerous as tending to joint-stockism. Strict adherence to the federalist system, as usually presented, would exclude the worker from participation in profits, except in his function as *consumer* as a member of some store having capital invested in the works, and except as a bonus or gratuity might be given him for superior work or extraordinary skill. In the works at present conducted by the English

wholesale society upon substantially this plan, the workers, as workers, do not share in profits at all.

The difficulties attending both systems, as well as their advantages, are apparent. If the workers provide their own capital and divide the profits among themselves, not alone in proportion to capital but also in proportion to work done, the concern would be strictly co-operative, but its success would largely depend upon the fidelity and talent of the managers, requisite qualities not easily procured, and upon the possibility of securing a permanent and remunerative market. To obtain the latter would involve keen competition with private concerns already well established, or, if several co-operative societies were seeking a market for the same product, keen competition with each other. There is also the difficulty, by no means small, of securing the required capital. The risk is very great, and workingmen are poorly equipped to encounter it.

If, to overcome the difficulty as to capital, outside stockholders are admitted, the enterprise loses its strictly co-operative character, jealousy is likely to arise between workers and shareholders (capitalists), and the latter may at any time secure control and the concern become a purely joint stock company.

If, on the other system, the federated societies provide, as they may, both capital and market, the two great difficulties in the way of co-operative production may be overcome; overproduction may be guarded against; more or less capital may be utilized as occasion demands, and, practically, loss may be prevented.

But if profits are to be divided among consumers only, that is, if profits are to go to the stores which furnish the capital, and are then disseminated in the form of dividends on purchases to the patrons of the stores, the workers, as such, acquire no benefit not obtainable in private employment. The scheme is, after all, so far as the workers are concerned, not co-operative.

Some federalists advocate a bonus or share in profits to labor. In both schools many shades of individual opinion

appear. Mr. Holyoake, for instance, ably advocates the participation of labor, capital, and custom (consumers) in profits; remunerating capital by a fixed rate of interest, and dividing the remainder between laborers and consumers, always providing that labor shall have an adequate self-protecting representation upon the directory. Such a plan, he believes, can only be adjusted and maintained by the system of federation, while, at the same time, he is for individualism, in the sense of securing the local capacity, the personal interest, and energy of the three parties, laborer, capitalist, and consumer, who, it appears to him, make up the force of co-operation.

Radically opposed to the theory of the consumer's right to share in the profits of production, J. M. Ludlow, the Registrar of Industrial and Friendly societies, an individualist, would have production carried on by independent unions of workers, for whom, primarily, the profits should be reserved.

Dr. John Watts, however, an eminent federalist, rejects any plan of individual action, as tending to relapse into competition, and would divide the profits arising in federated production among the societies furnishing the capital in proportion to the capital furnished by each, and afterward to their members as dividends on purchases. This scheme, as pointed out by Messrs. Hughes and Neale, must undoubtedly cause the largest share of profits to go to the richer classes, they being the largest buyers; is essentially a division of profits on capital (joint-stockism); and entirely overlooks the worker as such.

Mr. Neale, while adhering to the federative scheme, as diminishing the risk that must inevitably accompany individual action, believes that in any system of co-operative production the worker should acquire the profits, after the remuneration of capital by payment of interest, and that the consumer ought not to share in the profits of production. He believes further:

That it is quite practicable to carry on production in close connection with a distributive centre, under conditions which will prevent any

competitive conflict among the producers, without withdrawing from the workers any of the advantages derivable from their work.*

He has also clearly shown, enforcing his argument by the significant statistics of the extensive Leicester Shoe Works, and of the spinning companies at Oldham, that

Large as the total proceeds of any work may be—vast as may be the establishments where the production is carried on—imposing as the result may appear when the net profits of such great works are concentrated in the hands of a few persons—these profits when divided among the host of workers engaged in producing them will make but a small addition to the sum that those workers would earn. Naturally, if they are to be further diluted by division among the large body of persons who may have made purchases, the benefit must be proportionately diminished.†

And he goes on to suggest that the collective income, instead of being frittered away in minute dividends to each worker, might by agreement be employed in associated action to create better conditions of life, such, for example, as private employers, like Sir Titus Salt, have attempted to confer upon their workpeople, or such as have been secured through the associated homes projected by M. Godin, at Guise.

While these various theories prevail, little has actually been done. Disregarding all such concerns as the spinning companies at Oldham, which, though frequently termed co-operative, are absolutely joint stock companies dividing profits on stock, held at present by workers chiefly, but liable at any time to change ownership, and, in any event, no different in principle or administration from the ordinary joint stock corporation,—there are a few productive societies in Great Britain that permit workers, as workers, to share in profits and are managed by the workers themselves. Many of these have share capital also, to which part of the profits go, and some admit customers to participation in the

* Manual for Co-operators; page 139.

† Seventeenth Annual Co-operative Congress; preface to Report, page IV.

dividend. The following table exhibits these societies at the beginning of 1884:

NAME.	Date established.	BUSINESS.	Yearly Sales.	Yearly Profits.	METHOD OF DIVIDING PROFITS.
Arnold Manufacturing,	1868	Hosiery.	£ 200	.....	Between shareholders and workers.
Airdale Manufacturing,	1872	Alpacas, cords, etc.	5,799	427	Between shareholders, customers, and workers.
Cobden Mills,.....	1867	Calicoes.	52,274	.....	Between shareholders and workers.
Coventry Watchmakers,	1876	Watches.	2,623	278	Between shareholders, customers, and workers.
Co-operative Printers,.	1869	Printers and stationers...	33,589	2,789	Between shareholders, customers, and workers.
Dudley Nailmakers, ...	1874	Nailmakers ...	1,212	83	Between shareholders and workers.
Dunfermline Manufact- uring,.....	1872	Damask table linen.....	1,772	67	No details.
Eccles Manufacturing,...	1861	Quilts and toilet covers...	9,767	1,058	Between shareholders and workers.
Edinburgh Printers,.....	1873	Printers and stationers....	3,027	235	No details.
Framemakers and Gild- ers, London, ...	1859	Carvers, gilders, and gen- eral decora- tors.....	6,389	.....	Between shareholders and workers.
Hebden Bridge Manu- facturing,	1870	Fustain cut- ters, etc.	22,103	1,960	Between shareholders, customers, and workers.
Howley Park Quarry,...	1872	Stoneworkers..	3,634	500	No details.
Lancashire and Yore- shire Productive, ...	1873	Flannels.	16,396	43	Between shareholders and customers.
Leek Silk Twist Manu- facturing, ...	1874	Silk thread....	2,688	2	No details.
Leicester Manufactur- ing,.....	1876	Hosiery	6,273	133	Between shareholders, customers, and workers.
Leicester Elastic Web, Sheepshed Manufactur- ing,.....	1878	Web weavers,	4,423	129	No details.
Sheffield Cutlery Manu- facturing,.....	1881	Hosiery.	92	.....	Between shareholders and workers.
Sheffield Haft and Scale Cutting, ...	1873	Knives and scissors. ...	439	69	No details.
Paisley Manufacturing,	1876	Haft makers...	3,907	125	No details.
	1861	Paids, shawls, etc.	11,891	568	Between shareholders, customers, and workers.
Northamptonshire Pro- ductive,.....	1881	Bootmakers. ..	1,662	128	Between shareholders and workers.
Walsall Manufacturing,	1874	Lockmakers...	3,965	.....	No details.

The above table is extracted from "Workingmen Co-op-
erators," page 103. The same work is also our authority for
7—F. A. F.

the statement, attributed to a leading co-operator, that 224 co-operative productive societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act have been dissolved. Of these, 156 were small joint stock companies with no co-operative element in them; 44 divided profits between capitalists and customers; and 24 between capitalists, customers, and workers.

The Registrar's returns for the year ended December 3, 1883, exhibit 34 so-called productive societies in England and Wales, and 4 in Scotland. But of these, 14 were corn (flour) mills, in which it is not usual to admit workers to share in profits, and two were agricultural.

This brief record appears to be all that co-operative production has at present to exhibit in Great Britain.

CO-OPERATION IN FRANCE.*

The social hopes fostered in France by the political revolution of 1848 were partly realized in the formation of large numbers of co-operative societies. The enthusiasm of the moment and the influence of government patronage stimulated the movement, but few possessed sufficient vitality to long survive. The re-establishment of the empire in 1852 was an event at first decidedly unfavorable to their progress, but in 1864 co-operation at Paris once more revived, and later was assisted by favorable legislation. In 1870, 20 workingmen's co-operative societies engaged in production existed at Paris and at present there are more than 70 such societies. Outside of Paris few such societies exist.

The total number of associates exhibited by the official table is 4,920. These, with the auxillaries employed, of whom the number does not appear, have done work amounting to £3,560,258 6s The total paid up capital is £223,315 18s.

These societies are usually administered by a council, acting through an executive officer who is termed a dele-

* Authorities: M. Nicole, of the Consolidated Chamber of the Workingmen's Productive Association of the Department of the Seine. Evidence before a Parliamentary Commission. Report of the Bureau des Association Professionelles.

gate administrator, director, or *gerant*. As might be expected some difficulty is experienced in finding capable, active, and devoted managers, and earnest and prudent councilmen. Calmness, moderation, and perseverance, qualities essential to success, are often lacking among associates. But, nevertheless, the condition of the societies is in France considered promising and the outlook is thought to be encouraging.

In many cases auxillaries do not share in profits. In such instances the organization would seem to be a form of co-operative partnership composed of workingmen, who share with each other profits in part derived from the labor of auxillaries who do not share at all. When the profits are thus divided solely on the basis of shares held by the associates, the organization is merely that of a joint stock company, analogous to the Oldham mills. When the associates also share as workers an additional co-operative step is taken, and, finally, when, as in some of the societies, auxillary workers are permitted to share in profits, the co-operative features become more complete.

The auxillaries of the Carpenters' Association of La Villette are locksmiths, sawyers of planks, and joiners. Instead of participating in profits they are paid a larger wage than that allowed by private employers. Provision is also made for an allowance to any auxillary who is injured while at work, usually amounting to one-half the customary wage for the time the disability continues.

The auxillaries employed by the Association of Working File Makers, although not allowed to share in profits, are admitted as associates, without the payment of any fee, after six months employment by the society. In other societies, notably the Association of Pianoforte Makers, a similar custom prevails.

Many societies have a fund for the care of superannuated members, for insurance in case of accident or death, etc. Most have certain conditions as prerequisites to membership, designed to secure the moral, physical, and industrial fitness of those who desire to join. Some require candidates to serve a period of probation before admission.

The mode of allotment of profits varies. In some societies a fixed rate of interest is paid to shareholders, and the balance, after providing for the maintenance of reserves, insurance, and similar funds, if any, is divided among associate workers, or among associates and auxillaries, as the case may be. Several societies, which permit auxillaries to share, restrict the amount of profit out of which such share must be paid. For instance, in the General Society of French Cabinet Makers, auxillaries participate in 25 per cent. of the profits, and the Society of Furniture Locksmiths permit auxillaries to share in profits in the proportion of 10 per cent. on the proceeds of their work. Some societies divide all profits on the basis of work performed. The Association of File Cutters, in the division of profits, awards to capital 20 per cent. and to labor 80 per cent.

CO-OPERATION IN GERMANY.*

German co-operation has three modes of development, viz: people's banks, consumers' societies, and trade societies.

Of these the people's banks—a form of co-operative savings bank—are the most numerous, the trade societies ranking next. In 1883, the number of each class was as follows: people's banks, 1,910; trade societies, 1,031; consumers' societies, 676.

The trade societies so-called include two classes, industrial societies and agricultural societies. These may be more minutely classified as follows :

Industrial Societies.

Raw material supply	145
Magazines	59
Productive	149

Agricultural Societies.

Agricultural consumers' supply	805
Implement supply and stock raising	171
Productive agriculture	198

Total industrial societies, 353; total agricultural societies, 674; societies not included under the foregoing heads, 4; aggregate, 1,031.

* Authority: Dr. Schneider, of Potsdam.

The co-operative movement in Germany began with the raw material supply associations founded by Schulze-Delitzsch, for the purpose of enabling handicraftsmen in different trades to purchase by wholesale the materials required in the prosecution of their industries so as to allow them to compete with extensive manufacturers. The object of these societies was to uphold hand labor against the encroachments of factory industry, by thus obtaining for handworkers through association the advantages possessed by capitalists, and to deliver them from middlemen who furnished inferior material at high prices.

Where the raw material societies have organized themselves according to the advice of Schulze-Delitzsch, and avoided the errors against which he over and over again warned them, they have accomplished this object to the benefit of the German handwork, and preserved to many German handicraftsmen their independent businesses. If we consider that, according to the trade statistics of 1882, there were in the shoemaking trade alone 245,118 independent handworkers, who, in spite of the prophecies uttered more than 20 years since by Ferdinand Lasalle and Karl Marx, still carry on the shoemaking business on their own account and will not consent to be wage-receivers, we can not close our eyes to the fact that millions of Germans have the most pressing interest in the preservation of handicrafts. * * * * *

The raw material societies of the handworkers could have given greater help in this contest if several of them had not ruined themselves by grave mistakes, because, unfortunately, the bad custom of the handworker giving credit — sometimes long credit — to his customers, without any compensation, is widely spread in Germany. The workers often demanded of the raw material societies to sell to them on credit at the same price as if they had paid ready money. Many societies have given way to this unjustifiable claim, and sunk under the consequent loss of capital and interest. Hence the number of raw material societies is not increasing.*

The 145 raw material societies included the following trades: joiners and instrument makers, 21; spinners and weavers, 17; meal and bread producers, 14; printers and lithographers, 11; tailors, 10; brewers, 7; butchers, 7; carpenters and masons, 6; cigarmakers, 6; clock and watch makers, distillers, metal workers, and shoemakers, 5 each;

* Dr. Schneider, of Potsdam.

machinists and sugar makers, 4 each; gilders and potters, 3 each; brush and comb makers, miners, personal services, and sewing machine makers, 2 each; bookbinders, glass makers, plumbers and lacquerers, and starch makers 1 each.

The industrial magazines are co-operative commission concerns whose business it is to sell at a common magazine or depot the goods produced by their members. The larger number are engaged in the sale of carpenters and joiners' products.

The industrial productive societies are mainly confined to hand labor and to the smaller industries. A notable exception is that of the largest German manufactory of chronometers, which is conducted on the co-operative plan. Co-operation when applied to factory labor in Germany has not been very successful.

The agricultural co-operative societies appear to be quite successful and are increasing.

The agricultural consumers' supply societies afford their members facilities for purchasing in common seeds, manures, etc., and secure to them the advantage of subjecting to chemical analysis goods offered to them for purchase, so as to test the genuineness of the articles. Others, existing among land owners, known as implement societies, provide agricultural machines owned in common and loaned to members. Still others have for their object the improvement of breeds of cattle, and, finally, the productive agricultural societies are engaged in dairying and wine making.

There exists in Germany a co-operative union founded by Schulze-Delitzsce, and, since 1883, a union of the agricultural societies, having for its special object the advancement of this form of co-operation.

Of the 676 consumers' societies only 172, having a total membership of 110,433, made returns in 1883. The total sales were £1,634,215 2s, and their net profits, £123,114 14s.

The largest consumers' society is at Breslau. It had, in 1883, 22,775 members, and during that year its sales amounted

to £241,635 2s; the net profit being £25,357 18s. A large steam bakery is conducted by the society.

Building societies have met with poor success in Germany, and have been unable to compete with private enterprise.

Dr. Schneider has compiled the following statistics respecting the membership of the people's banks and consumers' societies, and concerning which he makes this statement:

I add a tabular view of the composition of the members in the people's banks and consumers' societies, classified according to their occupations, whence the difference in the character of these two classes of societies, notwithstanding the similarity of their objects, appears. The members of the raw material and productive societies belong, with few exceptions, to the corresponding trades, although, so far back as 1868, the productive societies were urged, in order to increase their power of bearing losses, to draw in non-workers as members.

The table shows the percentages of membership of each class in the people's banks and consumers' societies based upon the returns for 1882 and 1883. Dr. Schneider is of the opinion that had the statistics covered all the societies instead of those making returns only, the result would not have been materially different:

CLASSIFICATION OF MEMBERSHIP.	People's Banks.		Consumers' Societies.	
	Percentages by years.		Percentages by years.	
	1882	1883	1882	1883
Independent land cultivators, gardeners, foresters, and fishers	25.4	25.4	3.7	3.7
Assistants and laborers of the foregoing	3.0	3.1	3.9	3.87
Manufacturers, and persons engaged in mining and building	3.65	3.6	1.6	1.7
Independent handworkers	31.2	30.9	15.3	15.0
Workers in factories and mines, and assistants of handworkers	4.7	4.8	40.4	41.3
Independent traders and dealers	9.6	9.6	4.0	4.0
Clerks and assistants to traders	0.7	0.7	1.6	1.4
Carriers, shipowners, and innkeepers	5.2	5.1	2.5	2.4
Letter carriers, employes in railway, telegraph, and post offices, laborers on railways, mariners, and waiters	1.9	1.9	7.7	7.2
Male and female servants	1.6	1.0	1.7	2.3
Physicians, apothecaries, teachers, artists, writers, officials of church, state, or municipal bodies	6.7	6.7	10.5	10.8
Persons of independent income	7.4	7.6	7.1	6.5
Number of societies making returns	819	825	166	160

CO-OPERATION IN AUSTRIA.*

In Austria, the statute of November 26, 1852, permitted the formation of co-operative societies with unlimited liability. An important change was effected by the law of July 1, 1872, which required all societies "the number of whose members is unlimited, which seek to benefit their members in their trade or household economy by carrying on business in common" to register at the government registration office. Such societies may be organized "either with or without limitation of liability, as they determine, the measure of liability in the first case being fixed by their rules."

Unregistered societies formed under the previous law must register upon making any change in their rules and are gradually becoming extinguished. By a subsequent statute, January 1, 1880, societies which confine their dealings to their own members are exempt from the traders' tax. Income tax is levied on their net profits, with exemptions and allowances when the yearly income is less than 2,300 florins.

According to the report of Dr. Ziller, who is at the head of the co-operative societies formed in the Austrian empire, the total number of such societies within Austrian territory in 1881 was 1,515. Of these 317 were unregistered and 1,198 registered. Five hundred and seventy-two registered societies were with limited liability and 626 unlimited. One thousand one hundred and twenty-nine, 74.5 per cent. of all the societies, were people's banks; two hundred and thirty-five, or 15.5 per cent. were distributive societies; and the balance as follows: raw material supply, 6; agricultural material supply, 14; stores, 3; artisan productive, 41; agricultural productive, 61; building 5; trading 10; assurance, 2; various, 9.

Co-operative distribution does not appear to be very flourishing. It is stated that the number of such societies is scarcely half that formerly existing. The reasons given for the failure of those that have been dissolved are commercial

*Authority: Dr. H. Ziller, of the Austrian Co-operative Union.

depressions affecting the earnings of those connected with them, heavy taxes assessed on them as traders in certain districts, and bad management of a large number which were formed for political purposes.

Besides the societies which deal in the usual groceries in common demand, a few grind corn, some have bakeries attached, and some sell butcher's meat; but the latter has not generally been found profitable. Most of the societies sell beer and spirits. Drapery and shoes, crockery, hardware, and wooden goods are supplied by some. The credit system exists and the practice of giving credit appears to be increasing. As a consequence the societies which made returns were owing more than 33 per cent. of the value of their stock in trade. Less than half the societies made returns for the year 1881, and some of these returns were imperfect. Of those that made returns the average membership was 630.

Of the artisans' productive societies many, it is stated, have failed because formed to take control of private enterprises that had not been successful. When formed independently by workers possessing sufficient capital to enable them to avoid debt they have succeeded when there was a fair opening for business. Some have failed on account of internal dissensions. Although 41 productive societies of the artisan class are included in the statistics quoted, only 12 made returns for the year, and the details are too meagre to afford much light as to the general condition of all the societies. Taxation, in the form of trading licenses, appears to seriously interfere with the prosperity of these societies and, for local reasons, to discriminate against them as compared with private concerns.

Most of the agricultural productive societies confine their operations to dairying. Scarcely any details appear as to these or the other societies enumerated, very few having made returns.

CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK.*

Co-operation in this country appears to be confined to consumers' distributive societies. About 150 such societies are believed to exist. Seventy have been grouped in a wholesale union.

The source of co-operative effort here seems to have been the English societies, the success of which impressed the late Pastor Sonne, who published a work entitled "Workmen's Co-operative Societies in England," thus leading directly to the formation of Danish societies. Since the year 1870, the movement has grown in importance and appears likely to increase still further under the present organization. A monthly periodical devoted to the interests of co-operators is now issued by the wholesale society.

CO-OPERATION IN HUNGARY.†

Distributive co-operation in Hungary, although instituted some years ago, has made little progress. Of late slightly more life has been apparent in the movement, but statistics respecting it are very scanty. The statistical bureau of Hungary has no data upon the subject.

Productive societies are not numerous, the chief examples existing in Buda-Pesth. The chief avenue of co-operative effort is the system of banking analogous to that of Germany.

Dr. Ziller, of the Austrian Co-operative Union, has presented the following statistics for the societies in Hungary, Croattia, and Slavonia, in the year 1883: Total number of societies, 357; people's banks, 308; consumers' societies, 16; raw material supply, 2; depots (for selling), 3; agricultural aid societies, 2; artisans' productive societies, 6; agricultural productive societies, 7; assurance societies, 8; miscellaneous, 5.

Five of the consumers' societies show collective sales

* Authority: Mr. J. Andrew, of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Copenhagen.

† Authorities: Dr. Stephen Bernat, of the Ministry of Agriculture, Buda-Pesth. Dr. H. Ziller, of the Austrian Co-operative Union.

amounting to 234,468 florins; share capital, 33,231 florins; reserve fund, 33,561 florins; loans, 1,822 florins; indebtedness for goods, 6,222 florins; value of stock at end of year, 45,228 florins; due from members for goods sold on credit, 17,288 florins.

The credit system universally prevails. The artisans' productive societies represent the following trades: Cloth-makers, 2; brewers, marble workers, iron workers, and lockmakers, 1 each.

The agricultural productive societies represent dairying, vine culture, and the production of silk.

CO-OPERATION IN ITALY.*

The co-operative movement in Italy began with the political unification of the country, as part of the general progress of the time. People's banks upon substantially the German model were among the first, and are to-day leading examples of Italian co-operative effort. They have increased from 4 in 1865 to 252 in 1883, the capital in the latter year being \$10,600,000. They have been very successful, and of great benefit to certain classes, chiefly traders and artisans, but have not materially aided laborers, or the masses of the working population. Other forms of co-operative credit and savings institutions are in progress or contemplated, among others the following :

A certain number of small agriculturalists, generally the very smallest proprietors or farmers, unite themselves into a society with unlimited liability. On this guarantee the society contracts loans at the lowest attainable rate of interest, and out of the sum thus collected makes advances to their members who apply for them, at a somewhat higher rate. The bank is to act also as a savings bank. These institutions are specially agricultural, and satisfy the need for small advances, at long periods of repayment, keenly felt by a class of agriculturists numerous in the Italian provinces, that of the small proprietors who cultivate their own land, of the small farmers, and also, in certain cases, of the agricultural laborers, who sometimes cultivate a field on their own account.†

* Authority: Dr. Ugo Rabbeno, Reggio Emilia, Italy.

† Rabbeno. Co-operation in Italy. Translated by E. V. Neale. Co-operative Printing Society, Manchester, England.

With these banks agricultural clubs are sometimes united. Distributive co-operation is in Italy well known, but the movement in this direction lacks organization. The mode of administering such societies varies. Some are conducted on the Rochdale plan. Others are workingmen's societies providing various kinds of provisions for members exclusively. A still different class are associations securing special rates for their members upon purchases from private shopkeepers. About 8,000 persons united in societies upon the latter basis in 1880. There is still another class formed by railway employes, for the purpose of obtaining provisions of good quality at low prices. These are joint-stock societies analogous to the civil service supply societies of England. The first association of the sort was founded at Turin, in 1873, with 53 members and a small capital. In 1883 it had 2,307 members and more than 900 associates, its sales amounting to about £40,000 in that year. Similar societies, all of which have made rapid progress, exist at Milan, Florence, Naples, Sampier d'Arena, Genoa, Verona, and elsewhere. In general, they sell at the lowest possible prices, pay no interest on shares, confine their sales to their own members, and carry the meagre profit upon sales to a reserve fund.

The general consumers' societies were at first based on the Rochdale plan, but owing to differences in national characteristics this plan was not generally successful in Italy, and at present the greater number do not attempt to pay to their customers dividends on purchases as do the English societies, but rather endeavor to sell at lower than ordinary market prices, carrying profits to a dividend on stock. The chief advantage derived from such societies is considered to be their restraining effect upon private retail shopkeepers, compelling the latter by force of competition to sell their goods at fair prices. The range of goods supplied is narrow, being principally confined to bread, flour, grain, vegetables, macaroni, and vermicelli. In some cases, meat and fish are added.

The number of consumers' societies in 1878 was ascertained by government inquiry to be 58, and they are sup-

posed to have considerably increased in number since, but no definite statistics exist.

Dr. Rabbeno, while taking a hopeful view of the progress of distributive co-operation, after mentioning certain localities in which from his personal knowledge such progress has been marked, conservatively adds :

With all this we must not delude ourselves, nor take refuge in equivocal statements. Co-operation for consumption, as it is practiced in Italy, exercises a beneficial influence, especially by contributing to keep down the prices of articles of first necessity. But this influence is very limited. Besides, the greater part of the Italian consumers' societies are not very flourishing. They lead a rather straitened life. On the whole, co-operation for consumption in Italy is not yet a success. We may hope that it will become such.

In commenting upon this, Mr. Neale, Secretary of the English Co-operative Union, remarks :

The people's banks appear to me to form in Italy indirectly a serious hindrance to the spread of co-operation for consumption. By furnishing, through the credit given by them, a support to the small traders, they make the triumph of co-operation, which is in continual conflict with this class of traders, more difficult.

In the country districts of Lower Lombardy a system of co-operative bakeries exists, founded by Rinaldo Anelli, a priest of the village of Bernate Ticino. The farmers and farm laborers suffered from poor food owing to insufficient means for individually drying and preserving the grain from mould, especially during wet seasons, although it formed their chief reliance for subsistence. To meet this peculiarly local need Anelli said to the agriculturalists :

We will construct a bakehouse. You shall bring to this bakehouse your grain. Here we intend to get it well dried that it may keep well. We will make a contract with the miller to grind it on fair terms. We will make it into bread on the best system and in the most economical manner; and we will give you as many loaves of bread as will correspond to the corn that you have brought.*

The instant success of the scheme, which has been elsewhere copied, affords a marked instance of the advantages of mutual effort under certain favorable conditions.

* Co-operation in Italy.

Productive co-operation is limited to a few societies, and although some success is to be noted, it is still in the experimental stage. The oldest and most important society is the Artistic Glass Society of Altare, founded in 1856, and for a time subjected to government opposition. Its original capital was only 14,385 lire, about £463, but the members by carrying to capital monthly instalments of their wages increased it rapidly until, in 1883, it amounted to about £16,639. The value of product in the latter year was about £21,196.

The Co-operative Labor Society at Ismola, manufacturing earthenware and kitchen utensils, was founded in 1874 by Guissepe Bucci, who gave up to his workmen his own establishment, for which they paid him by instalments. It has been reasonably successful.

In Bologna there are six productive societies engaged in hemp dressing, shoemaking, building and woodworking, leather cutting, glove making, and printing. They are all small, but are said to be exerting a good influence. At Milan, there is a co-operative society of marble workers, and one of laundresses; at Bandeno, one of weavers; at Schio, one engaged in railway and tramway construction, and at Turin, one of working tailors, dressmakers and sempstresses.

The customary division of profits is between shareholders and workers. At Altare and Ismola 3 per cent. is first paid to shareholders, and of the remaining profit 30 per cent. is carried to a reserve fund; 25 per cent. to a subsidy fund; 30 per cent. to shareholders, and 15 per cent. to workers in proportion to the number of days each has worked. Members must become shareholders within four years or leave the society, a requirement that eliminates the thriftless and undeserving.

Another form of productive co-operation in Italy should be noticed,—the co-operative associations of day laborers. These arose from among the agricultural workers of Romagna, and they had in view the emancipation of field laborers from the power of contractors whose custom it was to control every extensive operation in road making, earth-work, etc; farming out the work to sub-contractors and

reducing wages to the lowest point so as to swell profits to themselves without regard to the rights of the laborers dependent upon them. The work, it will be seen, is very simple, requiring little capital and limited skill, thus rendering it easy of performance upon the co-operative plan. The meagre capital required was readily obtained by savings from wages, the par value of shares being placed at a low figure. Almost the only outlay required was for pickaxes, barrows, etc., and in many cases these were already possessed by the workmen. The plan of operation was simple. Large contracts are taken by the society at fixed rates, and sublet in sections to members, who work by the piece. By this plan individual remuneration is in proportion to the work performed. The workers become directly interested in the work and their efficiency is proportionately increased. The middleman is abolished, and the laborer is brought into immediate relations with the proprietor who controls the undertaking. Under these advantages men who previously earned from $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $1s. 2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day have increased their wages to $2s. 5d.$, and in some cases to $3s. 2\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $4s.$ daily. The first association of this sort, formed at Ravenna with 300 members, grew to a membership of 3,000 within a year. Others upon the same plan are working well.

CO-OPERATION IN SWEDEN.*

Co-operation in Sweden, as in Norway and Finland, is still awaiting developement, but owing principally to the efforts of Lars Oscar Smith, a wealthy manufacturer of Stockholm, its future is hopeful. Mr. Smith became interested in the subject by the study of foreign experiments, and especially by witnessing what had been accomplished in Great Britain. He first formed in Stockholm the Sattskapet Arbetarnes Ring, or Workmen's Ring Society, and inspired by this example, 80 similar societies sprang up in the Swedish provinces. An important object of these societies was emancipation from the "ring" rule carried on

* Authority: Mr. A. W. Schulman, of the Aktiebolaget Arbetarnes Ring, Stockholm.

by the combined proprietors of brandy shops and public houses.

The original Workmen's Ring Society, after variations of fortune, was incorporated during October, 1884, under the name of the Aktiebolaget Arbetarnes Ring, or Workmen's Ring Society, limited. In its corporate organization this society consists of two sections, A and B; the first a wholesale and the last a retail department. To aid the society, in whose welfare he was deeply interested, Mr. Smith supplied the capital which the workmen lacked requisite to conduct the wholesale department, viz., 100,000 Swedish crowns, representing 20,000 shares. The Section B, retail, is provided with capital upon the basis of five crown shares in groups of 500 shares each, only one share to be held by each member. Mr. Smith's connection is upon the following terms: 6 per cent. is to be paid to him upon his investment; the balance of profits acquired in both sections is to be carried to a reserve fund until the latter becomes 100,000 crowns, whereupon the reserve is to be used in taking up the shares held by Mr. Smith, who is to go out of the concern. By this plan the shareholders of Section B will ultimately acquire the wholesale business of Section A out of the profits arising from their trade.

The sections are governed by committees. Whenever a sufficient number of persons will subscribe to take up a group or block of shares in Section B, and will pledge themselves to support a store operated by the capital thus supplied, such a store is to be opened, and becomes a department of the society. The retail section therefore admits of indefinite extension, although, as the organization is recent, few stores have yet been started. In general features, the organization is based upon that of the English societies, that is, a wholesale department intended ultimately to be owned and operated by a federation composed of numerous retail associations. Unlike the English stores which began with the retail departments and by natural growth developed their present complete organization, the Swedish societies, by the aid of the capital supplied by Mr. Smith, have at once

the advantages of a wholesale department, with the possibility of acquiring its full ownership in the future.

The business of the Swedish Workmen's Ring is at present confined to groceries and the products of butchering, together with a co-operative steam kitchen for workingmen, originally established by Mr. Smith but now operated as a department of the society.

Mr. Smith is also the promoter of a co-operative banking society, the Aktiebolaget Arbetareingens Bank, having a capital of more than 300,000 Swedish crowns, in shares of 25 crowns (1£ 8s.) each, one-fifth held by Mr. Smith and the balance held by about 8,500 workingmen.

CO-OPERATION IN SWITZERLAND.*

About 130 distributive societies are in operation in Switzerland, of which nine only existed prior to 1860. The larger number are in the cantons of Zurich, Bern, Saint Gallen, Neufchatel, and Glarus, though some are found in every canton except Schwytz, Uri, Unterwald, and Appenzell-Interieur.

The majority of the societies, according to their professions, place chief stress upon securing supplies free from adulteration, and the moral advantages of co-operation, rather than upon low prices. These are mainly conducted by the German-speaking population. On the other hand, the minority aim at low prices chiefly, and of these three-fourths are French.

The capital invested in the societies is approximately 3,127,228 francs. Societies not represented in the returns would, if included, probably enlarge the total to 3,250,000 francs. The total number of shareholding members has been estimated at 30,000, the total annual sales at 13,000,000 francs, and the total annual profits at 1,500,000 francs. The moral results attending co-operation in England also appear in Switzerland. No Swiss co-operative union has yet been established.

* Authority: The Journal de Geneve, March 6, 1884.

CO-OPERATION IN THE NETHERLANDS.*

Co-operative societies in the Netherlands have a legal sanction in the statute of November 17, 1876, and, although a few societies had been founded previously, the progress of the movement rests upon this statute.

The General Dutch Workmen's Union (*Het Algemeen Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond*) and the Society for Self Help (*Vereeniging voor Eigen Hulp*) are corporations founded for the purpose of promoting co-operative societies and extending co-operative principles. The first has its headquarters at Amsterdam, and the latter at The Hague. Both maintain newspaper organs.

Fifty-one co-operative societies have been established since 1876. Divisions of the Workmen's Union also exist in several towns and have founded small associations administered under domestic rules, not incorporated. The co-operative savings and advancing banks are located at Amsterdam, The Hague, Leeuwarden, Middleburg, Goes, Enschede and Veendam.

Most of the consumers' societies are upon the limited liability plan. The cash system is generally adhered to. Some sell only to members at as low rates as possible.† Others sell to every one and divide profits among members yearly in proportion to consumption, allowing undrawn dividends to remain on interest.‡

The two co-operative bakeries enumerated are in successful operation at The Hague and at Koog aan de Zaan (North Holland) respectively. At The Hague, members upon joining pay 1s. 8d. In April, 1885, the society had 1,050 members. Dividends are paid in bread during the year as demanded, each member's dividend being in proportion to his consumption during the previous year. At Koog, the yearly surplus is divided among widows of deceased members, upon the basis of the consumption of the recipient during the previous year.

*Authority: J. Th. Braun, of The Hague.

†Civil Service plan.

‡Somewhat similar to the Rochdale plan.

The agricultural societies conduct the business of transportation and selling farm produce for the common account of members, in foreign and native markets; besides which one society has a productive character.

The co-operative associations that belong to the Society for Self Help have a common agency for the purchase of supplies in the *Gezaamentlyke Inkoop van Eigen Hulp*, at Rotterdam, which, though loosely organized, is really the germ of a wholesale society.

A division of the Society for Self Help devotes itself to the dissemination of supplies among army and navy officers, and is similar to the army and navy supply societies in England, although at present rather limited in its operations.

CO-OPERATION IN AUSTRALIA.*

The leading co-operative society in Australia is the Equitable Co-operative Society, of Melbourne, administered on the Rochdale plan. Business was begun in 1882, and certain errors of management due to inexperience having been remedied, the society is now firmly established and progressing rapidly. Early in the year 1885 the number of members was 1,990; paid up capital, £46,100; and deposits, £7,000, drawing interest at 5 per cent.

The departments include groceries, hardware, wines and spirits, crockery, boots and shoes, drugs and chemicals, stationery, drapery, millinery, carpets and upholstery, tailoring and dressmaking. The number of employes in the distributive service is about 90, one-third of whom are boys and girls. About 56 productive employes are also engaged. A monthly journal, called the Equitable Co-operator, is published by the society in its interests and circulated free of charge. Goods are delivered free to purchasers in Melbourne and suburbs. An experienced buyer is employed in London, and about one-half the stock in trade is imported.

Some other distributive societies exist in Australia, called

* Authority: Mr. William Nuttall, Secretary of the Equitable Co-operative Society, Melbourne.

co-operative, but mostly upon the joint stock plan. Under the influence of the Equitable Society co-operation in that country will no doubt be further developed.

PART III.

CO-OPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

SOCIOLOGIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

Very little has been done in a general or practical way to disseminate the principles of distributive or productive co-operation in the United States. Several labor organizations, notably the Plumbers' International Union*, are accumulating co-operative funds for the purpose of propaganda and to aid local efforts at co-operation; but as yet little progress has been made by them.

The Sociologic Society of America is doing what it can to collect and disseminate information upon all forms of co-operation in the various states. Its motto is, "Co-operation, the law of the new civilization," and its officers, whose names are inserted for the benefit of those desiring to obtain facts or documents from them, are as follows:

President—Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, 52 Seventh Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice-President—Mrs. Helen Campbell, Orange, N. J.

Treasurer—Jos. Lafumee, 75 Fleet Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

General Secretary—Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles, Killingly, Conn.

Recording Secretary—Miss Mary T. Crowell, 308 West 14th St., N. Y. City.

Secretary for the N. W.—Miss Elizabeth Wyer, 549 Olive Street, St. Paul, Minn.

Secretary for Middle States—George Boush, Norfolk, Va.

Secretary for S. W.—Mrs. Margaret Peake, Sandusky, O.

*See article on Journeymen Plumbers' Co-operative Society, of Milwaukee.

Foreign Secretary — Prof. C. H. A. Bjerregaard, Astor Library, N. Y. City.

Advisory Board — Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa, chairman, "The Hampshire," New York City.

Co-operative Board — Samuel Whittles, Jr., chairman, 11 Ferry Street, Fall River, Mass.; Mrs. Lita Barney Sales, Killingly, Conn., secretary; Hon. James Bishop, Trenton, N. J.; Geo. Dewhirst, 90 Holly Street, Lawrence, Mass.; Thomas Gardner, 61 Front Street, N. Y. City; Prof. Carl H. A. Bjerrregaard, Astor Library, N. Y. City; Mr. Samuel Waller, Seneca Falls, N. Y.; Mr. John R. Rankin, Minnesota; Henry B. Maglathlin, Silver Lake, Mass.; Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Ida Terrace, Troy N. Y.; Mrs. Helen Campbell, Box 22, Orange, N. J.; Mrs. Adelaide Clafin, Quincy, Mass.; Miss Jenny McAdam, 103 West Forty-eighth Street, N. Y. City; Mrs. M. Fay Peirce, 7 East 31st Street, N. Y. City.

The circular letter of the society practically covers its declaration of principles, the insertion of which, therefore, will be sufficient to indicate the platform on which it is proceeding:

The Sociologic Society has been formed for the purpose of studying the laws relating to social organization, and for the propagation of the principles of co-operation or "Mutual Helpfulness" among the people of this country.

It holds as self-evident propositions: That the present industrial system is unjust; that the workman does not receive an equitable share of the wealth he creates, and that the assumption that labor is merely a commodity, regardless of the well-being of the laborer, is incompatible with a high civilization.

It believes that the measure of reward should be based upon the productiveness of labor, and not upon the law of demand and supply; that the condition of society will be largely improved by the substitution in social and industrial life of the principle of co-operation for that of competition, that the community is responsible for the condition of its members, and that all members should, as far as possible, have equal social opportunities.

It knows that, while all endeavors at reform are and must be tentative, the power which underlies and works through nature, ultimately brings forth the good; that the efforts of the humblest accelerate this process, and that by organization the desired change will be the more rapidly at-

tained. The society submits to the community the following expression of its principles:

First — That justice demands that the workman should participate beyond his mere wages, in the profits of the business in which he is engaged.

Second — That the operative class should be encouraged to combine their efforts and savings in the establishment of business, both of a productive and distributive nature.

Third — That all legislation militating against the organization of labor should be repealed, and that the combinations of the operative class should receive the same legal encouragement as that now enjoyed by capitalist corporations.

Fourth — That Bureaus of Labor should be established by Government, whereby the members of the various trades would be able to obtain exact information respecting the condition of their several industries throughout the entire country.

Fifth — That steps should be taken for the formation of a Labor Congress, whose object should be the efficient organization of all industries.

For the purpose of propagating its principles as widely and speedily as possible the SOCIOLOGIC SOCIETY desires to form branches throughout the land, where it may be able to influence public opinion, and arouse the attention of thoughtful people by open discussion, essays, lectures, and by the expression of its opinions through the press.

The society will be glad to receive accessions from those who are in sympathy with its principles, and it will be pleased to have any person interested in its object to join the Central Organization at New York, with a view of establishing new branches in neighborhoods where they are not yet established.

IMOGENE C. FALES, President,

LITA BARNEY SAYLES, Gen. Sec'y, 52 Seventh Av., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Killingly, Conn.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

The American Economic Association, of which Dr. Richard T. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, is secretary, is also engaged in the study of industrial, social and economic topics and publishing information thereon. Its subjects are handled by some of the ablest men in the land, and published in monographs at reasonable prices. Dr. Ely will furnish any information desired.

ARLINGTON CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, LAWRENCE, MASS.

The Arlington Co-operative Association, at Lawrence, Mass., furnishes an example of successful American distributive co-operation on substantially the Rochdale plan.

The association is limited to employes of the Arlington mills. In this feature of limitation the plan of the English stores is not adhered to, as membership in the latter is not restricted. Officers are elected annually, consisting of a secretary, treasurer, and ten directors, one of whom is chosen president by the board, and regular quarterly meetings are held. Special meetings may be called by the president with the consent of a majority of the directors, and must be called upon the written request of ten members. Auditors are chosen annually by the stockholders by ballot. The manager of the store is selected by the directors, and is at present a thoroughly competent person trained in the principles of distributive co-operation in England.

The administration of the society is similar to that of the English societies which we have described. Three members of the board of directors constitute an advisory committee whose duty it is to consult with the manager as to purchases of stock, and to approve all bills before the same are paid by the treasurer. The latter officer is placed under bonds. The manager is held responsible for the correct accounting of stock in trade, makes a daily report of sales and accounts to the treasurer, and takes account of stock quarterly. He gives such bonds as the directors require for the faithful performance of his duties.

Members may hold from one to two hundred shares. The par value of shares is five dollars. Members upon joining pay an initiation fee of 50 cents, all sums so received being carried to the sinking fund, to which fund is also carried not less than per cent. of profits annually. Under the rules the sinking fund is to be allowed to accumulate until it shall amount to 30 per cent. in excess of the capital stock. Amounts carried to the sinking fund, and other sums in excess of the business needs of the association, are placed on deposit in the savings bank until sufficient in the aggre-

gate to purchase five shares of Arlington mills stock, when the deposit, at the discretion of the directors, may be withdrawn and invested in such stock under such provisions as the treasurer of the corporation and the State law may require. "On all certificates of stock thus issued there shall be endorsed the provision that interest shall be paid at the rate of 1 per cent. less than the average dividend declared by the Arlington corporation for the current year."* This provision as to investments, taken together with the fact that members must be employes of the Arlington corporation, introduces indirectly a productive element.

The cash system is enforced. No intoxicating liquors are sold. Sales are made at the average retail market price. Each stockholder has one vote in business meetings. Shares are withdrawable after thirty days' notice, or if, for any reason, payment is delayed after thirty days upon shares which a member has duly signified his intention to withdraw, such shares may be transferred to any other member who has not already the maximum number of shares to which he is entitled under the rules; but no transfer can be made to non-members, unless by the consent of the directors, in writing, signed by the president and secretary, and entered upon the records of the association.

After providing for the sinking fund, interest on capital stock at the rate of per cent. annually, and the payment of taxes, profits are divided quarterly in proportion to the purchases of the recipients, non-members sharing at half the rate allowed to members. After one dollar has been paid in on stock subscribed for, the subscriber is entitled to a full dividend. Dividends and interest declared on stock may remain on deposit. Interest on money paid in for shares commences on the first of each month. No interest is paid on shares withdrawn before the end of the quarter. When the undrawn dividends and interest placed to the credit of any person amount to the par value of one share, interest is declared on the accumulation in the same manner as provided for money paid in for shares, provided that such

* By-laws of the Association.

accumulation, together with the original shares invested, shall not exceed the par value of 200 shares.

The association was incorporated July 8, 1884. Business was begun September 15, 1884, and the first fiscal year was closed October 1, 1885. The average capital for the year, \$3,320, was turned over more than eleven times and thus realized a return of nearly 74 per cent. in less than thirteen months.

The gross profit amounted to 16.02 per cent. on sales; salaries and expenses 10.07 per cent. on sales; net profits 5.95 per cent. on sales; the profits divided represent an average on checks returned of 6.24 per cent. for full dividend and 3.12 per cent. for half dividend; the sinking fund represents more than 14 per cent. of net profits besides initiation fees; the interest is 5 per cent. on capital, and the total return on capital is 73.68 per cent.

At the close of the first year's business the share capital represented 664 shares; merchandise in stock, including dry goods and fuel, amounted to \$2,554.27; fixtures, \$767.28; cash in bank, \$1,249.26; and the association might well congratulate itself on the results accomplished, and the prosperous future apparently before it.

On January 20, 1886, President Wm. D. Hartshorne said, in submitting another quarterly report:

The net results of this quarter show a slight gain over the preceding, but not so much as your directors felt confident can yet be attained. You will please note that we have charged off this quarter to expense account a large amount for depreciation of fixtures. This you will recognize as the policy for a sound business.

We also beg you to note that it was shown in the table in last quarter's report that the total returns on capital to that date have been...\$2,446 80
By the last quarter's business, including interest, we add to this 842 71

Making a total return in less than 46 months of.....	\$3,299 01
on an average capital of.....	3,253 00
of which has been paid over or credited to members.....	2,846 51

The sixth quarterly statement, made on May 1, 1886, shows the total receipts from sales \$11,547.74; a total net profit of \$1,055.03; total amount distributed among members, \$830.03, and amount carried to sinking fund, \$225.00.

Although this creditable result is shown on a capital of \$3,855, a co-operator writes:

There is, however, one feature about this society which will prove the fatal rock upon which it will be shattered to atoms. The danger to this splendid society lies in the fact that any member may own as many as 200 shares, equal to \$1,000, and no one is compelled to own more than one share, equal to \$5. This introduces the "speculative idea." Sooner or later the big fish will eat the little ones, and co-operation will again be denounced as a failure.

The actual experience of the Rochester Co-operative Foundry, given elsewhere, is similar to the prediction above quoted.

CO-OPERATION IN LITERATURE.

"The Labor Problem," a book of 330 pages, projected by the St. Louis *Age of Steel*, is a good illustration of co-operative effort. It was written by college professors, manufacturers, doctors of divinity, skilled artisans, common laborers, professional reformers, and the several state Commissioners of Labor. It thus covers a wider field of fact and thought, and is seasoned with a greater variety of spice and originality, from more points of view, than any volume that ever preceded it.

A far more pretentious, though no more practical, example of co-operation, is the "Narrative and Critical History of America," projected by Justin Winsor, of Harvard University. The volumes already out are the best possible evidence of the practicability of co-operation—at least in literature. The material for it is contributed by fifteen "learned and historical societies," and about forty able writers.

Another example of co-operation in literature is a "History of Co-operation in America," now in progress. Six persons have agreed to co-operate with Dr. Richard T. Ely in its preparation, which will make the volume more complete than anything we have yet had on that subject.

These facts call to mind, though this may be an inapt place to quote it, a saying of Marcus Aurelius: "We are made for co-operation—like feet, like hands, like eyelids,

like the rows of the upper and lower teeth. To act against one another, then, is contrary to nature."

By this quotation the Bureau must not be understood as indorsing ideal co-operation; for the very reason that it can not succeed is because of the diversity and perversity of human nature.

PROFIT-SHARING AT ST. LOUIS.

"The N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company," of St. Louis, manufacturers of plumbing goods, hydrants, sheet and pipe lead, brass goods, etc., have adopted a system of profit-sharing, dividing their profits as follows: First, a dividend of seven per cent. is paid on the actual cash capital employed. The balance of the profits is divided pro rata between the capital and the total wage account added together. Wages to all employes are paid weekly, and on a basis of value and merit, regardless of the profit-sharing scheme. All employes are entitled to participate who shall have been four months in the employ of the company, and not discharged through any fault of their own.

The stockholders, through their board of directors, retain absolute control of the business in all forms of direction and management, the same as if no profit-sharing scheme existed. The profits are determined by the usual plan of inventory and accounting, annually, about the first of the year.

This plan was adopted to take effect from the first of the current year (1886). "So far, we have seen no reason for regretting the adoption of the plan," writes J. B. Case, secretary of the corporation.

This company also has a semi-co-operative store, but as it is yet in an experimental condition, a description of its workings would not be appropriate at this time.

ALBANY CO-OPERATIVE CIGAR MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

From D. Fribourg, president of the Albany Co-operative Cigar Manufactory No. 1, a brief account of this venture is obtained:

We organized on the 24th day of March, 1885, chartered by the state on the 30th day of April of same year. We were eight in number. Our capital stock is four thousand dollars, divided into eight equal shares of five hundred each. The paid-in capital was fifty dollars per member, making a total of four hundred dollars with which to commence operations; the balance to be paid in as the company may direct. No stockholder can hold more than one share of stock, and that share will entitle him to one vote. By so doing stock can never fall into the hands of a few, nor can the concern become a monopoly. Our officers consist of a president, manager, secretary, treasurer, and four auditors, by whom its business shall be conducted and managed. The above officers constitute the board of directors.

The management of the mechanical department is in the hands and subject to the orders of the manager. Dividends shall be declared semi-annually, in July and December, when the amount of the funds will warrant it. The essential points in successful co-operation are harmony, industry, economy and sobriety. We have mastered them all. We have enlarged our factory once and opened a first-class retail stand.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION AT DETROIT.

In calling attention to a productive co-operative venture in Detroit, it may be said without fear of successful contradiction, that a common form of co-operation may succeed anywhere if managed by men of integrity, calm judgement and good business ability.

As a remedy for grievances existing among the shoemakers of Detroit, which could not be settled satisfactorily by the Knights of Labor, it was decided to start a co-operative factory. The matter that caused the trouble between the shoemakers and the manufacturers, was a claim by the members of the K. of L. that "they did not get a fair show," that non-Knights were taking their places whenever they presented themselves and asked for work.

The consequence was a strike and eventually a boycott which lasted for ten months. At the end of that time the firm sent for the executive committee of the K. of L. and settled all the difficulties, resulting in lifting the boycott; but a co-operative factory had already been started — too successfully to be abandoned.

The shares were placed at five dollars, payable in monthly installments of one dollar, so that shareholding would be

within the reach of all. "We became incorporated under the state laws" says the secretary, "and placed our shares at 10,000 or \$50,000 capital. We met all the obstructions that such enterprises generally meet; overcame them all however, and got a plant with first-class machinery, and started making women's and misses' shoes last October. Increased our capacity three times since and will have to do so again in the near future."

The number of shares any individual can hold is limited to one hundred, but a person holding one hundred shares has only one vote at any meeting, the same as a person holding one share. The profits of the concern are divided as follows: Forty per cent. to capital, forty per cent. to labor employed in factory, ten per cent. to stockholding dealers, five per cent. to non-stockholding dealers, and five per cent. to educational purposes.

The factory is mostly owned and solely controlled by the K. of L. and is conducted by a board of five directors who look after all the business of the concern. All money is controlled by the Board, but cash coming into their hands is banked immediately, no matter whence it comes. Checks are drawn from time to time in favor of the manager for the running expenses of the factory. The books are open at all times to the inspection of stockholders. The method of keeping the books is so simplified that a man of ordinary intelligence can at once discern any irregularities.

"We are running along harmoniously," writes the secretary further, "and are satisfied that our enterprise will be a success.

"1st. We have a scale of wages which was drawn up by the employes and presented to the superintendent and he referred it to the directors, who looked it over, and seeing that the bill was a just one, signed it and the shop committee of the employes signed it for them. It was copied and tacked up in the factory so that all can see it.

"2d. The employing of help is left to the superintendent, who is responsible to the directors if the work is not up to the standard, stockholders having the preference. There has not been any trouble on that score yet.

"3d. At present [April 1886] ten hours per day; on and after May 1st eight hours will constitute a day's work.

"4th. The highest wages paid for one week is \$17.83; the lowest for a full week \$4.68, to a woman.

"5th. All employes are shareholders, but there is no law requiring them to be such.

"6th. Every Saturday at 3 o'clock the employes are paid and the factory closed until Monday morning.

"7th. The laws of Michigan do not contain any special provisions for the incorporation or management of co-operative institutions. You can not incorporate any institution with less than \$50,000 capital, but the law does not say that the capital shall be paid up.

"8th. It does not matter whether a person belongs to the K. of L. or not; he can hold our stock, but the board may reject any one applying for stock by a majority vote.

"9th. The board receive nothing for their services.

"10th. Since the factory has been placed on a solid basis, manufacturers and dealers are very friendly to us."

BAYONNE CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

The subjoined interesting account of the co-operative store and meat market at Bayonne, N. J., was written by John Hoerr, of Bergen Point, one of the incorporators:

The association, you will observe, is an incorporated concern, provision for the formation of such societies having been made by an act of the legislature of this state, passed I think, April 10, 1884, and according to its certificate of incorporation the association is authorized to carry on any business named therein.

The organization of the association was perfected September 27, 1884, for the purpose of establishing a store for the sale of groceries, etc., to members and non-members — selling at a uniform price to all, but dividing the profits, as prescribed in the by-laws. ¹

¹ Sixth. From the absolute profits after paying the expenses of the association five per cent., shall be appropriated for a contingent or sinking fund. The remainder, after paying legal interest on the capital stock taken, shall be divided among the members and non-members as follows, provided they comply with the by-laws of the association. The profits derived from the sale of goods to members to be divided according to the amount of purchases each member shall make. One-half of the profits derived from the sale of goods to non-members, to be divided among such non-members according to the amount of purchases each shall make. The balance not to exceed 10 per cent. per annum on the

The authorized capital of the association is \$2,500, divided into five hundred shares at \$5.00 each, and on the paid-up shares the by-laws provide for the payment of interest to shareholders at the legal rate of 6 per cent. per annum.

The association having been formed, the work of accumulating the necessary capital to open a store proved to be a greater task than had been anticipated. This was partly due to the fact that the shares had been placed at a low figure in order to put them within reach of any one desiring to avail himself of the opportunity of securing what it was intended to provide, and partly also to the fact that the subject of co-operation was little understood by the working classes, whom the enterprise was intended to benefit.

In addition to these drawbacks we had to contend with other difficulties, and amongst which was the fact that the workingmen of this section, though numerous enough, and earning on an average very fair wages, are composed of many different nationalities, and are employed, at say fifteen different manufacturing interests, though all within a radius of three miles, and that we could not induce any prominent men—superintendents of works or other representative parties—to connect themselves with us or to lend their influence, or by their presence to give weight to the enterprise. The latter should not be required in a co-operative concern, but from what has come under my notice in connection with the subject, I am of the opinion that a good figure-head in an institution of this kind will prove quite as useful as ornamental.

Thus our association was left to its own resources entirely, and we were not in a position to start our business till May, 1885, eight months after organizing, by which time we had accumulated about \$1,200, with a membership of over a hundred.

A store was rented in a good locality at \$300 per annum, and after investing about \$450 in fixtures and outfits, including a horse and wagon for the delivery of goods to purchasers, the remaining \$750 was paid out for our first stock of goods. The business was then placed in charge of a manager with one good assistant, and the store was opened, and the many difficulties attending new co-operative schemes presented themselves in regular order. Foremost among these and the most discouraging in effect, was the lack of interest shown by the shareholders, on whom the success of the store depended. We found that only a small percentage purchased their supplies at their own store, and in many cases they not only neglected the enterprise altogether, but ridiculed and belittled the efforts of those who were trying to make the store a success.

Our outside trade, however, helped us along, and we managed to keep our

capital stock taken, to be divided among the members according to the number of shares each may hold, the remainder, if any, to be placed in the sinking fund. The aforesaid division of the profits shall be made quarterly at such time as the board of directors of said association may provide.

heads above water till finally trade increased sufficiently to enable us to start a meat market in connection with the grocery department. On account of the higher margin of profit on meat this venture established for us a trade which we have since been able to hold, and the amount of our weekly sales has been nearly doubled, so that at the end of our last quarter—March 31—we could show a profit sufficient to cover the interest due on share capital from the date of investment by shareholders.

Our trade now amounts to about \$1,800 per month, with a running expense of about \$200, including salaries, etc., and we are now making a little money. By the end of our next quarter we expect to pay our first dividend on purchases, which we trust will boom the business sufficiently to place us in a position where we need have no misgivings for the future. On the 25th of May, 1886, our store had been in operation one year, and I may add that it has been a year of profitable experience.

Probably many other co-operative societies have met the same obstacles which are placed, we found, in the way of success (only a few of which I have mentioned), and, getting discouraged, succumbed. That we existed so long under these circumstances is due to the persevering energy of a few men who worked harmoniously together. Co-operative business is a success.

PROFIT-SHARING AT WESTERLY, RHODE ISLAND.

Employers may find valuable suggestions in an account of the plan adopted by the proprietors of the New England Granite Works for dividing profits with their employes; and the "comment" of Mr. Batterson to the granite cutters should be read by every workingman into whose hands this report may come.

James Gourlay, to whom the subjoined letter of the president of the corporation is addressed, is superintendent of the great quarries at Westerly, and charged with making the new plan successful:

OFFICE OF THE NEW ENGLAND GRANITE WORKS,
HARTFORD, CONN., 4th January, 1886.

JAMES GOURLAY, Esq., Sup't, Westerly, R. I.

Dear Sir — In regard to the various questions which have arisen from time to time, touching the proper relations of capital to labor, and which at times have assumed such menacing attitudes, that we have been forced to decline orders of considerable magnitude, for the reason that we could not run the risk of a "strike," which might involve us in heavy loss and

9—F. A. F.

damages, I have determined to submit to you the following propositions, with the hope that they may prove acceptable to the men employed by us.

First. On all orders executed at The New England Granite Works Quarry in Westerly, R. I., during the year 1886, commencing January 1st, ultimo, both capital and labor in proportion to the amounts or values contributed by each shall share in the net profits made on such orders during the year.

Second. The net profit shall be determined in the following manner, viz.: out of the gross receipts, or from the capital employed shall be drawn, *first*, the wages of the men employed as journeymen, whether by day's work or piecework, at the rates mutually agreed upon or otherwise established, which shall be paid monthly. *Second*, all other expenses of conducting the business, including superintendence, traveling expenses, clerk hire, taxes, insurance, and legal interest on the capital employed, shall then be deducted and paid out of the gross profits, and the balance remaining shall be treated as the net profits from which a dividend shall be declared and paid in manner and form as hereinafter provided.

Third. The net profits having been determined, the entire amount shall be divided into three parts, one part to be appropriated and paid as a dividend to labor, one part to be appropriated and paid as a dividend to capital, and one-third to be reserved as a guaranty fund, to which fund shall be charged all losses by bad debts or credits given for materials and labor during the year.

Fourth. The labor dividend shall be made and paid before any dividend is paid to capital, and such payment shall be made at the end of each fiscal year, or as soon thereafter as the books can be written up, an inventory taken, and the net profits determined.

Fifth. When the net profits have been determined as aforesaid, the same may be verified by a competent accountant or auditor, to be selected and agreed upon by the parties in interest; and when such accountant shall certify that the net profits have been correctly and fairly determined, then the dividends may be paid; but such accountant or auditor shall not be at liberty to disclose or make public any other facts concerning the business audited, than a simple verification of the accounts, and the sum total of the net profits for the year, available for the purpose of a dividend.

Sixth. As the labor dividend is intended for labor only, no officer, superintendent, overseer, clerk, agent, or other employe drawing a salary or however otherwise paid, nor any contractor or sub-contractor, who for their own account and profit, contract or agree for a "lump sum" to do and perform the whole or certain specific parts of the work upon a building, monument, or other structure, such work being outside of and not subject to an established or agreed bill of prices, either for day's work or piece-work, therefore, no such officer, superintendent, clerk, apprentice, or

contractor will participate in any dividend paid to labor as hereinbefore stated.

Seventh. No workman who during the year shall have been discharged for good and sufficient cause, such as drunkenness, insubordination, bad workmanship, etc., or who leaves the employment of the company without the consent of the superintendent in writing, shall be entitled to participate in any dividend of profits for the year during which such discharge has taken place.

Eighth. No workman shall be deprived of his dividend who has been discharged arbitrarily or without good cause, or who has been discharged for the reason that the superintendent has not sufficient orders in hand to justify his further employment.

Ninth. The value of all labor contributed to the business for the year shall, for the purpose of a dividend, be treated as so much capital, which capital having been returned to the laborer in the form of wages, is still entitled to a share of the profits in just proportion to the amount contributed during the year in which such profits are made.

Tenth. The true value of all labor contributed, as aforesaid, shall be determined by the amounts earned, and credited to each workman as wages for labor performed during the year; and the dividend to each will be declared upon the exact amount thus earned and credited to his individual account; *for example* — suppose the entire amount of capital employed to be \$100,000, and the entire amount paid for labor during the year to be \$150,000. Such an amount of capital employed and wages paid, ought, with the added cost of transportation and delivery, to insure an output of \$400,000, and a net profit of \$25,000. Of this amount one-third, or \$8,333.33, would be credited to guarantee amount to provide for an assumed loss of about two per cent. on the entire output; the balance would remain for a dividend to capital and labor in proportion to their respective contributions, in this example: two-fifths to capital, \$6,666.67, and three-fifths to labor, \$10,000.00, or 6.66 per cent. on each. Thus the workman whose wages for the year amounts to \$1,000 would have a dividend of \$66.66, and he whose wages amounts to \$600 would have \$39.96. This dividend to labor would also be materially increased, owing to the fact that all those who take work by contract, superintendents, clerks, apprentices, etc., do not participate; so that if each man's labor be treated as so much capital contributed to the business, that capital is not only returned to its owner as wages at the end of each month, but at the end of the year it is again reckoned and rewarded with a high rate of interest.

Eleventh. At the end of the year, all outstanding accounts and bills receivable will be treated as *good* under the guarantee account, and therefore available in determining the net profits. If the guarantee account does not prove to be sufficient to cover the losses, the amount must be made up by the stockholders; but when it is more than sufficient the surplus will belong to the stockholders.

Twelfth. The control of the business must necessarily be in the hands of the stockholders. Men employed every day in mechanical labor, can not watch the markets, or possess that aptitude for business management on a large scale which is requisite to success; but they can do much in stopping the leaks caused by inefficient and bad workmanship.

Thirteenth. All work done or money earned by the employment of machinery will be counted to the credit of labor and capital alike, and the profits made thereby will be subject to the same rule for distribution as for profits otherwise made.

Fourteenth. No officer, director or stockholder, shall receive any compensation, except for services actually rendered, and time actually spent in the service of the company, all of which shall be as fully stated as the amount of service contributed by any other person in the employment of the company.

Fifteenth. The rate of wages *per diem*, the bill of prices for piece-work, and the number of hours to constitute a day's work, shall be determined by mutual agreement on or before the first day of January in each year, and any disagreement which may arise during the year, between the superintendent and workmen, in regard to the same, shall be settled by arbitration.

Sixteenth. The rate of wages *per diem* and the bill of prices for piece-work, shall not be reduced by the superintendent to affect any contract on hand, or taken upon the rate of wages or bill of prices prevailing at the time such contract was made, neither shall the rate of wages or bill of prices be advanced by the workmen to affect such contracts, and if so advanced, the difference in cost by reason thereof may be adjusted in making up the dividends.

In discussing the various propositions before stated, it has frequently been asked "Why not avoid at once all questions which may arise in the settlement of yearly accounts by the equivalent increase in wages?" To which I reply, simply for the reason that in any case the highest wages will be paid which is possible to pay and retain the business from the grasp of competitors in the same line of products; and again, for the reason that the profits of one year will be large, in another small, and in another nothing; to the extent of the profits then, the capital which is represented by labor must take its chances with the capital in money, or money can not be induced to take the risk of such an unequal association with labor.

We must recognize the fact that capital and labor are dependent upon each other, and that plan is best which will harmonize and satisfy these interdependent relations by the stimulant of self-interest.

With the results of a long experience before me, I am convinced that the payment of fixed wages to a large number of men carries with it no

inspiring motive to the attainment of a high standard of excellence, either as to the quantity or quality of their productions; but on the contrary, it tends to indifference and laziness to such an extent that the measure of a fair day's work is not that quantity which can easily be done and well done by a good man, but that quantity which an indifferent man is willing to do and can do without much effort. The consequence is that the best men who are endowed with both energy and skill, soon break away from the restraints of idleness and by the "bill of prices fixed for piece-work" obtain a larger freedom, and a larger reward for their labor; and the fact appears also, that this system of compensating labor is most remunerative to the employer: which brings us to the point, that the average and indifferent workman does not earn his wages when tested by the standard of his own "bill of prices."

I believe then, most thoroughly in the efficacy of *individual interest* as the only available stimulant to natural ambition, and the best results both to capital and labor. When the interests of capital and labor are made identical and well-balanced, I believe the conflict between them will cease, and both will be the gainers thereby.

I sympathize with the laudable ambition of the skilled workman to emancipate himself from the thralldom of a service in which he has no other interest than daily wages, and who aspires to that identity of interest in results which begets self-respect, and a worthy pride in the success of his own company or corporation.

When the workmen are all interested in the results of their combined labor, there will be no room for those who are unwilling to earn and fairly earn the wages which they demand. When the industrious and skillful workman sees that his own earnings are being diminished by the slothful and unskillful workman at his side, he will rebel, and demand, as he will have the right to do, that a better man shall be put in the place of the laggard.

My purpose is, if possible, to secure a community of interest which shall be recognized and admitted to be fair and equitable, claiming no more for capital than is sufficient to hold it in such employment, and giving the balance to labor. Whether my propositions are practicable remains to be seen. I am not certain whether the various organizations for the protection of labor will look upon it with favor or disfavor. I believe they would favor it with one accord if we could agree not to employ any man who is not a member in good standing of their society or organization. My own opinion is that we can not rightfully or properly ostracise any man for the reason that he does or does not belong to this or that society. Such an application of force upon the consciences and freedom of men substitutes anarchy for law, belittles manhood, destroys all independence of character, and is violently in opposition to the spirit of our free institutions.

We must recognize the right of all men to form societies for

their own benefit or protection, and while we do not object if men in our employ desire or can be persuaded to become members of such societies, we can not force them to do so if we would, and any application of force in such direction or to such end, would be an outrage upon their rights as American citizens, for which I can discover no justification or decent apology. My purpose is to elevate and improve, and not to humiliate or degrade. It has been our boast that we live in a free country, and I do not believe that any abridgement of our freedom is necessary in order to promote the welfare of honest labor.

Capital, to have any permanent value, must be active. Labor, to have any permanent value, must be employed. Harmonize these elements so that they will work in unison and no enterprise is too great for accomplishment. Separate them, and the wheels of industry and progress will turn backwards and grind the highest civilization into the dust of barbarism.

Capital is proverbially timid, and it seeks a hiding-place on the first appearance of danger. When labor puts itself in hostile array against capital, then capital will take the alarm and fly from society of labor, returning only when confidence is restored.

In times of a financial panic we see the pallid face of frightened capital. On "black Friday" it was a ghastly and sickening picture which no one wishes to see a second time.

One day there is plenty of money, and the next day the banks have all suspended, and ruin stares everybody in the face. There is no more nor less money on one day than the other, but capital has taken fright and gone into its hiding-places; business is everywhere paralyzed, and unfed labor goes about the streets.

It is certainly a mistake for labor to suppose that it can by any sort of combination or by any other process than the payment of interest, force capital permanently into its service.

It is also a mistake for capital to assume that it can permanently force labor into its service, and appropriate all of the profits to itself; but both ought to be, and I think will be, satisfied and contented, when there is a just recognition of the values contributed by each, and an equitable division of the same.

The fundamental principles which control manufactures and commerce, are simple enough when well understood, and they can be comprehended as well by the mechanic as by the merchant if he will only do his own thinking.

The same force which lifts up labor to the level of capital, will stay the hand of labor in pulling down capital, to a lower level.

When those who make our social laws, recognize quality of character, and honest merit rather than money, as the true standard by which society should be measured, then humanity will rest on a broader and safer foundation, and capital will find in labor its most stalwart protector and coadjutor, while labor will find in capital the means of progress.

The motive of self-interest is made available as the ever-ready means to an end; but it is not enough; for when left to itself, it ends in injustice or spoliation. Capital, for example, seeks its interest in lower wages, while labor seeks its interest in higher wages; these interests are therefore in conflict, and unless they can be harmonized and brought into subjection by the higher principles of morality and justice, they will destroy each other. Self-interest then must be so expanded and tempered, that it will embrace the ethics of mankind as well as its necessities, or else, having but one leg to stand upon, it will soon topple over for want of proper support.

Teach those who have no capital how to acquire it, and how to use it, and they will soon leave the ranks of those who with fire and bludgeon would destroy everything which they do not possess.

Let all honest and intelligent labor come to the front, and improve itself by a free and full participation in all the benefits, blessings, and responsibilities which are the common lot in a society governed by the laws of Christian charity, morality, and justice. There is plenty of room for good men at the front, and always will be.

These are idle and empty words, unless both employer and employed determine that they shall be made practical. I am aware that the change which I propose to you can not be accomplished without considerable labor and patience. It will create rights on the part of the men which will have to be faithfully respected. It may not succeed, but the want of success shall not be due to any want of effort on my part, nor to any unwillingness to modify any defect in the details of the general plan which may be discovered by the experiment of one or two years' trial.

We shall have no trouble with any year which affords good profits and satisfactory dividends; but the bad year, in which there is no *net profit* for a dividend to labor, may cause some friction and discontent. The laborer who has worked as hard and been as faithful to his duties in this year as in any other, will not readily be satisfied with the reasons given for the non-payment of a dividend, and he will be apt to attribute the want of success to bad management, for which he is in no way responsible. I think, however, that the rule which denies any dividend to capital, unless the same proportionate dividend is paid to labor, will at the least be satisfactory evidence of good faith, if not evidence of good management.

The inventory that is now being taken should be on the basis of actual values, and in no case augmented for the purpose of showing good results during the past year, or that the value of the plant may have any real or apparent advantage as the representative of so much capital employed.

Let our experiment be tried in the utmost good faith, and if the result yields a larger benefit to labor than has been anticipated, I shall be more than satisfied.

Yours truly,

J. V. BATTERSON,

Pres. New England Granite Works.

The New England Granite Works employ four hundred men, who, the superintendent says, "are happy, and never worked better."

The company employ union or non-union men, as it may happen, but most of their workmen belong to the union.

In concluding a recent letter concerning the matter, Mr. Batterson writes: "The system is one which produces contentment and peace, and I hope my men will get a good dividend."

NEW BRUNSWICK CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

This, at New Brunswick, N. J., is a distributive enterprise. According to its by-laws "The objects of this association shall be: First. To supply its members and others with articles for household and personal use that are unadulterated and of good quality. Second. To buy such articles at wholesale, to sell the same for cash at retail and to divide the profits thus realized among its members and others in proportion as they have contributed to the production of said profit by their capital, labor or custom. Third. To provide a safe and profitable investment for the capital saved in small sums by its members.

"Any person whose application for membership is approved by the board of trustees may become a member of this association on payment of an entrance fee of fifty cents, subscribing for one or more, but not to exceed four shares of its capital stock, and signing an agreement to abide by these by-laws and amendments thereto."

Geo. S. Hoagland (for the secretary, N. Allen) informs the Bureau that "the store was opened August 15, 1881, and we soon had a good trade, and at the end of November 30, 1881, we paid a dividend of 6 per cent. to members and 3 per cent. to non-members (on purchases). In May (31) we paid a dividend of 4 per cent. on purchases to members, and 2 per cent. to non-members, and continued to do so until November 30, 1884, when again a dividend of 6 per cent. to members and 3 per cent. to non-members was declared, and and we have paid that dividend for four quarters. Our last quarter, ended February 28, 1886, was rather dull, and we

paid a dividend of only 4 per cent. and 2 per cent. Business has continued dull during the quarter, but we think it will be better soon.

"The association has prospered and has generally had a good trade. We now have 102 members and our sales average \$80 per day."

Shareholders, not shares, vote in transacting the business of the association. Under the head of "Financial Management," the constitution provides:

SEC. 8. The profits of this Association, if sufficient, shall be divided as follows:

First, Interest at the rate of one and one-half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) per cent. per quarter shall be paid quarterly upon the share capital of this Association for all amounts invested at the beginning of each financial quarter.

Second, After paying the sum provided for in the first paragraph of this section, five (5) per cent. of all remaining profit on the business of each quarter shall be held as a Contingent or Sinking Fund, until there shall have accumulated a sum equal to thirty (30) per cent. in excess of the Capital Stock, actually paid in, after which the accumulation in excess of thirty (30) per cent. shall be disposed of as directed by the members, at any quarterly meeting of the Association, or a special meeting called for that purpose.

Third, After paying the sums provided for in paragraphs first and second of this section, two and one-half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) per cent. of all remaining profit on the business of said quarter shall be placed to the credit of an Educational Fund, which fund shall be disposed of by the Board of Trustees, subject to the approval of the members, at any regular quarterly meeting of the Association, or at any special meeting called for that purpose.

Fourth, After paying the sums provided in paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of this section, if the remaining profit of the business of any quarter shall be sufficient to pay a dividend of one or more full per cent. upon the full amount paid as wages during the quarter, and the full amount of sales for the quarter, such dividend shall be paid. In the adjustment of the dividend on sales the non-member shall receive one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) the rate of dividend paid to members. Any amount of undivided profit on the business of each quarter shall be carried forward to the credit of the business of the next financial quarter.

The chief features of this association are cheap rates, and so far as can be known, absolutely pure goods—both important desideratums.

FRUIT-GROWERS' UNION AND CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

This organization, of Hammonton, N. J., is one of the oldest in that State. It was first organized in 1867 and then re-organized in 1884 under the new co-operative laws of the State. It is the owner of real estate, warehouses, etc., and is a stable institution, as well as one of the most peculiar in the country. Its members are growers and shippers of fruits, and have agents in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Newark, Pittsburg and elsewhere. During the fruit season these agents report by telegraph the state of the market, the probable quantity and quality wanted for the next day, how the previous day's shipments sold, etc.

This and other information concerning weather, trains, holidays and prices, is published in the *Union Daily Bulletin*, the official organ of the association. Young men on bicycles or horses deliver each issue of the *Bulletin* promptly to members, so that all, near and remote, large and small, reap the same advantages in freight-rates, commissions and favorable markets.

The co-operative store of the association is a more recent venture, but it is popular and successful. Z. U. Matthews, secretary, tells how the association raised funds to start the store thus:

We require our commission merchants to pay 2 per cent. on all gross sales of our members into the treasury of the society. We ship at released rates, taking the risk ourselves, and thus get considerable from the railroad company into our treasury. In this way we saved enough to start our store in good shape.

Many of our members were afraid of the store at first, but it is proving a fine success. Our business is increasing all the time. We keep a full stock of groceries, tinware, hardware, boots, shoes, feed, flour, coal, and all kinds of farming implements, and will keep a full line of dry goods soon.

The last annual report of the association (1886) declares:

The benefits of patronizing a co-operative store, we sum up, are honest weight, good goods at reasonable prices, and no extravagant profits. It is your store; you own it, and get all the profits accruing from the business. If there is anything you want which is not on hand, you have the right to ask the manager to obtain it for you, without asking any special favor. He is there to serve you and your interest.

One of our members kept an account of his purchases for one month, at one of our best stores. He kept himself posted on the prices at the Union store, and figured up the difference. At the end of the month he found he would have saved 20 per cent. on his purchases had he patronized his own store. He then borrowed money, and has since made all his purchases there.

While the percentage on gross sales is not large for reasons already given, yet we find that the money invested in our business has earned over 30 per cent. during the year. We call that a handsome interest.

In this association each member has one vote; voting by proxy is not allowed. On all shares 6 per cent. interest is paid, and profits are divided annually by the board of directors, patrons owning no stock receiving one-half as much as members who are shareholders.

TRENTON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

This association began operation on May 9, 1885, and up to March 31, 1886, had done a cash business of \$23,429.16.

It is managed on terms very favorable to persons of limited means. Benj. Holland, secretary, says, in his first report:

Our By-laws provide an easy way for even the poorest and most humble citizen to avail himself of its advantages. By the payment of twenty-five cents, and subscribing for one share, the par value of which is \$5.00, which may be paid in installments of fifty cents per week, you avail yourself of every advantage that the millionaire, if he should associate with us, can secure.

As to the financial success of the venture, he also says:

The statement herewith submitted shows a net earning of \$1,473.70 within a period of less than eight months, which has been divided to members and other customers trading at the store, as follows: On the 1st of October, after carrying to the sinking fund 5 per cent. of the net profits, discounting the cost of fixtures and organization at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, 2½ per cent. for educational purposes, or propaganda, interest on capital at legal rates, we returned to each member a dividend of seven per cent. on their purchases and 3½ per cent. to non-members who had purchased any amount at the store during the term. For the quarter ending Dec. 31st, after making the same provision for the various funds, we are able to return to members 8 per cent., and to non-members 4 per cent. on every dollar's worth they have purchased. When it is considered that our membership numbers but 193, many of whom are not

heads of families, and that we have not utilized more than one-fourth our capacity in the store we now occupy, it may readily be seen that when our membership shall increase to 1,000 families the per cent. expense will be much less and the dividends on purchases correspondingly increased.

Since the foregoing report was published, the business of Mr. Holland's society has grown and strengthened in every way, and has become, beyond reasonable doubts, a permanent institution.

TRENTON POTTERY DECORATORS.

The pottery decorators of Trenton have raised \$10,000 besides purchasing a site for a co-operative decorating works. They will proceed to business as soon as a proper manager shall have been secured, and expect to be successful, as the profits on their work are very large.

PHOENIXVILLE CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

At Phoenixville, Chester county, Pa., is an association whose business for the year 1885 amounted to \$17,880, of which sum \$12,620 was from the sale of groceries, etc., and \$5,260 from coal sold during fourteen weeks, to January 2, 1886. The net profits remaining after paying 6 per cent. interest on the share capital, deducting cost of distributions, rent, insurance, 10 per cent. for depreciation of fixtures, and 5 per cent. for sinking fund, amounted to over \$400, which has been distributed to the customers of the store in the shape of dividends on their respective purchases, the rate for the last quarter being 7 per cent. to non-members. Coal is sold at a reduction in price of \$1.10 per ton from prevailing rates. The association claims an annual saving to the people of that town, by reason of its existence and operations, of \$15,000 on coal alone, and as much more on groceries.

This is a large sum for a little burg like Phoenixville.

CO-OPERATION IN PHILADELPHIA.

In Philadelphia a distributive co-operative store was started a few years ago which has grown into eight separate establishments doing a business of a quarter of a

million dollars annually. The affairs of the concern have been carefully and shrewdly managed, if results are accepted as evidence. The co-operative building associations of Philadelphia are also extremely successful financially and a means of erecting thousands of comfortable homes.

IN CALIFORNIA.

In California, co-operation, according to Commissioner John S. Enos, has lost standing, the associations formerly existing in that state having become joint-stock concerns, or the property of private individuals.

DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATION AT BUFFALO.

The Buffalo Pioneer Co-operative Society is just starting in business. A few paragraphs from the constitution will suffice to show its methods :

The capital stock of this Society shall be \$10,000, which shall be 2,000 shares at \$5.00 each.

Members shall not be permitted to hold more than five shares, which shall not be transferable, unless by first notifying the Board of Directors, and under no considerations shall they be transferable to those holding the full amount of shares.

Persons wishing to become members must apply to the Secretary or other officers appointed; must state their name, residence, and occupation; must also at the time of application sign a declaration stating their willingness to abide by the rules, and pay a deposit of 50c. entrance fee.

No person shall continue to be a member of the Society who does not purchase from the Society to the amount of at least \$25 per annum.

Any regularly Incorporated Society may become a member of the Society on application to the Board of Directors and subject to the approval of the members in manner herein provided for individual members.

The business of the Society shall be conducted solely on a cash basis.

At the time of securing this information, the Buffalo society was composed of about 200 members.

DISTRIBUTIVE STORE AT STREATOR.

John H. Shay, president of the co-operative store at Streator, Ill., writes as follows:

A co-operative store is no longer an experiment in Streator, but is an accomplished fact.

Our plan is current rates and dividends, exclusively for cash, except

that a stockholder may deposit his certificate and draw out in goods four-fifths of its face value. He must redeem in thirty days, or his stock may be forfeited.

Our sales during the first month averaged about \$70 per day; second month, about \$85 per day; third month, about \$90 per day; and for the present, or fourth month, about \$99 per day.

We have 500 shares of \$10 each, owned by about 350 persons, no one being permitted to own above five shares.

YALE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

A peculiar yet popular and practical form of co-operation is practiced by the students and professors of Yale College, at New Haven, Conn. An organization of these persons was effected in March, 1885, under the title of Yale Co-operative Society, by the payment of \$2 each per year in advance.

Each member has a numbered card containing his signature, on presentation of which he is entitled to trade with any merchant with whom the society has a contract, at the discount mentioned in that contract from regular rates.

The merchants who contract with the society are called "The Associate Tradesmen," and they are expected to keep books in which members of the society write their signatures and the number of their cards, so there shall be no frauds.

Thomas Penney, superintendent, thus describes the operations of the organization and the causes that brought it into life:

It was felt by the students generally that exorbitant prices were asked by city merchants for their goods. The merchants claimed they had to make good their bad debts and so on, and therefore were obliged to ask higher prices than if they received cash down. About four hundred men agreed to form a society and trade with certain merchants on a cash basis for a liberal discount from their *regular* retail prices. A board of directors was chosen from the different departments of the university with a member of the faculty as president. A superintendent and assistant were appointed from the students. We have a store on the college grounds where we keep the most necessary things, such as stationery, text-books etc. We have a telephone free to members and a messenger always on hand.

We have made contracts with merchants representing every department of trade which deals in students' supplies. Our contract binds the merchant to give the members the agreed discount from his regular retail prices. In every case of infringement of this agreement he forfeits \$100. However, thus far we have had no trouble in that direction. The organization of this society has been of immense advantage to college men both directly and indirectly. It not only has given them the advantage of reduced prices from Associated Tradesmen, but it has excited a more lively competition among those who are not associated and thereby has caused a general reduction in prices. We have now a membership of nearly six hundred and expect a larger number next year.

If the students of the Wisconsin University wish to form a similar association, they will find instructive information in the last circular of the Yale Society, from which the following extracts are taken:

There are, including the faculty and all departments, 1,185 persons connected with the University who may enjoy the advantages of the Co-operative Society. If one-half of these join the society, all goods at the store can be sold at cost. Members owe it, therefore, to the society and to their own interests to urge others to join, and not to help to the benefits of membership persons who have not paid the membership fee.

Any serious suggestions as to the present methods of the society, or the possibilities for its further usefulness, by word of mouth or in writing, to the superintendent or to any of the board of managers will be gladly received, and, if practicable, carried out.

The advantages which the members receive may be enumerated as follows:

I. Reductions on purchases made from the Associated Tradesmen of the city.

From statistical returns from about two-thirds of all the members, we are able to give the following figures, made on a basis of fair estimate, which do not take into account the reductions made at the co-operative store.

Average length of membership (out of a possible seven months),	5.7 months.
Average actual savings.....	\$10 89
Average savings on a basis of seven months' membership....	13 89
Greatest individual saving, specified.....	35 00
Number of individuals saving more than \$30.....	5
" " " " " " 25.....	12
" " " " " " 20.....	21
" " " " " " 15.....	58
" " " " " less than 2.....	5
Total actual saving specified.....	2,341 85
Estimated saving on basis of seven months' membership.....	2,879 86
Total estimated saving, at same rate, by largest possible membership (1,485).....	16,250 64

As specific examples of savings in such purchases, witness:

	Cost to ordinary purchaser.	To Co-op. purchaser.
Student's lamp.....	\$4 50	\$3 60
Shoes	5 50	4 95
Hat.....	5 00	4 25
Gloves	2 00	1 70
Laundry bill.....	6 00	5 10
Gas fixture.....	10 00	8 00
Skates	4 00	2 65
Rubber coat	6 00	4 95
Pach's groups.....	1 75	1 50
Carpet	15 00	13 80
Barber, one month.....	2 05	1 40
Sheet music.....	1 00	50

II. Reductions in prices of purchases made at co-operative store, where all goods are sold at a very slight advance on actual wholesale cost. (The cost of membership ticket is generally saved several times over on these purchases alone.)

The following figures are fair samples:

	Reduction from ordinary retail price.
Fine paper	25 to 30 per cent.
Blank books and pads.....	30 to 40 per cent.
Text books.....	at lowest prices.
Books (other than text books).....	20 to 35 per cent.
Hardware	30 to 40 per cent.

	Retail price.	Co-op. price.	Cost.
Stylographic pens.....	\$1 00	\$0 75	\$0 70
Fountain pens	4 00	2 50	2 40
Coal, per ton.....	5 50	4 90	4 90
Wood, per cord	10 50	9 00	8 75

III. General information and convenience, on account of which alone the society's store deserves to receive the support of the college. This branch of the society's business is capable of a growth and development, which will in time, make the store indispensable upon the campus. At present its work includes:

Ordering text-books and other articles.

Distributing instructor's tracts.

Distributing college papers.

Checking baggage and purchasing tickets.

Ordering goods from out of town.

Publishing athletic notices.

Giving general information about college matters.

Offering members free use of a telephone, whereby carriages may be ordered; telegrams sent; errand boys called; physicians summoned, etc., at any time between 8 A. M. and 8 P. M.

IV. Reduction in prices charged to students by city merchants generally.

AT LA SALLE, ILLINOIS.

There are two Co-operative Associations at La Salle, Ill.— Number 1, and Zinc City Co-operative Company.

The latter is composed entirely of the employes of one corporation, the proprietors of which have made some concessions intended to insure the success of the experiment. The secretary, J. F. Leahy, writes thus:

On March 16, 1886, the Zinc City Co-operative Store Company was organized under state license, since which time a charter has been obtained.

About 150 employes of the Matthiessen & Hegeler Zinc Company subscribed 500 shares at \$10.00 each, 40 per cent. of which was paid in. With this capital the nine directors purchased a general stock of groceries and employed J. R. Young as manager of the store.

All sales are made for cash, and stock can therefore be renewed as frequently as desired. In order to aid the men, the Zinc Company adopted a weekly pay-day instead of monthly, as before. Sales amount to about \$1,500 monthly, which are recorded in pass-books. Dividends are to be based on sales. Non-subscribers are entitled to one-half dividend on their purchases. Six per cent. annual interest is allowed on capital stock paid in. Goods are sold at market prices—as low as prevail among our competitors.

So far, our business is fairly successful; our manager estimates that 12½ per cent. dividend may be declared semi-annually.

The La Salle Co-operative Society, sometimes called "Number 1," was started on February 11, 1886. Its motto is "The more you eat, the more you win," referring of course to food purchased of the society.

The constitution of this association is somewhat more liberal as to contracts, credits, and the like, than most of the others.

The managers are allowed to contract debts—borrow money—at 6 per cent. per annum, and to increase capital stock out of the profits of the business. Any debt contracted by the managers, is, by Article XXII, made binding upon all members in proportion to the stock held by each.

The association also deviates from the usual cash-in-hand basis with its patrons, Article XVIII providing as follows :

All goods purchased by the members shall be for ready money as far as possible, but should any member be at any time so necessitated as to require

trust, he shall be allowed to draw 80 per cent. on the money he has invested in the Society. The debt remains in the books against him two months or more; at the time of auditing the accounts he shall have 6 per cent. deducted from his share of interest and profits on purchases, according to the amount of credit he has had, and the other remaining interest and profits go towards reducing the debt he has incurred.

Provision is also made for members in distress, as follows:

A member being in distress may withdraw any sum he may have in the funds of the Society at the discretion of the committee of management, and should any member remove four miles from the place where the business of the Society is transacted, and he is desirous to withdraw his share or shares from the Society, he may do so by giving one month's notice to the committee of management. Having obtained their sanction, he shall take the value of his share or shares in goods, or he may be paid in cash by allowing 5 per cent. discount.

Notwithstanding its liberal provisions, this association has been very successful. Manager J. G. Smith writes that they declared and paid a net dividend of 15 per cent. on their first quarter's business. It is possible, therefore, that the very liberality which in theory is deemed dangerous, has contributed to the success just noted.

THE NEW HAVEN WIRE COMPANY.

In this connection it may be well to mention an instance to illustrate several cases discovered where co-operation, or profit-sharing, was defeated by the men.

In December, 1885, the New Haven Wire Company sent a circular to their workmen, offering to grant to them one-quarter of all the profits, after paying 6 per cent. to the capital employed in the business.

The company guaranteed that there should be no reduction in fence wire at least; stated that the outlook for fair profits during the proposed profit-sharing period was good, and that they "hoped to furnish every man with steady work at fair wages, and to make no discharge except for good cause."

The men gave little or no heed to the proposition, owing, this Bureau is informed, to the adverse influence exerted by some leaders of the union, to which many of them belonged.

In a letter written six months after the proposition was made, Secretary S. A. Galpin, said:

We are sorry to say that so far as we can determine, the scheme failed to attract the interest and attention which seemed to us necessary before it could be successfully started; and since that time nothing has been done to work out the details of the plan, or to follow the matter further.

We have come to the conclusion that the excessive ill-feeling and distrust which all classes of laborers seem to hold now towards their employers, has destroyed the mutual confidence upon which alone any such arrangement might be satisfactorily begun and maintained. The question with us now is whether a restoration of the old confidence is at all possible, and if so, whether it would be reached earlier and better by a renewed effort at co-operation, or by an attitude of independence on the part of employers.

There would seem to be an instructive lesson in the foregoing paragraphs. This failure to establish a scheme of profit-sharing with employes in addition to their regular wages, was certainly not due to the proprietors; and the truth is, that in many cases where unsatisfactory conditions are complained of, the causes are chargeable as much to labor as to employers of it.

Capital is shrewd and alert, ever eager to do that which is for its best interest; labor should adopt the same course. It is, beyond debate, for the best interest of both to come together upon pleasant terms and make all arrangements in a spirit of friendliness. Capital, with all its faults, is generally willing to do this; but labor, led by one or two professional disturbers, too often adopts the policy of rule or ruin.

CO-OPERATIVE FOUNDRY COMPANY, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

The largest and oldest co-operative institution reporting to this Bureau, is that known as the Rochester Co-operative Stove Works, legal title as above written.

A letter from E. W. Peck, secretary of the corporation, as follows, contains some points worthy of the earnest consideration of all promoters of ideal co-operation:

We started in 1867, hoping to find in co-operation a panacea for the troubles occasioned by the never-ending strife between employer and em-

ploye. In this we were disappointed, though financially we have prospered.

The concern is already a power among manufacturers, making, perhaps, the finest line of stoves in the world, employing between two and three hundred men in Rochester, and working other founderies in Buffalo, Quakertown, Pittston, Peekskill and elsewhere.

The stock has always paid a dividend, sometimes over 40 per cent. net annually.

There are also about the same number of stockholders as formerly, but now more of them are outsiders than employees.

The not insurmountable difficulties are the tendency to sell stock as soon as it becomes of value; ordinary desire for office and consequent insubordination.

The insurmountable difficulty is the fact that the trades unions have the same grip on employees who are stockholders in co-operative concerns as on others, and such employees, in the event of disagreement as to wages, non-unionism, etc., are as desirous of overthrowing the institution as those outside the corporation.

In proof of this assertion, witness our three and a half months' strike last year, culminating in riot, blood, and imprisonment.

Organization of labor is all right up to a certain extent, but in a co-operative concern the only union should be *local*, one *in the shop*, having as its last resort, *arbitration*. But the men prefer to listen to outside disturbers.

This year is an exception, however, as the management insisted on a signed contract which is as a treaty of peace. It runs for only one year, however, and probably will not be readily renewed. The "Union" does not approve it.

To be a little more particular than the foregoing letter, it may be stated that this co-operative association is composed of fifty-two stockholders, of whom twenty-nine are regularly employed at the Rochester branch. Twenty-three stockholders, therefore, find no employment, while 200 who are not stockholders, are hired outright at Rochester, and from 100 to 125 are similarly engaged at Buffalo, Pittston, and Peekskill by the same company. Both classes of workmen receive the same wages.

These facts prove that many co-operators, as the foregoing letter says, can not resist the temptation to sell their stock whenever it reaches or goes above par.

The experience of the Rochester concern, which has been in operation for almost twenty years, is certainly valuable.

Mr. Peck's letter teaches that financial success is not sure to bring contentment to the co-operative workman; that a 40-per cent. dividend works no changes in the natural qualities and tendencies of human nature — does not annihilate ambition to hold office, to "run things," nor do away with jealousy and duplicity.

Nevertheless, the chief trouble does not seem in this case to arise among the co-operators themselves, but from the influence and interference of unions, to which their men belong, or to which their own local union is subordinate. The New Haven Wire Company, E. P. Allis & Company, and the Hoffman & Billings Manufacturing Company met the same obstacles.

Those unions which are determined to control every shop and factory in which their members find employment, look with disfavor upon any scheme of co-operation or profit-sharing which includes both employer and employe, believing that their influence and power over those establishments will be at an end whenever such a form of co-operation shall be adopted.

It is therefore sincerely to be hoped that in any case hereafter where workmen desirous of bettering their condition are compelled to choose between the mandates of a union and the offer of more favorable wages or more friendly relations with employers, they will promptly decide against the union. The theory is that unions are beneficial; whenever, therefore, in practical experience they prevent profit-sharing, or an increase of wages, or promote strife between employer and employe, and damage business, or prevent a workman from earning his livelihood, they are not beneficial, and should be forthwith reformed or abandoned.

These are plain words, but they are not the sentiments of a chronic hater of unionism. They are rather those of a friend to proper labor organizations—the solid truth spoken by one who learned his trade by lamp-light, while working for his board in order to attend school and obtain something of an education.

PLYMOUTH ROCK CO-OPERATIVE CASH COMPANY.

It would be highly disappointing, if not wholly improper, if a co-operative concern named like this and located in Plymouth, Mass., should be unsuccessful.

Perhaps no better description of it is required than is conveyed in a letter of the treasurer, H. M. Saunders, who says:

Our company is composed of about eighty stockholders, holding from one to ten shares each — not confined to any particular class — who combine together to get their groceries at a reasonable price; also get pure goods.

We are now on our tenth year of prosperity. The first two years we added the earnings (after paying expenses and a small dividend to stockholders) to our assets. Since then we have paid to customers a dividend of six per cent., and to stockholders four per cent. semi-annually.

We are not incorporated, neither are we connected with any other company. We buy and sell for cash only. The par value of shares has been raised to fifteen dollars. Our business has been very successful, as you will see by the foregoing statement of dividends. Our sales last year were \$42,951, and for the six months ended July 1, 1886, \$21,244. The last six months of the year afford a little the best trade.

Article XVI of the original constitution forbade any "employee of the company" holding "any office whatever;" but recently that was stricken out.

Article IX declares that all transactions "shall be for cash only;" Article X, that "no member shall hold more than ten shares" of stock, and Article XV, that at "all meetings of the company each member shall have one vote only, without regard to the number of shares held by him."

These three provisions, with reasonably good and honest management, will render any co-operative distributive enterprise successful.

CLEVELAND CO-OPERATIVE STOVE COMPANY.

Here we come upon another concern whose history tends to prove that in large co-operative enterprises at least, the tendency — and perhaps it is an inevitable tendency — is towards the centralization of business and capital in the hands of the most able, influential and experienced stockholders.

The Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company was formed in 1867, but now the secretary says it differs but little from the general run of joint-stock companies. Shares are \$100 each held by 75 persons to the par value of \$500,000, quite a number of whom, however, are employed as artisans in the foundry. Dividends, which have ranged from 5 up to 50 per cent., are declared on stock only — nothing goes to laborers as such, except wages.

Employes all belong to labor unions, whether stockholders or not. Shares, not shareholders, vote in choosing officers and fixing the policy of the company. Herein lies the path to concentration of capital and management in the hands of the more able and thrifty, proving anew the old doctrine of the survival of the fittest, at least the survival of the shrewdest and thriftiest.

As deposed by the secretary of the Rochester Co-operative Foundry Company, those workmen who have not the will or the faculty to save from their earnings, are almost certain to sell their stock whenever it reaches a stiff value, and probably this will be true forever.

PROVIDENCE INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

This association, located at No 5 Putnam street, Providence, R. I., is apparently reaching a firm basis. It was started in December, 1884, with shares at \$1.00 each, which in June, 1886, were increased to \$5.00. The members number 52 and their capital paid in amounts to \$852.

The business of the concern — dealing in groceries, meat, etc.— was carried on under the credit system up to July 1, 1886, but with somewhat unsatisfactory results. On the latter date the cash basis was adopted, managed on the English check system, heretofore explained.

Bernard J. Murray, the manager, says stockholders and employes, the latter Knights of Labor, are now satisfied, and that on October 1, 1886, and every three months thereafter, dividends will be declared on stock and purchases. The weekly sales average \$250.

"The association was started" says Mr. Murray, "for the

purpose of bettering the material condition of those who labor, and I think we shall do it."

NESHANNOCK CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

At Neshannock, amidst the mines of Mercer county, Pa., a co-operative general store was opened in 1872, whose average sales have been \$31,847 per year.

The society is composed of eighty-six members with 1,426 shares of stock at \$5 per share.

The average dividend on purchases has been $9\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. — full dividends to members; one-half dividends to non-members.

"The store," writes John Richards, secretary, "has been successful beyond expectation." He further says: "You will see that our society is on the decline. The reason is this: when we started co-operation there were about 750 families in our vicinity; now there are scarcely over 100 families. The work here is mining coal, which mineral is nearly exhausted."

Article V of the constitution provides:

Any person may become a member of this society by paying an entrance fee of fifty cents, signing the constitution and by-laws, and purchasing five shares of stock, which shall be paid up at the rate of not less than one dollar per month in advance; but no person shall be entitled to a vote until he or she has paid for one share.

And Article XIII says that "any member failing to comply with Article V of the constitution will only receive non-member's dividends and in no case can members draw either dividend or interest until he or she has fully paid for five shares; but the same will be credited to their account as stock."

Many persons subscribed for shares, but were unable to pay for them as required; hence the apparent anomaly of eighty-six members and 1,426 shares — eighty-six paid up as required and continue to receive full benefits, while others failed.

SILVER LAKE CO-OPERATIVE STORE COMPANY.

This association, though not extensive, is very successful. A clear and sufficiently full description of its workings is given by Henry B. Maglathlin, as follows:

1. Our association is located in the town of Kingston, Mass., and is named "The Co-operative Store Company." Its postoffice address is Silver Lake, Mass.

2. It was organized under the auspices of the Order of the Sovereigns of Industry in 1875, and was incorporated under the general laws of Massachusetts in 1877.

3. The number of members at this time is forty-two.

4. The number of shares is 863, and the size \$5 each.

5. The business is to deal in such merchandise as is usually kept in country stores.

6. The method is that of the Rochdale plan of buying and selling pure goods at fair market prices, paying a fixed rate of interest on the shares of capital stock, reserving not less than 10 per cent. of the net profits for a contingent fund, and dividing the balance among the patrons in proportion to their purchases.

7. The hours of salesmen, exclusive of meals, are about ten hours.

8. Among the members at present there are some Union men and some Knights of Labor.

9. The association has never failed to pay from 6 to 8 per cent. on the capital stock, and to declare from 1 to 4 per cent. to patrons on their purchases.

10. The adventure has been a success from the first — beginning with only \$460 capital in a sparsely populated locality, the business has nearly doubled in a few years and the capital has grown to \$1,800, with a contingent fund of \$529, and a ready cash means of more than \$1,000. The entire savings to shareholders and patrons has been not less than \$3,000.

11. The tenacity with which our stockholders hold on to their shares is ample evidence of their satisfaction.

12. The society was formed as an experiment in co-operation — to insure to the consumer pure goods and honest prices, and to create capital by saving from spendings, what have been, under the common system of competition and credit, absorbed by middlemen.

13. The present aggregate of our yearly business is about \$12,000.

14. We have no branch of business, although the aggregate of savings would go a good ways towards establishing one.

"THE PEOPLE."

At Providence is a weekly newspaper called *The People*, published by the Rhode Island Co-operative Printing and Publishing Company. It is not quite a year old yet, but it "is a success in every sense," says Manager Robert Grieve. He also admits that the only really co-operative feature of the society is that "each shareholder has one vote, and only one."

Shares, therefore, are valuable as financial investments, not as a means of controlling the newspaper or using it to subserve personal ends.

At present the company is composed of 260 members; shares \$5 each. In the printing room the employes are all union men who work ten hours for five and one-half days per week. All other employes, with one exception, are members of the Knights of Labor.

Manager Grieve further says: "We started *The People* for the purpose of affording a voice to labor and to reform public sentiment in Rhode Island. The stockholders appear to be satisfied, but the workmen have not been satisfied, mainly because they were unable to control the paper as much as and in the manner they desired."

This is the old story. Too many workmen — the leaders — hanker for power more than shorter hours or any of the abstract principles about which there is so loud a noise.

FARMERS' AND MECHANICS' TRADING COMPANY.

At Seneca Falls, N. Y., is a co-operative grocery store which has been in operation since 1872, known as the "Farmers' and Mechanics' Trading Company." Stockholders, not shares of stock, vote in managing the affairs of the concern, and in electing the committee of management, who hold office during five years. Article VIII of the constitution limits the dividends on stock to 8 per cent., but permits remaining profits to be divided among members and patrons in proportion to their purchases.

The net profits divided among themselves by the mem-

bers of this association aggregate \$8,259.79; besides, they have had strictly first-class groceries for thirteen years.

Samuel Waller, secretary, gives an interesting account of the career of the enterprise:

Our present object is to get on a strictly cash basis, then divide about one-half of the surplus in \$25 shares to the twenty-five or thirty members who have continued loyal to the enterprise, and get incorporated as a limited liability company under the state law. Most of these members, as well as a majority of our other patrons, are in limited circumstances as yet, and we have helped them by allowing them time on their purchases.

At one time we had 125 members, but a combined effort by middlemen and their friends here was made, and still exists, to break up our business. Social ties, politics and religion have been and are yet used to secure the withdrawal of our patrons.

Three prominent grocery firms who made themselves extra conspicuous in their efforts to run us out of existence, have failed and been sold out during the last ten years.

Some of our members withdrew and opened stores in competition, but only one continues successful, though he deals in the five-cent store line only.

In our experience, however, we find the greatest obstacle to successful co-operative enterprises in the intense selfishness of the working people and consumers. The first dividend we made at the end of the first nine months, July 31, 1873, was \$730. Now each of about one-half of the 125 members wanted, or seemed to think he ought to have, the whole amount of this sum himself.

When our manager resigned at the end of the third or second year, about one-third of the members wanted that office.

These facts are a few only showing the general character of consumers here; and from what I can learn, the grade of capacity, common sense and foresight is about the same elsewhere.

I desire to aid the cause of co-operation in every way possible. In it I see a remedy for strikes, communistic uprisings, boycotts, conspiracies against labor and capital, and I hope to see some man of ability put forth a general plan of co-operation in trading, manufacturing, banking, etc.

NEW YORK CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

The reasons for the failure of this association may be a warning to others. They are best given in a letter by Wm. A. Sage, 156 Broadway, N. Y.:

Your letter of July 30, enquiring about the fate of the co-operative scheme started here in 1880, received.

I have only time to state that in response to the call, a copy of which

you enclosed in your letter, a meeting was held at my office at which were present representatives of the English Co-operative Societies, and after extended discussion through several meetings, it was decided to organize a co-operative store for the sale of goods of household and personal use. Mr. John Gledhill, the representative and buyer in this country of the Manchester wholesale co-operative societies of England, Rev. Dr. Rylance, Rector in this city of St. Mark's Church, Mr. Allan R. Foote and myself were the chief promoters. Mr. Foote had most to do with the matter as he had made co-operation a study and had lectured extensively on the subject. Just before the store was started, Mr. Thomas Hughes, the great English co-operator, came to this country for the purpose of establishing a co-operative colony at Rugby, somewhere in the southwest of the U. S., which afterwards went to pieces I believe, and gave us the benefit of his advice. Stock was issued and we raised about \$5,000 to start with. The store was located on the north side of 8th Street, west of Broadway, and continued in operation for about one year under the immediate management of Mr. Foote. We had about 250 members, but after a while we found that the members made some purchases at other stores nearer their homes, claiming that they could buy some articles cheaper and save car fare. They did not seem to realize that the dividends on their stock from the profits would in the end make all their articles cheaper. The business was a cash business and dividends were declared every month. When, however, we examined the affairs of the Company at the end of the year, we found that no profits had actually been made, as the expenses had more than offset the profits and that Mr. Foote had been declaring and paying the dividends out of the capital invested. In this I do not think he was guilty of any bad faith, but it was merely bad book-keeping. All those who had bought stock lost what they put in, and I believe a small amount had to be made up to pay off the debts, and the store was closed. There was a great deal of hard feeling, but I think the enterprise failed through the people here not being educated in co-operative principles, through the members living so widely scattered that it was difficult for them to deal at the store and through the cheap prices at which retailers sell goods, as well as through bad management. It is impossible to get competent men to run such a store without paying salaries that are ruinous to a young and small enterprise.

BUFFALO CO-OPERATIVE STOVE COMPANY.

This institution seems to be doing little more than wearing the mask of co-operation, as the secretary says it "was formed to benefit stockholders," and dividends are declared on stock alone. Its capital is \$750,000, paid up, held by 100 persons. One semi-co-operative feature is contained in the constitution, namely, a limitation of shareholding, no one

person being permitted to own or control more than 30 shares.

MINNEAPOLIS COOPERS.

One of the largest and most successful productive co-operative concerns in the country is that of the coopers at Minneapolis, Minn. The several shops, about eight in number, give employment to 450 men. The shops are of various sizes and ages, but all work upon the same plan and principle.

Dr. Albert Shaw says the shops are "substantially successful from every point of view." He further deposes that "the system is indigenous. It has been developed by laboring men without any patronage, preaching or persuasive literature. It began a dozen years ago in the feeblest way, without friends or capital, and in the face of suspicion and distrust. It has won its way until two-thirds of the coopers have gone into the co-operative movement. It has secured such laws as it required, and it has credit and standing. Its moral effects are more marked and gratifying than its financial and industrial success. It develops manhood, responsibility, self-direction and independence."

One of the shops, through its secretary, George Clement, reports as follows:

We organized on November 10, 1874; capital stock issued, \$57,850.00, in shares of \$50 each. Each member holds 18 shares; number of members, 89.

This company was organized by a very few men who had read more or less on the subject of co-operation. They believed it would tend to improve the condition of themselves by having all profits of the business, by regulating the work to the interest of the members with the view of having steady employment. The extra income from steadier work has been more than twice the amount paid in on capital stock, and we have been more self-reliant and independent.

Members are nearly all Union men. Highest amount earned for six months ended May 1, 1885, \$281.35; lowest amount of anyone that had been at work for entire term of same six months, \$155.98.

Profits are divided in proportion to the amount of wages earned, the highest wages getting the largest dividend or paying the largest loss. About \$1.50 per day is the average earnings for six months, but the term was one unusually dull, although the wages did not go as low as they had

been before. We have been idle about two days per week during the entire term of six months.

Our barrels are all sold in this city.

Co-operation has been successful here in our trade principally through the friendship of Charles A. Pillsbury, who has taken our work from the day of our organization until the present time. This company and another are furnishing all the barrels that Pillsbury & Co. are using.

Other companies have organized and are as successful as we are in this line of business.

The conditions here are very favorable. Material is got on thirty days time and the manufactured product "paid for" every week, so that, the business being secured at the outset, a few men with very little money may go into business for themselves and by means of the weekly assessments on stock, sooner or later accumulate sufficient funds to carry on a large trade.

The profits on the business are more real than apparent, as it is for our interest as workmen to maintain as high wages as possible in preference to large dividends.

It is easier to get two cents per barrel for wages than one cent for profit.

All our work is by the piece, so there can be no quarreling about unequal or unfair wages.

TEXAS CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Co-operation among the farmers of Texas seems to be more successful and satisfactory than in any other state.

The Texas Co-operative Association, located at Galveston, is, as far as this Bureau is informed, the largest in the Union, and is much like the English and Scottish wholesales. It is, to be sure, a close-communion affair, admitting none but Grangers—members of the order Patrons of Husbandry—to membership and full participation in profits, though of course those not of the elect may purchase goods of the concern and realize half-dividends.

It was organized (chartered) in 1878, with an authorized capital of \$100,000 in shares of \$5. There are now out 7,924 shares, owned by about 400 members, of whom 132 are other associations. These other associations are the local Granges scattered over the state of Texas which purchase goods of or through the central office at Galveston.

The constitution declares that no person or association shall have more than one vote, no matter what number of

shares may be held; except that any one of them may cast five votes by proxy under prescribed conditions.

The profits are divided according to by-laws, as follows:

SECTION 1. The profits of all the business transacted by the Association after paying all expense of the management, shall be disposed of in the following manner at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors: First, shareholders shall be allowed 10 per cent. interest per annum on paid-up stock; secondly, a portion may be set apart at the discretion of the Board of Directors and by the consent of the Association, to increase the capital.

SEC. 2. After making provisions in the manner above stated, the remaining net profits shall be divided pro rata among the stockholders and Patrons, based upon the profits derived from the business furnished; shareholders receiving full dividends, Patrons not shareholders, half-dividends.

SEC. 3. The profits arising from the business furnished by non-Patrons, and one half of the profits on that of Patrons of Husbandry who are not shareholders, shall constitute and be known as the accumulative funds, and shall be divided annually pro rata among the stockholders, based upon the number of paid-up shares.

J. S. Rogers, manager, says: "Yes, indeed we have been successful. We have paid dividends of from 13½ to 35 per cent. on stock and from 2½ to 5 per cent. on trade. We have, in seven years, saved to our patrons the sum of \$105,000. Our people are satisfied and desire to extend the benefits of their system to the entire United States."

Here is an extract from the last report of the secretary of the central association:

The following is a summary of twenty-nine of our Co-operative Associations, showing the amount of capital at beginning of business, etc.:

1. Total capital at beginning of business.....	\$28,809 00
2. Total capital 1st January, 1885.....	130,830 00
3. Total value of houses and fixtures.....	34,587 40
4. Total purchases last twelve months.....	354,380 48
5. Total amount of sales.....	370,000 00
6. Total sales to members of the Order.....	810,000 00
7. Gross profits.....	67,895 00
8. Total amount of salaries and clerk hire.....	37,952 00
9. All other expenses (same include freight).....	6,456 00
10. Total net profits.....	22,987 00
11. Sixteen are insured at an average of 8-10 per cent.....	
12. Twenty-five wood buildings, four stone or brick.....	

It will be seen from the above, that if we take these as the average of the total 132 stores that are stockholders in the T. C. A. and in business, the following would be the approximate:

Total capital in retail stores.....	\$629,640 00
Total purchases for one year.....	1,612,812 00
Total net profits in retail stores for one year.....	104,630 00
Total profits on purchases from wholesale T. C. A. at 8 per cent.....	48,884 00
Say the average shipment of cotton, 500 bales from the local agents, equals 66,000 bales; saved in commission at \$1 per bale.....	66,000 00
Sample 10 cents on each bale.....	6,000 00
Other produce.....	4,000 00
Grand total saved on one year's business.....	229,614 00

Such showings as the above brought about a co-operative effort of another kind on the part of merchants and tradesmen, which is best explained in the words used by Manager Rogers in his last report, viz:

You will bear in mind that our last legislature saw the great danger of the business interests of the country being swamped by our co-operative associations, and they repealed the laws granting charter privileges to the Patrons. Our only progress now must therefore, be through more consistent co-operation on the part of those already chartered. Will you all please think over this law carefully and inform yourselves as to who supported it, and their motives for so doing?

In the early history of the co-operative societies of England, there was an effort made by the merchants and tradesmen to get Parliament to pass laws prohibiting the organization and operation of co-operative societies, which they wisely refused to do. Later on, the banking houses of England in one of their conventions assembled, declared that they would not hold nor discount the paper of any such society, nor would they have any business relations with any firm or merchant that transacted business with them, hoping thereby to accomplish what Parliament was just enough to refuse to do; they failed to destroy the societies because they were strong enough of themselves to conduct their business without the favor of the bankers' association. It would be so with us but for this adverse legislation, and I sincerely hope that you will make due note of it.

Legislation of the kind referred to is no credit to any state, and it is to be hoped there never will be any of it in Wisconsin.

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The most elaborate scheme of unadulterated co-operation, is that described as follows by its projector, George Venable Smith, for this bureau:

The Puget Sound Colony, is a co-operative colonization scheme, founded on the principles of entire co-operation. It is based upon a matured plan, with details for uniting farm, city, factory and commerce; and invites the farmer, laborer, artisan, mechanics of every trade, merchant, millman,

accountant, architect, banker, machinist, fisherman, manufacturer, shipper, mariner, and others, in a community with a central authority and responsibility for the health, usefulness and progressive life of each and all.

It proposes to unite in one capital and labor, so as to achieve the fullest results of production and distribution; to establish equity, harmony and justice, socially and industrially; to secure free lands, free light and water, free money, free libraries and free baths; exemption from taxation, rents, taxes and incumbrances, a just reward to labor with reasonable hours, and to dignify and honor labor.

The colony has selected a town site, and can procure any quantity of most excellent farm, fruit, dairy, timber and grazing lands adjacent. The town site is on a magnificent harbor on Puget Sound, safe and convenient for the largest vessels of the ocean, and in the path of all the commerce of the great waters of Puget Sound. It is the best fishing point of the whole North Pacific, and there are at hand abundant markets for all the colony can produce or manufacture, and which are increasing to large proportions.

The climate is most excellent, there being neither of the extremes of heat or cold, and the soil has been proven of superior productive quality, admirably adapted to fruits, vegetables and the small grains. It has been only four months since the colony was projected, and there are now 500 souls in the colony membership, and from the subscriptions \$20,000 has been advanced and paid on the purchase of town site property.

As yet the colony has only a temporary organization, being a central society at Seattle, Washington Territory, and branch societies in localities where sufficient members were found to organize with. The general officers and the officers of the central society are: J. J. Knoff, president; Lyman Wood, recording secretary; Mrs. Laura E. Hall, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Lyman Wood, treasurer, and Geo. Venable Smith [the projector], general managing agent.

This temporary organization is for the purpose of securing members and subscriptions of stock and lot interests and for preparing for permanent organization, incorporation and preparatory work.

When 1,000 subscribers shall have been secured, the colony will be incorporated. There is every reason to believe that it will be ready for incorporation next spring, as it has now nearly 500 colonists, and their numbers are rapidly increasing.

When ready for incorporation, directors or trustees will be elected by colonists through their delegates sent to Seattle, from the local societies. They will at once proceed to incorporate, under the general laws of Washington Territory, a "Credit Foncier"—a colonization building, deposit, loan and operating company; and proceed to lay out and construct streets, roads, buildings, mills and other industries, and prepare their farm lands, dairies and other matters upon their town site and lands.

The first thing to be done will be to build and start in operation a saw-mill, and in connection therewith a furniture factory, sash, door, blind and box factory, make shingles and laths, for all of which there is ample material upon the lands of the colony.

Buildings will also be built to prepare for the colonists' coming — at first a large hotel and model homes, so that as colonists arrive they will be comfortably housed and cared for.

There is now a small town with two hotels and other houses at the colony town site, so that even the pioneer corps will be comfortably housed. Other work will also be inaugurated by the pioneer corps, such as starting a brick-yard and the making of brick, building wharfs, putting in farm produce, preparing land for and setting out fruit trees, etc.

The colony will be incorporated as a joint stock company, under the title of the "Credit Foncier of Puget Sound," with a capital stock of \$1,000,000 in 100,000 shares, at \$10 each; but unlike stock companies of the present day, will be based upon the equitable rights of both labor and capital. In other words, upon the principles of co-operation, in which all colonists will be associated partners — labor and capital to share the profits equally. Capital by a dividend at first of 10 per cent. on shares of stock, one or more shares of which must be held by every colonist, and labor by ruling wages and 10 per cent. on the income of labor out of the profits.

The profits from the start, from the sale of lot interests, will be more than sufficient to pay the 10 per cent. to labor and capital.

The town site will be laid off into 100,000 lots of 25x150 each, or 48 in each block of 800x600. The lot interests will be sold at first in six series of 500 in each series.

First series at.....	\$20 per lot interest.
Second series at.....	40 per lot interest.
Third series at.....	80 per lot interest.
Fourth series at.....	160 per lot interest.
Fifth series at.....	200 per lot interest.
Sixth.....	250 per lot interest.

Thereafter all lots will be sold at \$250 per lot interest, and never to increase or decrease in price.

Every colonist must take at least one lot interest and not more than forty-eight lot interests.

For every lot interest taken he or she must subscribe for one or more shares of stock. Persons not wishing to become colonists may subscribe for any number of shares of stock, but will not be entitled to any vote in the corporation. Every colonist will be entitled to one vote only in the adoption of by-laws which are to control the management of the colony affairs and the powers, duties and responsibilities of all officers. But in the election of trustees, colonists vote according to the number of

shares held, not exceeding forty-eight votes to any one share-holding colonist.

All voting shall at first be by the cumulative system, and afterwards by the proportional or preferential system, as an effectual method of securing minority representation and for preventing frauds, combinations and boss or clique rule.

While the dangers usually incident to voting by stock will be securely guarded against, experience has demonstrated it to be the best method of securing efficiency, ability, skill and capacity in officers.

A lot interest is only the right to the use of the lot to the colonists and his or her heirs so long as its use is wanted and the by-laws are complied with. The colony abolishes private ownership in lands, and consequently land monopoly and rents; and for that purpose it retains sufficient control to prevent lands from being held from use or for speculation.

A colonist will not be allowed to select his lot or lots until ready to build or improve the same. The selection may then be made from any vacant lot or lots set apart for residence. By going to the proper officers of the colony the design and cost of the house desired, the colony will build the same, charging therefore the actual cost and no more. The colonists may pay for the same in money, property or services.

In parting with it, he may at any time return it to the colony for the price paid for the lot and the value of the improvements at that time. But a colonist will not be allowed to sell his lot interest to any other person, nor for a greater price than the price paid therefor. Nor to rent, lease or mortgage the same, except to the "Credit Foncier," which will at all times loan money thereon or purchase the same.

Each colonist will be required to own at least one lot interest, upon which he or she may live, except in the case of associated homes, where a whole square, 300x600 feet, may be occupied by a residence hotel, combined home or social palace. In these, however, each resident or family must own their own apartments, and be subject to the same regulations as individual residences.

The farm lands will be owned and operated by the corporation on the bonanza scale. But country homes of from one to ten acres, will be sold to colonists the same as lot interests, and will be so clustered as to furnish libraries, reading rooms, public halls and other conveniences like the city; so that as the country is brought to the city in parks, etc., so also are features and conveniences of the city combined with country life. This will make farm life more attractive than now.

Stock will be sold at par only, and subject to be called in upon an equitable basis, and redeemed by the corporation at par with accrued dividends. This rule is for the purpose of equalizing holdings of stock and to get the return of stock from members dismissed, or who may use the same for fraudulent or other evil purposes.

The corporation through its regularly elected officers will conduct all

business — manufacturing, farming and distribution — as well as commerce with the rest of the world. Every resident will therefore be a part owner and in the employ of one responsible corporation, entitled, in addition to fixed wages or compensation agreed upon, to an equitable share of the profits which his or her labor and settlement may help to create.

To prevent the employment of wholly unnecessary and unproductive capital, the use of coin, gold, silver or copper, as money, will be discouraged and in their stead, the corporation will issue their own units of value, in payment for the actual value received in either labor or material, and these will always be receivable and payable for all internal exchanges, whilst "coin" will be reserved for outside exchanges which will be necessarily large at first, until outside exchanges will be in favor of the colony, when the "units" of the colony can to a large extent be used outside also.

Many advantages must accrue to the corporation by making labor the foundation of capital; or rather by giving labor the place it is most justly entitled to, while fully protecting capital.

To dignify labor and give a greater incentive to individual effort, no one will be permitted to directly employ another, or reap the profit of another's labor. All will be in the employ of one corporation from the highest officers to those rendering domestic services. Worth will be estimated by diligence and intelligence displayed, no matter what the calling may be.

Women will receive equal pay for equal work and be given occupations for which they are best fitted.

There will be but few non-producers. The stores being the property of the community, will be situated in the most convenient locations to supply the people's wants. There being no competition, it will be unnecessary for these to remain open more than six hours a day.

Women can be principally employed in the offices and salesrooms, and need not be occupied more than this length of time. Other occupations of women may be made to conform to these same rules.

For men eight hours will be a day's work.

Doctors and lawyers will be employed on salaries, but not fancy salaries. Lawyers will be few, as the colonists will have no need for them, except in case of arbitration, which will be few, as there will be no transactions between colonists. The colony will need two or three lawyers for its affairs outside the colony.

Associated homes will be encouraged. Without interfering with the privacy of home they will secure greater conveniences and economy and will relieve women from the slavery of household drudgery.

Instead of each family attending to all the details of daily house cleaning, cooking, washing, etc., there may be in one or more blocks of buildings but one kitchen, under competent management, one laundry, and a

well-organized corps of domestics to visit each apartment daily to clean and keep it in order.

There will be one nursery, founded on the plan now in operation by M. Godin, at Guise, France, to which infants a few days old can be sent; under trained nurses they are cared for, taught to walk and speak, introduced to the kindergarten school, and finally graduated to the public and industrial schools.

In such a nursery parents can visit their children at any hour, take them to their rooms whenever they please, and, while enjoying all the delights of their children's society, be relieved of the painful drudgery the care of infants entails, especially upon young and inexperienced mothers.

A certain percentage of the profits will be set aside annually for the maintenance of those who from illness or accident are unable to work, and for widows and orphans who may require such assistance.

The provisions under which the corporation will act will be contained in the by-laws. These will be adopted by members, each having one vote.

The management of the business of the corporation will be entrusted to the trustees. They will be nine or ten in number, and appointed to separate departments, acting at the head of their respective departments, and all co-ordinately for the whole. Sub-managements will be by business managers; superintendents and foremen, selected in their own sub-departments by those working therein, and removable from the top, to whom they are responsible for the results of their sub-managements.

It is judged, by the information at hand, and the letter of Mr. Smith, that the Puget Sound Colony is laid out upon a plan similar to that of the Wisconsin Phalanx, described beyond. If so, its projectors, by studying the cause of the Ripon failure, may be able to secure a wider measure of success.

Seattle has another co-operative concern, which was organized in 1881. It has now 50 members, does a business of \$24,000 per year, declares dividends of 10 per cent. in capital and 2½ per cent. on sales, and, Secretary Maitland says, "is successful to the satisfaction of its stockholders. We believe co-operation is the only solution of the labor problem."

Several paragraphs will be quoted from the prospectus of the association, as it seems to combine the functions of a savings bank with those of distributing the necessities of life:

First. To establish and conduct a business in general merchandise, and farm and other produce; supplying its members and others with articles

for household and personal use that are unadulterated and of good quality, avoiding all false dealing or the representations of an article to be other than what it is.

Second. To save for its members the profits upon their purchases by buying for cash at wholesale and selling for cash at retail, dividing the profits thus realized between its members in proportion as they may have contributed to the same, by their capital, labor or custom.

Third. To provide a safe and profitable investment for the savings of its members, combining the securities and facilities of a bank with the profits of a business.

The prices charged for goods by this Society will be similar to those charged by other retail dealers.

All sales will be strictly for cash or its equivalent, and no credit will be given. This rule precludes all risk, and, in justice to all, will be rigidly enforced.

Any person may become a member of this Society by paying an entrance fee of fifty cents and subscribing for one or more shares of its capital, each member having but one vote, irrespective of the number of shares he may hold.

This will prevent the possibility of the few, who may invest largely, from controlling the affairs of the Society to the detriment of the many who may invest but little.

The capital of the Society is divided into shares of twenty-five dollars each, two dollars and fifty cents payable on subscribing, and in installments of one dollar per month (\$3 per quarter) until fully paid up. Any member may pay the whole or any part of his shares at once, or at any subsequent date may anticipate the monthly payment at his option.

The liability of members is limited by law to the par value of their shares.

AT SINALOA, MEXICO.

A. K. Owen's "Credit Foncier," at Sinaloa, Mexico, is on a plan similar to that of the Puget Sound Colony. A full account of it may be found in "Integral Co-operation," by A. K. Owen, published by J. H. Lovell, 14 Vesey street, New York.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION AT ELKHART.

No satisfactory account of the actual workings of the Co-operative Baking Powder Company, of Elkhart, Ind., is at hand, but a quotation from its by-laws will be interesting:

The object of its formation is to manufacture and sell baking powder and such other articles and goods as the board of directors may hereafter see fit to manufacture and sell.

The capital stock of this company shall be twenty-five thousand dollars.

The term of the existence of this company shall be fifty years.

The officers of the company shall consist of eleven directors, from whose number shall be chosen a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, manager and board of auditors, consisting of two members.

The members of this company, at the time of their becoming such, shall be members of the Knights of Labor in good standing, and shall own at least one share of the capital stock of the company.

Applications for stock in the company shall be subject to the approval of the board of directors.

The officers of the company shall be elected by ballot to serve one year, at the first meeting of the board of directors after the annual meeting of the company.

Five directors shall be elected at the semi-annual meeting of the company, and six at the annual meeting, to serve one year.

The regular meetings of the company shall be held on the second Wednesday after the first Saturday of the months of April, July, October and January of each year. The meeting in April shall be called the annual meeting, the meeting in October the semi-annual meeting, and the meetings in January and July the quarterly meetings.

Special meetings may be called by the board of directors or on petition of fifteen members, three days' notice to be given. Such calls shall clearly set forth the object of the special meeting, and no other business shall be transacted.

Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting, each member shall have but one vote. Proxy votes shall not be allowed.

After paying or providing for expenses of management, the net proceeds of all business shall be divided semi-annually after the first year among the members of the company in proportion to the number of their shares.

The board of directors shall pay the officers such sums for services as they may from time to time elect.

No employe of the company shall be eligible to the office of auditor; and the position of any auditor who shall become an employe shall be deemed vacant.

Like the Texas Co-operative Association, this is a close-communion institution, allowing none but Knights of Labor to become stockholders. It therefore is not based on broad general principles of co-operation any more than if membership were limited to one-eyed, or freckled, or pug-nosed, or web-footed, or left-handed persons. But the starting of productive co-operation on any fair basis should be wel-

comed and commended; for time broadens the scope and aims of all enterprises.

MASSACHUSETTS FISHERMEN.

In the Massachusetts ocean fisheries a strict co-operative system is in vogue.* In some cases each man's catch is the basis of reward; in some, two fish together in a dory; in some, the owner furnishes vessel and skipper and the men provisions, and the profits of the catch are divided, three-fourths to labor and one-fourth to capital; and in others owners furnish ship and grub and divide the catch equally with the men.

No wages are paid.

CO-OPERATIVE JOB PRINTING.

The Concord Co-operative Printing Company, Center Street, N. Y., is composed of Knights of Labor and members of Typographical Union No. 6. The short-hour system is in force in this office, but, it is stated, in no other New York city printing establishment. No outline of the exact working methods of the Concord Company are at hand, but its managers claim that it is the "only genuine co-operative printing establishment in the United States."

ABANDONED PROFIT-SHARING IN NEW YORK.

A. S. Cameron & Co., manufacturers of pumping machinery, began profit-sharing with employes in 1869. The firm offered to workmen 10 per cent. of the profits of their business, saying they would continue the system if it should result in stopping leaks and wastages.

In 1871, the men entered with others on the eight-hour strike, but soon returned, owing to their respect for Mr. Cameron. His death in 1877 ended profit-sharing; but, says Mr. Giddings, while it continued "it had a salutary effect on the men, morally as well as economically." The bonus averaged $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per year on wages, which were never reduced, but were several times increased.

* See article by F. H. Giddings in the 17th annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor.

In 1869, the Brewster Carriage Co., of New York, entered upon profit-sharing with workmen in addition to wages; but in 1872 the men went out on a strike for ten hours' pay for eight hours' work, and the plan was thereby destroyed.

The plan was liberal — 10 per cent. to labor on the gross profits of the business before making any reduction for salaries or interest.

"This arrangement, during the two years and a half of its continuance," says Giddings, "gave entire satisfaction, and the excited action of the employes by which it was terminated, was one of the strangest freaks of epidemic excitement on record. By the constitution of their association they had it in their own power, through their board of governors, to make eight hours a working day, which was the object of the general strike in which they joined. They seemed to have been literally crazed by the popular turmoil. They forfeited a dividend of \$11,000, which would have been due a month later, besides losing \$8,000 in wages, and at the end of two weeks went back to work on the old plan of simple wages without a single concession on the part of Brewster & Co."

AT PEACE DALE.

At Peace Dale, R. I., the fourth generation of Hazards is managing the manufacture of shawls, worsteds and cassimeres, employing 450 persons.

In 1878, the Hazards began dividing profits with employes on March 20 of each year. In the circular announcing the plan, the company said:

Before anything can be set apart for it, wages must be paid, interest must be paid, and profit on capital must be paid. Then an amount must be set aside to make good wear and tear of buildings, to replace worn-out machinery, and to strengthen the reserve funds, that the company may be able to pass through a year, or a series of years, of depression. The importance of this is seen in the experience of the past five years, when but for the existence of such reserve funds the mills would have been obliged to stop. Out of what is left after all these things are provided for, the bonus for labor must be taken.

Under present conditions the items before mentioned, on the average, absorb nearly all the profits, leaving little or nothing out of which to pay this proposed bonus; whatever is left will, however, feel the full effect of any extra care and attention on the part of the employes. If they prevent waste of material; if they save the wear and tear of machines; if they are diligent so that a large amount of work is performed, the sum out of which the bonus is to be paid will be enlarged. Indeed, in proposing this

bonus the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company confidentially expects that the increased care and diligence which it will thus be the direct interest of each employe to exercise, will result in a saving which will go far toward providing the means of payment.

The mode of distributing this bonus will be by making a dividend of so much per cent. upon the amount of wages earned during the year by the persons entitled to receive the bonus. This percentage will be fixed by the directors of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company, in view of the year's results.

In case of a dividend it will be paid on and after the twentieth day of March in each year, to all employes who were in the employ of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company during the preceding month of January, and who were in said employ for at least seven months out of the twelve next preceding the first day of February. The amount of wages earned by each employe during the twelve months next preceding the first day of February shall be taken (to the nearest whole dollar) as the amount upon which the percentage is to be calculated to ascertain the amount of dividend to be paid each said employe.

Employees who have been discharged for cause, who have not worked at least seven months during the year ending January 31, or who have voluntarily left the employ of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company previous to that date will not be entitled to any dividend.

For two years there has been no dividend, owing to business depressions, but both employers and employes testify to the beneficent effects of the profit-sharing plan. Workmen were happier, wastage was less, frictions fewer and the business more profitable.

LISTER BROTHERS.

Lister Brothers, of New Jersey, manufacturers of chemicals, for several years paid a bonus to their 500 employes upon the following novel plan:

A fair valuation of the business having been made, the firm reserved to itself from the year's profit 10 per cent. net on the valuation. The balance of profit was divided as a bonus among the employes. The division of the bonus was not as a percentage on wages, but by classes constituted as follows:

Class 1. Four or five of the principal men who had been in the service of the firm for many years.

Class 2. The head bookkeepers, salesmen, head foremen and the commodore of Lister Brothers' boats.

Class 3. Captains of boats and foremen about the manufactory.

Class 4. All remaining employes; men, women and children.

The bonus was the same to each member of a class, so that some earning relatively low wages received as large a bonus as others getting much higher wages.

The sum divided was, in round numbers, \$15,000. Individual employees received, in some cases, as much as \$250 each.

The bonus was a clear addition to wages, which were not reduced to meet it or in consequence of it.

Lister Brothers, believing the experiment worth less than its cost, have abandoned it.

PILLSBURY & COMPANY'S MILLS AND ELEVATORS.

Pillsbury & Company, of Minneapolis, doing a milling and elevator business of nearly \$20,000,000 per year, divide profits with employees thus:

After paying the running expenses of all kinds and a moderate interest on the capital invested, which is \$2,500,000, together with large sums occasionally borrowed, a certain per cent. of the net surplus is divided among two classes of employees: First, those who have been employed five years, without regard to position, and second, those occupying positions of especial importance, without regard to time employed. The wages of the first class were thereby advanced the past year about 50 per cent., and of the second class about 65 per cent. The plan went into operation three years ago. Two years ago \$25,000, one year ago \$26,000, and during the year ending September 24, 1885, \$35,000 were thus divided among about one hundred of the eleven hundred men at work in the mills. The five year limit is now bringing in many, and next year will bring in a large number, as the "A" mill, with a capacity 6,200 barrels daily, was started about four years ago, and a large increase of force was then hired.

Since a certain portion of the labor is necessarily transient, and many poor workmen have to be sifted out; for it is the intention to employ only the best men obtainable, it has not been thought wise to apply the principle to all the employees; but so satisfactory has the present plan proved to the company, as well as to the men, that it will be extended next year to the elevators. Wages are not below usual market rates; some of the workmen claim that higher wages are paid than in any other mills in the country. Yet the company consider that their plan of profit-sharing has greatly increased their own profits by the voluntary service of their men in times of need, by their interest in the business, and in other ways. The evident good will of the employees is regarded as the most agreeable result. A leading member of the firm expresses himself very emphatically relative to the financial and moral benefits of the arrangement, and regards it as one that will not be willingly relinquished.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

From 1870 to 1875, thirteen co-operative manufacturing concerns were organized in Massachusetts, of which the Somerset Co-operative Foundry, and the East Templeton Co-operative Chair Company are alive to-day.

After that something like twenty enterprises were started in Massachusetts, of which ten are now living. An account of their trials and successes will be taken from the report of the Massachusetts Bureau for 1886, as follows:

THE SOMERSET CO-OPERATIVE FOUNDRY.

The Somerset Co-operative Foundry, at Somerset, is the oldest co-operative manufacturing company in the state, and one of the most successful. Its history is a valuable example to workingmen-capitalists of what can be accomplished by good management and a disposition to work harmoniously together. A little company of working moulders bought a foundry business that had proved a failure under individual management and developed it into an important dividend-paying enterprise.

The Boston Stove Foundry commenced operations at Somerset, in 1854. It was run at a loss from the start until 1867, when William M. Bartlett, of Newburyport, a moulder, and moulders at Somerset, talked up the project of a co-operative company. An organization was effected October 18, with twenty-four stockholders. A capital of \$15,000 was paid in within thirty days and the plant of the Boston foundry was purchased for \$7,000. The first year's business amounted to \$25,000, but the balance sheet showed a net loss of \$30.87. Each succeeding year brought better fortune. The capital stock was gradually increased until in 1873 it reached \$30,000, where it remains. The value of the product rose to \$75,000 a year; soon after starting, a new cupola, boiler, engine, and blower were put in, and the capital invested, from time to time, in new flasks and patterns, amounts to \$50,000, all of it earned in the business. The company has always enjoyed excellent credit and the management has been fortunate in avoiding losses through untrustworthy customers.

In the distribution of stock, the tendency towards larger holdings will be noticed. In several cases wives and brothers have bought, making more than ten shares controlled by one family. The company does not encourage outside shareholding, preferring to keep the stock in the hands of men employed in its work.

1. The product is sold in New England, New York, and the West, on thirty days to six months' settlements.

2. Stock-owning gives a preference in regard to employment, and the sons of stockholders are preferred as apprentices.

3. The business is managed by an agent, treasurer, and foreman, sub-

ject to the directors. The management have power to discharge for unsatisfactory service, but it has never been necessary to take this direct action to get rid of an unsatisfactory member. In one case, a member who was not in harmony with the company sold his stock, and afterwards when he desired to repurchase he was not allowed to do so.

4. Shares for sale must be offered first to the company, and in taking in new members care is exercised to preserve the harmony of interests.

5. Most of the stockholders are workmen.

6. There is some day work, but piece, or job work predominates.

7. Wages are now paid fortnightly.

8. The prices for job work are gauged with reference to market rates elsewhere. In January, 1879, there was a reduction of twenty per cent. on job work. Receipts show that some of the best molders were making, previous to the cut, \$160 a month. In 1881, 10 per cent. was restored. The rates for day work have not varied much. It is paid \$1.50 to \$3.75.

9. Wages are uniform, for the same kind and amount of work, between employes who are stockholders and those who are non-stockholders.

10. Frequent changes of management are not approved of. There have been but three presidents and three treasurers (two of the latter being father and son, and the other being afterward president), and but few changes in the board of directors.

A large working capital is maintained.

Members individually and the management, as such, declare that they are satisfied that stock-owning improves the quality and increases the quantity of the work accomplished, and that this goes far to account for the success attained.

A large proportion of the members are middle-aged men and heads of families. Nearly or quite all are of New England stock and birth. All are of steady habits so far as to be always in working condition, and the majority are of saving habits. The few that spend as fast as they earn are usually the source of the few dissatisfactions and misunderstandings that arise.

Capital	\$30,000
Par value of shares.....	\$100
Highest price paid for shares when transferred.....	\$145
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred.....	\$110
Value of annual product.....	\$75,000
No. of stockholders employed.....	30
No. of employes not stockholders.....	10
Aggregate wages per month (working five days a week).....	\$3,083
Salaries: secretary, treasurer and superintendent.....	\$1,080
Salesman (besides expenses).....	\$1,200

ART. 14. In taking apprentices, sons of stockholders shall have the preference.

ART. 15. No member shall be considered a working member except he shall hold five shares, but may be employed by the agent or foreman.

ART. 17. Any member having shares to sell shall first offer them to the company.

ART. 18. No person not a stockholder shall be eligible to office.

THE KINGSTON CO-OPERATIVE FOUNDRY.

The Kingston Co-operative Foundry originated with molders from another town who had been discharged by their employer for the reason, as they believed, that they were members of a committee appointed to wait upon him to protest against a reduction of wages. They were at that time members of the molders' union. One of their number had previously been a member of the Somerset Co operative Foundry Company.

Their organization was effected April 9, 1877, with a nominal capital of \$8,000, in 80 shares. The capital as reported from year to year has varied between \$8,000 and \$16,000, and is now given as \$11,900. These figures have not always corresponded with the actual cash paid in.

The company had a long and severe struggle to get established. Until within two years it had no credit and no surplus capital. Goods were sold on four months' time, and collections were difficult. In the third and fourth years \$4,000 was lost through dishonest customers. Some of the men also proved unsatisfactory through unsteady habits and drinking. The impossibility of paying wages regularly caused much hardship and discontent.

1. The product is sold in New England on thirty days' to four months' time.
2. Stockholders give only a preference for employment.
3. The directors have power to discharge stockholders from employment.
4. A stockholder wishing to sell his shares must offer them first to the company. The directors are satisfied from their experience that in selling shares care should be exercised to secure the right sort of men.
5. Some stock is held by parties other than workmen.
6. Piece-work predominates.
7. The company never had a pay day until 1885, when it began paying labor monthly, keeping ten days' wages back. Many stockholders found that as workmen they could do better elsewhere than in the employ of their own company.
8. The embarrassments of the company have made wages irregular.
9. For the same kind and quantity of work, wages of stockholders and non-stockholding employees are the same.
10. There have been four changes in the office of president, two in that of treasurer, and three in that of foreman.

The foreman is the actual manager of the business under the directors. The treasurer is connected with another manufacturing establishment in town, and was selected on that account for economy's sake.

To the inability to pay wages regularly and in full, Mr. Charles Lapham,

the foreman, attributes the hard struggle of the company in a great degree. He says: "It drove many good men out of the enterprise. The establishment of the regular pay day was the best thing the concern ever did. I wish we could pay weekly. But at first payment in full was impossible. There was not enough quick capital; the concern had no credit; coal and iron bills had to be met, and goods were sold on four months' time. No concern ought to start unless it has the means to pay wages regularly. Stockholding has, nevertheless, had a good effect, encouraging some men who had never saved a cent to do it in this way, 'working out' their shares."

It is evident that this company has had to contend against great disadvantages. Its members had not all saved and accumulated property. Some were of unsteady habits. They started with insufficient paid up capital. They did not know how to manage, and there appear to have been a good many experimental changes of management. The first year the accounts were kept so unsystematically that it is now very difficult to unravel them. A permanent interest in the place was lacking. The original members were brought together from other towns, and the failure to secure remuneration again scattered them. The men who have held together and kept the enterprise going under these conditions have shown a grit and persistence deserving of substantial reward.

THE LEONARD CO-OPERATIVE FOUNDRY.

An opportunity to purchase an idle foundry was improved by a number of molders at Taunton, April 26, 1877, to organize the Leonard Co-operative Foundry Company. The balance of profit of the first three years went into the thirty per cent. reserve required by law; since then dividends have been paid. The men are mostly of American birth, of middle age, of good habits generally, including habits of economy.

Capital	\$25,000
Par value of shares	100
Highest price paid for shares when transferred.....	100
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred.....	100
Value of annual product.....	75,000
No. of stockholders employed.....	40
No. of employes not stockholders.....	10 to 20
Aggregate wages per month (divided among fifty men).....	{ \$3,000 to 3,300
Salaries: Treasurer.....	1,200
Agent.....	1,200

1. The product is sold mostly in New England on 80 days' time.
2. Employment is given by preference to a stockholder if he is a competent workman.
3. The management have power to discharge a stockholder from employment. This power is lodged, however, in the board of directors, and not in the agent or foreman, and its exercise appears to be conditional on

positively bad work or conduct and not on the mere fact that another man would do the work more efficiently.

4. Stockholders wishing to sell their shares are not required to offer them first to the company.

5. Some stock is held by other parties than workmen but not in a large proportion.

6. Work is mostly by the piece.

7. Wages are paid monthly.

8. In June, 1885, only two men earned as little as a dollar a day, the majority made from \$1.25 to \$3.50 a day, while a few made \$4.00 a day. A cut of 10 per cent. was made three years ago, but it was restored after a few months.

9. Wages are uniform, for the same amount and quality of work, between the stockholding and non-stockholding employees.

10. The company has had but two presidents and two treasurers.

The effect of stock-holding upon the amount and quality of work is marked. The men take pains to do everything well and have a pride in the reputation which their goods hold in the market.

The company believe in permanence of management, but there is a strong feeling among the members against a large salary roll.

The men consider their experiment a success. There are occasional misunderstandings, and now and then an individual thinks that he could manage things better if he could have his own way, but there is in the main harmonious co-operation.

THE EAST TEMPLETON CO-OPERATIVE CHAIR COMPANY.

Skilled workmen, thrown out of employment by the failure of two wood-working shops in which they were employed, and unwilling to leave the town where most of them owned homes, organized the East Templeton Co-operative Chair Company, October 19, 1872, with a capital of \$10,000 in 100 shares. They bought out a sound concern and put in a thousand dollars' worth of new machinery. In 1873 their assets were reported as \$21,059 and their liabilities as \$11,059. In that year the capital was increased to \$15,000, and in 1881 to \$20,000.

This company made a good start. It had excellent credit and its goods immediately found a ready market. "They sold themselves," said one of the men, "because we were all interested and did good work." There was no trouble with unsatisfactory men. They were all of New England birth and descent. The only bad luck for eight years was a loss of \$3,000 through dishonest customers.

On October 9, 1880, the shop and contents were destroyed by fire. The loss wiped out the capital of \$15,000. With \$5,000 insurance money, \$5,000 more borrowed on mortgage, and \$4,000 more borrowed on personal security a new factory was built and equipped, and the business re-established. All but \$1,500 of the \$4,000 has been repaid and the total loss by the fire has been made good to within \$2,000. There has never been a time when

the factory has not been run ten hours a day when daylight would permit. It is never artificially lighted in winter.

Capital.....	\$20,000
Par value of shares.....	\$100
Highest price paid for shares when transferred.....	\$100
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred.....	\$100
Value of annual product.....	{ \$45,000 to \$50,000
Number of stockholders employed.....	14
Number of employes not stockholders.....	9 or 10
Aggregate wages per month.....	{ \$940 to \$1,151
Salaries:	
Agent (per day).....	\$2.75
Treasurer	nothing.
Clerk (per month).....	\$30

1. The product is sold mainly at the West on 30 to 90 days' time.
2. Stockholding does not create a right to employment.
3. The agent has power to assign work, and hire and discharge help without a vote of the directors.
4. A stockholder wishing to sell his shares is not required to offer them first to the company. There was at one time a by-law that a stockholder should not sell without the consent of the directors. It was dropped.
5. All the stockholders are men who work for day wages in this or some other industry
6. Work is mostly by the piece. Some of the men take "jobs" and employ assistants on their own account.
7. Wages are paid once a month. There is a by-law giving the company the option to pay a shareholder his wages in full, or, with his consent, to retain a part of the amount due at 6 per cent. interest. A working capital of \$9,000 has been held in this way. During the past year wages have been paid in full.
8. Prices for work are gauged by the rates prevailing in other shops. There have been several reductions of wages. Within two years there has been one cut of 25 per cent. and one of 15 per cent.
9. For the same kind and quantity of work, wages of stockholding and non-stockholding employes are the same.
10. There have been but few changes in the board of directors. Three men have held the office of president and three that of treasurer. The treasurer is also the agent.

No trouble has been caused by jealousies or misunderstandings. The stockholders are all, as formerly, of New England blood.

The management regard a large working capital as a prime condition of success. A thousand dollars for every man's product would be none too much. They make it a rule to pay all bills at 30 days, and thereby save a large sum in discounts.

THE ATHOL CO OPERATIVE FURNITURE COMPANY.

The Athol Co-operative Furniture Company was formed to make employment for themselves by men who had been connected with wood-working shops and had lost their jobs. They organized August 5, 1879, and started with a nominal capital of \$2,500, and only just enough paid in to comply with the law. They secured orders readily, and were fortunate in avoiding losses. The men were steady, but fifteen of the twenty-five were green hands. Through their imperfect work and by paying too high wages the company lost \$2,000 the first year. In the fall of 1882 the shop was destroyed by fire, with a loss of \$3,000 in stock and machinery. Though a new start was made and a good trade secured as before, the company has never been prosperous. Though working on orders only, it has generally worked ten hours a day, except in winter, when no work by artificial light is attempted. Among the stockholders are two foreigners; all others are of American birth.

Capital	\$5,000
Par value of shares	100
Highest price paid for shares when transferred	100
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred	100
Value of annual product*	15,000
No. of stockholders employed	5 to 10
No. of employes not stockholders	3 to 5
Aggregate wages per month:	
(Highest, to 26 men)	\$933
(Lowest, to 10 men)	280
Salaries: agent (per day)	2.00

1. The product is sold in New York and locally on thirty days.
2. A stockholder has a right to employment when there is work enough, if he is a capable workman.
3. A vote of the directors is necessary to discharge a stockholder from employment. It has never been necessary to take this step, a reprimand being always sufficient.
4. A stockholder wishing to sell is not required to offer his shares to the company; but a new purchaser must be acceptable to the directors to secure work.
5. All the stockholders are workers for wages in some employment.
6. Work is partly by piece and partly by the day.
7. Wages have always been paid on the 15th of the month, but not always in full. It was a rule at one time to pay half and to give notes for half. When the capital was increased, \$8.33 a month was deducted from each man's pay, so that at the end of the year he had paid for a share.
8. The intention is, when possible, to pay stockholders 5 to 10 per cent. higher wages than prevail in other shops in town for like work. Wages have varied a good deal. When a smart man has made as much as \$3 or \$4 a day it has been customary to cut down the price of his job,

* The value of annual product was, at one time, \$30,000.

to "even things." Men so treated have sometimes stepped out and found work elsewhere.

9. Wages of stockholders and non-stockholders are not the same for the same kind and quantity of work. Non-stockholders are hired as cheaply as possible.

10. There have been many changes of directors. Three men have held the office of president, four that of agent, and but one that of treasurer.

Insufficient capital, and too many men who were not well qualified for co-operation, have been the great disadvantages of this company. The agent believes that with \$10,000 they could have made a success. Lumber has cost \$2 a thousand more than it would have done could settlements have been made more promptly. As for the men, the agent says: "My experience is that a co-operative team is a hard team to drive." It has been necessary to get rid of some men with whom it was impossible to agree. Some of the stockholders would prefer to be organized as a general corporation. One says: "A business can best be managed by a few men. There are some things that directors must know that outsiders had better not know, and co-operative stockholders sometimes publish things that ought not to be published. It might be different if we were making money."

THE STONEHAM CO-OPERATIVE SHOE COMPANY.

There are four co-operative boot and shoe manufacturing companies in the town of Stoneham. Their business is so extensive, and they have been so successful, that they may be said to constitute the chief industrial feature of the place. The first one established was the Stoneham Co-operative Shoe Company, organized December 4, 1872. The project originated with men who were temporarily unemployed and who conceived that they could do better than to continue to work for wages only. A capital of \$10,000 was subscribed and taken in 40 shares. This was increased to \$15,000 in 1880, and to \$20,000 in 1881. Many difficulties and misapprehensions and some misrepresentations were encountered in getting started. By some parties with whom business relations were necessary or desirable, the enterprise was believed to be controlled by a trade union or to be managed in the trade union interest. But the management was capable and vigorous; the first year was a prosperous one, and from that time on the financial success of the company has been remarkable. The shop has usually been run on full time, with the exception of the brief summer vacation which is customary in the Stoneham shoe factories. The stockholders are of all nationalities, and they have always worked together harmoniously.

Capital.....	\$20,000
Par value of shares.....	250
Highest price paid for shares when transferred.....	400
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred.....	250
Value of annual product.....	150,000

No. of stockholders employed:	
No. males.....	20
No. females.....	5
No. of employees not stockholders:	
No. males.....	15 to 20
No. females.....	20
Aggregate wages per month.....	\$2,500
	to
	2,800
Salaries: agent.....	1,500
Treasurer.....	800
Bookkeeper.....	600

1. The product is sold to the western trade on sixty days' credit.
2. Stockholding does not give a right to employment, and in actual practice a stockholder is given employment only when he is the right man to do a certain work. A better workman not a stockholder would be given the place.
3. The management is in the hands of the directors and the agent, the former looking closely after details. The agent has power to discharge all help, except stockholders; their cases must go before the directors.
4. When a stockholder wishes to sell his shares he is not required first to offer them to the company.
5. With one exception all the original stockholders were manual workers in the shoe industry. The stock is still held largely by workmen; but many stockholders work in other factories, some in other parts of the State, and some in other States.
6. Work is by the piece mainly.
7. Until two years ago all labor was paid regularly once a month. At present stockholders are paid once a month and other help once a week.
8. The wages of lasters are dictated by the lasters' union, to which resistance is never offered. The scale of wages for other work is determined by taking the average of several other shoe factories, not co-operative.
9. Wages are uniform, for the same kind and quantity of work, between stockholders and non-stockholders.
10. There have been few changes in the board of directors since the company began operations, and frequent changes of management are considered unwise. There have been in thirteen years four presidents, two treasurers and three agents. Responsibility with considerable powers is considered necessary in the management. Three to five directors would be considered enough.

While salaries must necessarily be low in co-operative associations, Mr. J. G. Green, the treasurer of this company, thinks that it is best to get a good man for every responsible position and pay him what he is worth. "It does not pay to keep a poor man because he is cheap." The treasurer has large responsibilities, having to endorse notes, etc., and \$300 for his services is small pay.

Mr. Green believes that ample capital is an indispensable condition to success in co-operative shoe making. He estimates that a concern must have

\$2,000 active capital and good credit for every case of shoes made for the jobbing trade, turning the money once in sixty days. In the retail trade it is necessary to double this estimate and figure closer. A great misapprehension exists among would-be co-operatives as to the amount of capital necessary. Delegates visit Stoneham to make inquiries, expecting to employ thirty or forty men on a capital of \$2,000 to \$3,000.

THE MIDDLESEX CO-OPERATIVE BOOT AND SHOE COMPANY, STONEHAM.

Dull times and lack of work were assigned as the reason for the organization of the Middlesex Co-operative Boot and Shoe Company, on February 23, 1875. These would seem to have been about as unfavorable antecedents as an industrial enterprise could have; nevertheless, the Middlesex has been a success in every way, fully rewarding the faith of the unemployed; but practical men who invested their savings in it, believed that the experiment which had shown such gratifying results in the Stoneham co-operative shop could be repeated with like good fortune. The capital stock at first was \$10,000 in forty shares. It was increased December 31, 1883, to \$15,000 and sixty shares. For some time the company had hard work to get credit. Nearly every party of whom materials were bought inquired suspiciously about co-operation and was in doubt whether to trust or not. For three successive years a loss was made yearly of \$900 or more in uncollectable bills. The third year \$1,800 was lost through one fraudulent concern that did business in different states under three different names.

Capital	\$15,000
Par value of shares.....	250
Highest price paid for shares when transferred*.....	400
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred.....	250
Value of annual product.....	90,000
Number of stockholders employed :	
Males.....	21
Females	3
Number of employees not stockholders:	
Males.....	6
Females	12
Aggregate wages per month.....	\$1,755
Salaries —	
Agent	1,500
Treasurer.....	200
Bookkeeper (per month).....	15

1. The product is sold at Boston and in all the northern states on ninety days' credit.
2. Stockholding does not give right to employment.
3. The agent manages the business in detail, buying and selling, hiring and discharging, but subject to the directors.
4. There is a by-law requiring a stockholder who wishes to sell to offer his shares first to the company, but it is a dead letter.

* A share brought \$280 when sold at auction.

5. With very few exceptions the stockholders are employed in the shoe industry.

6. All work is by the piece.

7. The company has always had a regular pay-day, the first Friday of the month.

8. The rate of wages, except for the lasters, whose prices are made by the union, is determined by striking an average of the wages paid by five other shops.

9. Wages are uniform for the same kind and amount of work, between stockholding and non-stockholding employees.

10. There have been three successive presidents, but one treasurer, three agents, and but few changes in the board of directors, most of the original directors being yet in office.

Mr. Luther White, treasurer of the company, said that he did not think a large capital was essential to success in co-operative manufacturing. He did not think it necessary or important that stockholders should be of one nationality. In the Middlesex there are American born, Irish and French Canadians. But co-operators must be of good habits, economical and saving. They must belong to the place and have a permanent interest in it. Most of the Middlesex stockholders own their homes. Many changes of management will have a bad effect. The present agent has been exceptionally successful, but when the change from his predecessor was made customers said it would ruin the business, illustrating the feeling among business men that changes of management are unfavorable. The men who have managed the affairs of the Middlesex came from the bench and had not been trained in business.

Mr. White complained of unfair discrimination in taxation, which hurts co-operative enterprises. Many of the shoe manufacturers with which the co-operatives must compete are private partnerships, rendering no account of capital and condition to the state, and making their own figures of valuation. The co-operative concerns, being corporations, are taxed on the full amount of their capital stock.

AMERICAN CO-OPERATIVE BOOT AND SHOE COMPANY, STONEHAM.

The American Co-operative Boot and Shoe Company was organized October 10, 1882, with a capital of \$10,000 in forty shares. Its projectors were mostly middle-aged men, who had saved money out of wages. It was a distinctive feature of this enterprise, that the power to hire and discharge help and assign work, regardless of stockholding, should be absolute. The first year was financially successful; the second year the failure of a creditor caused a deficit. The company has enjoyed good credit from the first. The capital was increased April 3, 1883, to \$20,000, and August 20, 1884, to \$30,000. No certificate of stock is issued until paid for in cash. If an employe wishes to pay for a share by installments, he must get some one to take and pay for it for him.

Capital	\$30,000
Par value of shares.....	250
Highest price paid for shares when transferred	265
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred.....	250
Value of annual product	50,000
Number of stockholders employed:	
Males	11
Females	11
Number of employees not stockholders:	
Males	14
Females	9
Aggregate wages per month*.....	\$1,900
Salaries: Agent	900

1. Goods are made for the retail trade only, and for the Western trade mainly.

2. Stockholding confers neither right nor preference to employment.

3. It was the conviction of the projectors of this company that the best results had been missed in some previous co-operative undertakings, through a lack of entire freedom to hire and discharge help solely on grounds of efficiency. Stock was marketed, therefore, with the distinct understanding on the part of purchasers that it was an investment merely, and not a claim to any other advantage whatever. The management is more than satisfied with the wisdom of this policy. Labor is regarded in this shop with an eye as single to its economic value as in the most absolutely governed corporation.

4. Stock for sale must be offered first to the company, and a purchaser must be approved by the board of directors. This power is exercised in this company. There is not much mixture of nationalities among the stockholders. The majority of them are American-born.

5. Nearly all the stockholders are workers for wages in various shops.

6. Work is mostly by the piece.

7. Wages have been paid always on the first Friday of each month, and advances are made if asked for.

8. About six months after the company began operations, the lasters demanded an advance, which was granted. July 1, 1885, a second demand of 5 per cent. was conceded. None of the stockholding employees are members of the union.

9. There is no discrimination in wages between stockholding and non-stockholding employees.

10. There have been no changes in management since the company was organized.

The American has a good location and a well-adapted building for its factory, for which \$8,000 was paid. At the time of our visit it was promising to become a success in every way.

* Estimated.

THE FRANKLIN CO-OPERATIVE BOOT AND SHOE COMPANY, STONEHAM.

The youngest of the Stoneham co-operative enterprises is the Franklin Co-operative Boot and Shoe Company, organized March 30, 1883. Its stockholders were men thrown out of work by failures in town. Much trouble and delay were experienced in getting started, the treasurer elected failing to collect the capital subscribed. It was finally necessary to ask him to resign. He did so, surrendering his stock. His successor collected \$7,000, but was unable to lease a building. Finally a building was bought for \$3,500 and operations were begun in January, 1894, with a very small working capital, a fact that has made subsequent progress difficult. The capital was nominally \$10,000 in forty shares. It has been increased, nominally, \$20,000, but the shares are not yet all sold. Orders were hard to get at first and for the first six months the shop was run only eight hours a day. At the time of our visit in the summer of 1893, the company had more orders than it could fill with the quick capital at command and for a year had been running on full time, except the customary vacation of ten days.

Capital.....	\$20,000
Par value of shares.....	250
Highest price paid for shares when transferred.....	283
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred.....	250
Value of annual product.....	50,000
No. of stockholders employed:	
Males.....	20
Females.....	6
No. of employes not stockholders:	
Males.....	2 to 4
Females.....	8
Aggregate wages per month.....	\$1,500
Salaries : agent.....	1,000

1. Goods are sold in the Western States on 30 days, 5 per cent. off for prompt payment.

2. Stockholders have a first right to employment and the expectation is that they will be given employment, if possible. But if a stockholder is not capable of doing acceptable work some one else is employed.

3. The agent has authority to dismiss stockholders from employment, without a vote of the directors.

4. If a stockholder wishes to sell he must first offer his shares to the company.

5. With the exception of a few shares the stock is owned by work-people.

6. Work is by the piece.

7. The first Friday of the month is pay-day.

8. The average prices paid for work by non-co-operative shops are adopted and the pay of lasters is dictated by the union.

9. Wages are uniform between stockholding and non-stockholding employes.

10. There have been no changes of management since the company began operations.

Mr. James Grant, treasurer of the company, said that he thought the Franklin had succeeded as well as possible under the circumstances. It produces a better shoe than non-co-operative shops, because the employes take an interest in their work. This is what sustains co-operation in Stoneham. The Franklin could double its business if it had four or five thousand dollars more of quick capital. Goods are manufactured on a very narrow margin. The company at one time lost \$500 in six months through inability to secure the discount of its bills. In shoe findings the per cent. off for prompt payment at thirty days runs from five to fifteen, averaging ten. The inability of some men to understand this condition of success is one of the difficulties of co-operation. Stockholders too often expect to do a big business on a small capital, and when they find that it is not being done some of them think that they could manage affairs much better. This class of men and women is not a large factor, however.

THE WAKEFIELD CO-OPERATIVE SHOE COMPANY.

An opportunity to buy a small shoe factory and the success of co-operation at Stoneham, suggested the Wakefield Co-operative Shoe Company, which was organized November 15, 1883, with a capital of \$15,000 in 150 shares. The company started in a dull time, but did a larger business the first year than subsequently, working full time the first year, but not the second. It paid cash for all supplies, and took the discounts. The second year \$1,000 was lost in uncollectable bills. The stockholders are American, French and Scotch nationalities. There has been no trouble through jealousies, misunderstandings or bad habits.

Capital	\$15,000
Par value of shares.....	100
Highest price paid for shares when transferred.....	100
Lowest price paid for shares when transferred....	100
Value of annual product.....	35,000
No. of stockholders employed:	
No. of males.....	11
No. of females.....	1
No. of employes not stockholders:	
No. of females.....	8
Aggregate wages per month.....	\$784
Salaries: aggregate.....	2,000
Largest to one man.	900

1. The product is fine goods exclusively, and is sold in New England on sixty days' credit.

2. Stockholding creates a preference for employment, workmanship being satisfactory.

3. The agent, with the authority of the directors, has power to hire and discharge and assign work, regardless of stockholding, and there has never been any trouble on this account.

4. Stock for sale must be offered first to the company. The rule is enforced.

5. About one-half of the stockholders are workers for wages in the shoe industry.

6. Most of the work is done by the piece. Some employes take jobs and employ assistants on their own account.

7. In 1884, wages were paid every Saturday night; in 1885, fortnightly. It has never been the practice to withhold any part of wages due.

8. Wages are governed by the average prices paid elsewhere. There is no trade union influence on wages here, as at Stoneham, though the lasters belong to the union. Prices for work have not been changed since the company started.

9. Stockholding and non-stockholding employes are paid the same for equal work.

10. There have been but few changes in the board of directors; but one treasurer and agent, and three presidents.

The managers are satisfied that stock-owning makes good workers in every department. Stock-owning workers waste nothing, in dull time an important item, and their work is painstaking. Customers have never found any fault with the quality of work done by this company.

The importance of a large working capital is emphasized here, as elsewhere, and the same complaint of burdensome taxation is made that was made by the Middlesex company at Stoneham.

The essential points contained in the statistical statements already given for each company are presented in the following summary, for purposes of comparison:

SUMMARY FOR MASSACHUSETTS.

NAME OF Co-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.	Capital.	Annual product.	Stockholders Employed.		Employes not stock- holders.		Individual wages per month.	Aggregate salar- ies per year.	Average divid'nds.
			Males	Fe- males.	Males.	Fe- males.			
American Shoe Co.	\$30,000	\$50,000	11	11	14	9	\$43	\$900	Per cent.
Athol Furniture Co.	5,000	15,000	8	.....	8	.....	32	.626*
E. Trempeal-au Chair Co.	20,000	45,000	14	.....	9	.....	44	1,220	1.83*
Franklin Shoe Co.	20,000	50,000	20	6	2	8	41	1,000	.....
Kingston Foundry Co.	11,900	20,000	11	.....	9	.....	31†	782	0.75
Leonard Foundry Co.	25,000	75,000	40	.....	10	.....	60	2,400	3.62
Middlesex Shoe Co.	15,000	90,000	21	8	6	12	42	1,860	10.35
Somerset Foundry Co.	30,000	75,000	33	.....	10	.....	76	2,280	7.60
Stoneham Shoe Co.	20,000	150,000	20	5	15	20	42	2,400	14.15
Wakefield Shoe Co.	15,000	85,000	11	1	.....	8	39	2,000	8.00

* Losses by fire.

† Working part time.

CO-OPERATION IN OHIO.

From the report of the Ohio Bureau of Labor for 1886, the following list of co-operative institutions is taken:

Knights of Labor Co-operative Company, New Straitsville, organized December 2, 1882, selling clothing, general provisions and dry goods; capital, \$3,000. Lorain Co-operative Store Company, Lorain, organized February 8, 1883, general merchandising business; capital, \$10,000. McClure Grange Co-operative Association, McClure, organized April 17, 1883, grange hall and merchandise business; capital, \$1,500. People's Co-operative Supply Company, Newark, organized April 25, 1883; purchasing and selling groceries, etc.; capital, \$10,000. People's Co-operative Store Company, Chestine, organized May 5, 1883; carry on the business of general merchandise; capital, \$10,000. Labor Star Co-operative Printing Company, Cleveland, organized August 9, 1883, to print and publish a newspaper; capital \$1,000. Toledo Co-operative Merchandise Company, Toledo, organized August 25, 1883; dealing in clothing, furnishings, boots, shoes, etc.; capital, \$10,000. Knights of Labor Co-operative Company, Carbon Hill, organized September 13, 1883, to erect buildings; capital, \$2,000. Sunday Creek Co-operative Company, Rendville, organized March 20, 1884; general mercantile business; capital \$4,000. Hametown Industrial Co-operative Company, Hametown, organized April 12, 1884; general grocery and mercantile business; capital, \$10,000. Miners' Co-operative Store Company, Rendville, organized April 19, 1884; general merchandising business; capital, \$2,000. Co-operative Provision Company, Toledo, organized July 18, 1884; general merchandising business; capital \$3,000. Farmers' and Laborers' Co-operative Milling Company, Patterson, organized August 30, 1884; general flouring mill and shipping business; capital \$5,000. Corning Co-operative Company, Corning, organized January 13, 1885; general merchandise; capital \$1,500. Wooster Co-operative Foundry Company, Wooster, organized February 23, 1885; general foundry business; capital, \$5,000. Paint Valley Co-operative Company, Paint Valley, organized April 1, 1885; trading farm products and machinery; capital, \$5,000. Industrial Co-operative Company, East Liverpool, organized May 8, 1885; general mercantile business; capital, \$2,500. Salineville Manufacturing Co-operative Company, Salineville, organized June 13, 1885; manufacture of stone-ware; capital, \$10,000.

PHOENIX BARREL MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

Although the secretary of this, one of the several co-operative coöperage institutions of Minneapolis, did not report early enough to secure the insertion of his letter where it rightfully belongs, he scores some points worth preserving anywhere. He says:

We organized on March 21, 1891, with a capital stock of \$10,000; paid-up capital, \$7,000. Size of shares, \$50 each. Where capital subscribed is large enough, each member may own twenty shares. We are incorporated and have thirty members. We began co-operation for the following reasons:

First. Believing that labor creates all dividends and that the co-operative system is the only avenue in business by which profits and dividends are placed in the hands of those to whom they rightly belong.

Second. Because every man entering co-operation on this plan begins a practical business education which it is impossible to attain while working under the journeyman system.

Third. We furnish ourselves nothing but first-class material from which to manufacture our goods, thereby avoiding the inconvenience placed upon journeymen who are often required to manufacture first-class goods from inferior material. By this system we find ourselves able to place a first-class article on the market as cheap as those who use the second-class materials, depending on labor to make the articles manufactured first-class.

Fourth. The co-operative system relieves all who embrace it from the tyranny of unscrupulous bosses.

Our members are all union men. From May, 1885, to May 1, 1886, the lowest wages paid per day was \$1.47; highest during the same period, \$1.95. We divide our dividends pro rata on the wages earned, semi-annually, and not on capital invested.

Our work has not been steady, probably averaging nine months per year. We sell our goods to the Washburn-Crosby Milling Co., of Minneapolis.

REWARDS BASED UPON EARNINGS.

It seems to have been generally supposed that the great tobacco manufacturing establishment of P. Lorillard & Co., of Jersey City, is working under some fixed co-operative or profit-sharing system, as the happy condition of their people in consequence thereof is frequently mentioned by the best authorities on economic subjects.

In respect of this error a member of the firm writes:

We presume such an impression may have been occasioned from the fact that we have on several occasions given our employes a Christmas present, based upon the wages received by them; we have had no fixed plan for determining the amount for each individual, sometimes it has been an extra week's wages, sometimes arranged in other ways, but it has been purely a matter of policy. We have held out no promises or inducements of the kind in advance or permitted our employes to believe that

we will carry out any such scheme generally. We have been governed entirely by the profits of the business for the year and the condition of labor.

Ethelbert Stewart says Lorillard & Co. divided over \$16,000 with their workmen last year; and it is stated that in some years greater sums have been thus divided. No matter whether they have a fixed system, Lorillard & Co. do divide profits with employes, and with the best of results to both sides.

OSWALD OTTENDORFER'S PLAN.

The *New York Staats-Zeitung*, on the tenth of March of every year since 1880, has awarded to its employes 10 per cent. upon the total amount of wages earned during the year. Employes, to be entitled to this dividend, must have worked uninterruptedly during six months prior to the 1st of March.

The declaration of the dividend, however, is entirely optional with the trustees, no promise whatever being made that a dividend shall be paid at any hazard.

Oswald Ottendorfer informs the Bureau that "the plan works satisfactorily. The employes feel attached to the business, are attentive, steady and diligent, and there are no quarrels or strikes." The wages and salaries paid by the *Staats-Zeitung* are the same as, and in some cases higher than those paid for similar work by other German newspapers, so that the dividends make the incomes of the workmen comparatively handsome.

PULLMAN, ILLINOIS.

Pullman, the growing and beautiful city established south of Chicago by George M. Pullman, proprietor of the well-known palace and sleeping cars, is based upon a broader co-operative plan than that of those who merely divide profits with employes at a rate fixed by one side only — that of the owner.

As a full history of this clean, temperate, thrifty and orderly industrial villa was given in the report of this Bureau for 1884, no further details are required except to say that Mr. Pullman has graded and drained a large tract

of land adjoining his city to be sold to, or rather earned by, those of his employes who desire to become land and home owners.

Heretofore Mr. Pullman has owned all the residences in Pullman. This was rendered necessary in order that his plans might not be broken into or overthrown by a few ignorant or dissatisfied or revengeful workmen before the community became fully educated up to the standard required for the permanent success of a scheme so broad and deep yet so progressive.

Now, however, he believes that the benefits of the plan are so well appreciated that employes may safely begin to become proprietors. Concerning this his private secretary, J. H. Smith, says:

Mr. Pullman's policy will undoubtedly be to allow those of the employes of the Company who may desire to do so, to purchase building lots in the blocks adjoining Pullman, immediately west of the tracks of the Illinois Central road. These blocks have recently been improved by an extension of the sewerage and water systems, and are equally as desirable as any in Pullman. The lots will be sold at a reasonable figure, and will be deeded outright to the purchasers, who may then, if they desire to do so, pledge them to the bank as security for sufficient money to enable them to build their houses. The money will be advanced at a low rate of interest, and may be re-paid by installments from the savings of the workmen, or otherwise as they may choose. Mr. Pullman's idea is that this plan of allowing the men to make their own transactions with the bank in a business-like way, instead of placing themselves in the hands of an intermediate agency, or what is commonly termed a "Building Association," will tend to preserve the individuality of the men, and give them a feeling of greater independence and self-reliance than they otherwise would have.

It is also Mr. Pullman's intention to give to the men at a reasonable cost the benefit of the Company's extensive building and architectural facilities; and it will naturally follow therefore, that the same general features both in the architectural design and character of the workmanship of the houses will be maintained.

PEORIA CO-OPERATIVE COAL ASSOCIATION.

Here is a brief account of an attempt of fifty coal miners to escape the fatal effects of the "blacklist," written by D. H. McPhail, manager:

Our business is that of mining and selling coal, wholesale and retail. We are not incorporated, because by being so our members would vote

and receive profits in proportion to the amount of money invested; but as we are working under the co-operative law of the K. of L., a member receives profits in proportion to the amount of labor actually performed for the association.

Our shares proper are \$10 each, but each share is assessed, if necessary, by the directors. Our shares have been assessed until they now stand at \$230 each. All above \$10 is loaned to the association and is not a portion of the share, and will be paid back to each member in profits.

We organized because the local operators would not allow us to work for them; i. e., we were what is commonly known as "blacklisted" miners.

We have 50 members at present, and no person can derive any benefit who does not actually perform labor for the association.

We pay current prices and divide the balance in proportion to the labor performed; none but members work for us.

We do not have steady employment in summer, but have had in winter; but will not have this coming winter as the operators bid less than the rates of our contracts and took them away from us.

Our members have earned as much clear cash as any other fifty miners, besides building up a business and purchasing engines, cable, etc. Co-operation must become general in any branch of business before the full benefits can be obtained, and I think the state should have its laws changed so that men and not money should be entitled to vote in productive co-operative industries.

Man is the creator of wealth, but under the Illinois law he who possesses or has invested \$400 in a concern in which I only have \$200, can vote twice to my once.

Why should the created supersede the creator?

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

There are, of course, quite a number of co-operative institutions not mentioned here, but as their officers failed to reply to letters of inquiry from this Bureau, it is difficult to accurately embody their distinctive features in this report.

Among them may be mentioned one at Decatur, Illinois, the Oneida Community, the Shakers, that at Zoar, Ohio, one at Hayward, Mass., one at Pawtucket, R. I., two at Olneyville, R. I., one at Lonsdale, R. I., one at Zanesville, Ohio, one at 582 Purchase St., New Bedford, Mass., several in Philadelphia, two at Fall River, Mass., one at Auburn, Me., one at Rushville, Ind., the Integral Co-operative System, besides carpenters', lathers', plasterers' and others, at

Cleveland, Ohio, granite workers,' at Westerly, Rhode Island, over thirty co-operative banks in Massachusetts, *The Co-operator*, a monthly published at Buffalo, and numerous distributive stores just organizing.

PART IV.

CO-OPERATION IN WISCONSIN.

THE WISCONSIN PHALANX.

Co-operation has had several trials in Wisconsin, one of them very early, very important, and under the most auspicious of conceivable circumstances. Indeed, it was one of the first and foremost trials of its kind in America, and, so far as available records show, in the world.

More than 40 years ago Horace Greeley began the advocacy of a new form of civilization—an ideal and higher basis for the reorganization of society. His clear and powerful manner of stating things drew considerable attention to his theory, the groundwork of which was a system invented by a Frenchman named Francois Marie Charles Fourier, and called, in his honor, Fourierism.

In many respects Fourier was a wonderful man—educated, indefatigable, patient, patriotic. He devoted everything to mankind, nothing to himself. A little fortune inherited from his father was lost during the French Revolution at Lyon, while he himself was in prison. Having been forced from jail into the army, he served two years, but was discharged on account of illness. He now found employment in a large mercantile house at Marseilles.

While serving in this capacity he was charged with the destruction of an enormous quantity of rice which had been held for a higher price, amidst a general scarcity of provisions, until it had become unfit for food.

This circumstance so impressed upon his mind what he termed the outrageous “frauds and duplicities of commerce,” that he at once set out upon a prolonged inquiry

into social problems which resulted in the system just mentioned, bearing his name.

Poor, overworked and comparatively friendless, the devotion and patience of this man are almost without parallel. He never ceased to urge the virtues of his schemes upon men of influence and wealth, and for many years at the close of his life waited hopefully and earnestly at a certain hour each day for such a patron to appear.

As comparatively few are familiar with Fourierism, as taught by its author and his disciples, a description of it, taken from an authoritative biography of Fourier, will be inserted here, in order to afford a better understanding of what thereafter follows. It differs materially from the systems of Communism, strictly so-called, and all other social theories, professing to be based on natural laws and capable of being carried out on mathematical principles as fixed and certain as those of geometry, music or colors.

The earth and human society, Fourier taught, are in their crude and infantile stage. The period of the race will be 80,000 years, the latter portion of which will be its declining phase, as the present is its ascending. The middle term will be a long period of maturity, prosperity and happiness. What we call civilization, Fourier calls a false and imperfect condition, with poverty, crime, ignorance, idleness, repugnant toil, disease, wasting wars, general antagonism, oppression and misery. He believed that association would produce general riches, honesty, attractive and varied industry, health, peace and universal happiness.

Considering attractions and repulsions the governing forces of all nature, and that God has distributed them for the happiness of all His creatures, he held that "attractions are proportional to destinies," or that the desires or passions of men, their aptitudes and inclinations, if they could have free scope, would infallibly produce the highest conditions and greatest happiness of which they are capable. He believed in universal harmony, flowing from and centering in God, the author of all harmonies, and that there is therefore a principle of "Universal Analogy." Seeing that all things, from suns and planets to atoms, range themselves in groups

and series, according to certain fixed laws of attraction and repulsion, he labored to discover the kind of human society that must eventually form itself in obedience to those laws.

This is his Association or Phalanstery, which is to consist of 400 families or 1,800 persons, which number he found included the whole circle of human capacities. These should live in one immense edifice, in the center of a large and highly cultivated domain, and furnished with workshops, studios and all the appliances of industry and art, as well as all the sources of amusement and pleasure.

When the earth is covered with palaces of industry, the associations will also unite in groups or series, under a unitary government, and there will be but one language and one government, and the only armies will be the great industrial armies, which will drain swamps, irrigate deserts, plant forests and effect the amelioration of climates.

The system of Fourier does not propose to destroy, but rather to conserve property, position and hereditary rights; nor does it war directly with morals or religion. The property of the association is to be held in shares, and the whole product of the industrial and artistic groups is to be divided into twelve parts, of which five parts are due to labor, four to capital and three to talent. The apartments are to be of various prices, and the styles of living vary in luxury and cost; but the poorest person in the Association is not only to be secure of comfort, but his minimum of enjoyments will be greater than the present social arrangements can give princes and millionaires; while these will have opened to them pleasures of which they can now scarcely have a conception. The economics of the large scale in the Phalanstery reduce by two-thirds the expense of living, while an attractive and scientific industry would quadruple the products of civilization.

The passions of the human soul to which the system of Fourier would give full scope, he describes as the five sensitive—sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch; four affective—friendship, love, ambition, paternity; three distributive—the emulative, alternating and composite. In these he found the springs of industry and true society. Emulation, the

desire of success, honors, rewards, is the great stimulant of exertion; alternation of employment makes work a recreation; and the composite passions require combinations of charm and enjoyment which only association can give.

Having devoted some space to an explanation of what Fourier taught, it will now be proper to give a description equally as full, at least, of what his disciples practiced in Wisconsin.

As before stated, the "science of the new social relations" was being advocated by Horace Greeley and other editors. Through Greeley's *Tribune*, principally, therefore, the people of Southport (now Kenosha) in the Territory of Wisconsin, became interested in "its vast economies, its equitable distributions, its harmony of groups and series, its attractive industry, its advantages for schools, meetings, parties and social festivities," and the Franklin Lyceum in that village fell to discussing the subject.

On November 13, 1843, the lyceum wrestled with the problem formulated thus: "Does the system of Fourier present a practicable plan for such a reorganization of society as will guard against our present social evils?"

This question was varied in form for subsequent discussions during the winter of 1843-4, the interest in the meetings being keen and attendance large. Among those who participated in the argument were Louis P. Harvey, subsequently governor of Wisconsin, and Charles Durkee, the first Free-soiler, or Republican, ever elected to the United States Senate distinctively as such.

The result of this discussion was the formation of an association taking the name of The Wisconsin Phalanx. Articles of agreement were drawn and signed, and considerable stock, at \$25 per share, sold.

Ebenezer Childs, of Green Bay, familiar with the territory, was employed to select a location for the new experiment, on government land. After a thorough search he fixed upon a tract in township 15, north of range 14, east, county of Fond du Lac.

The location, consisting of a rich, narrow valley, well skirted with timber and watered by Silver Creek, which

falls into Green Lake, four miles away, and affording a good water power, was lovely beyond description.

Warren Chase, the leading spirit of the association, went with \$800, raised by the members, to Green Bay and entered several quarter-sections of the lands selected by Childs, in the name of Michael Frank, a resident of Southport of irreproachable character and one in whom everybody had full confidence.

While these transactions were going forward, the members of the Phalanx had collected teams, cows, tools, provisions and tents, and started—nineteen men and one boy—with three horse-teams and several ox-teams to the land of promise, by the way of Watertown, in Jefferson County. They left home on Monday, and after “marching and camping, and camping and marching,” reached their destination on Sunday, May 27, 1844.

They camped the night before on the north bank of Silver Creek, near where the stone mill was afterwards erected, in what is now the city of Ripon; “and on the morning of May 27—to them ever memorable—they repaired to the valley below, on the beautiful plain surrounded by hills, like an amphitheatre, and one of the most beautiful spots nature has formed in Wisconsin, and there, on their own lands, pitched their tents.”

“They were as good material, probably, as was ever got together for a like experiment. They did not belong, even in part, to the class of ‘the unappreciated, the played out, the idle, and the good for nothing generally;’ on the contrary, they were persons whose industry and general shrewdness had already been coined into a good equipment of live stock, farm materials, implements, and other necessities for fitting out a new enterprise. What was better, they had all, as pioneers, undergone that training in hard work and privation, which fortified them against discontent and homesickness. They were rather religious than irreligious, and among them were two who had studied as preachers in evangelical denominations; but there was nothing like religious bigotry visible in the Phalanx; on the contrary, everybody was liberal.”

On the morning of Monday, May 28, 1884, preparations began for the building of three frame houses. The first ground was broken on that day in plowing up the sod where the cellars were to be dug; breaking for crops was also commenced on the same day. The working force—besides the nineteen men and one boy—was eight yoke of oxen and thirty-four horses. The Phalanx had, in all, fifty-four head of cattle. Their first care besides the erection of the necessary buildings to shelter their soon-expected families, was of course to get in their crops as soon as possible, the season being already far advanced. Twenty acres of potatoes, buckwheat, turnips, and other vegetables, were put in; but a white frost on the morning of June 10 destroyed most of the corn, beans and vines. The long days were filled with toil by these hardy pioneers, and the short nights were devoted to sleep on the ground, under the tents, of which there were three. A Scotch sailor cooked for them in the open air; and they ate their meals on rough boards under the shade of a bower, when it did not rain; and when it did, they ate standing, to avoid an excess of water on the body, and because they could shed rain better in that position. The dwellings were twenty by thirty feet each, one-and-a-half stories high and thirty feet apart. They were completed from oak trees which furnished, without saw-mill, the frames, the clapboards, the shingles and the floors. Lumber for the stairs and upper floors was brought from a distance. Before the three houses were enclosed, some of their wives and children arrived, brought by horse-teams, which were kept constantly going from and to the old and new homes.

On the 4th of July, a liberty-pole was raised, and the stars and stripes floated proudly in the breeze.

The most important improvement needed, it was now seen, was the building of a saw-mill and the erection of a dam across Silver Creek. It was late in the winter before the saw-mill was in running order, and then the creek was too much frozen for use. The consequence was that the Phalanx had to go without many boards to protect man and beast from the inclemency of the weather, during all the

cold months; but the hay, which was abundant, supplied largely the place of boards for the shelter of their animals, and was used for beds by the families. There was "broken up" and sowed to winter wheat, one hundred acres of prairie, during the first year.

When the families (about twenty, who ate at a common table in the basement of one of the houses, where all of the cooking was done) were all packed for winter quarters, and "the boys" were hunting fence lumber and sawlogs on government land, Warren Chase started for Madison to secure a charter, or act of incorporation, for the society. The act had been carefully drawn up by him, and submitted to the members, and approved, and he was authorized to secure its passage with as few amendments as possible. After much labor in lobbying, he was successful, his bill having passed the Assembly and Council—the two houses of the Territorial Legislature. It was approved by N. P. Talmadge on the 6th day of February, 1845, the governor remarking, interrogatively, to Chase, as he signed the act, "It will not compromise my Democracy will it?" The vital sections are quoted:

SEC. 3. The property, real and personal, of said corporation shall be held in stock, numbered in shares of \$25 each, and transferable at the will of the holder; but no transfer shall be effected until recorded on the books of the corporation by the recording officer of the Phalanx.

SEC. 4. * * * The quantity of land held by said corporation shall never exceed forty acres for each person belonging thereto.

SEC. 5. The corporation, or the officers thereof, shall have no power to contract any debt in their incorporate name or by virtue of this act, to issue any notes or scrips, or evidences of debt whatever; and if said corporation, or its Board of Managers, shall contract or assume to contract any debt in the name of said corporation each individual member thereof shall be personally liable to pay such debt.

SEC. 15. The President, Vice-President and nine Councilmen shall form a Board of Managers, two-thirds of which shall form a quorum for the transaction of business. The Council shall receive and determine upon all applications for membership and subscriptions for stock, and no person shall be permitted to become a member or stockholder without the consent of all composing the Board of Managers. The Council shall arrange and determine all by-laws for the government of the members as they may deem proper; provided always that said rules, regulations and

by-laws shall in no wise conflict with the provisions of this act or with the laws of this Territory. The Council shall have power to remove the Secretary or Treasurer, or any member of their Board, for neglect or mismanagement of his official duties. The Council shall in case of such removal call a meeting of the members and stockholders to fill the vacancy occasioned by such removal.

SEC. 16. There shall be annual meetings of the members and stockholders on the first Monday of December of each year, at which time a settlement shall be made with each member. Previous to, and preparatory for which meetings, the Council shall make or cause to be made, an assessment or appraisal of all property, real and personal, belonging to the Phalanx; and if said appraisal shall exceed the cost and last appraisal of said property, the increase shall be a dividend as follows: One-fourth shall be credited as a dividend for stock, in proportion to the time said stock has been paid in since the last appraisal; the remaining three-fourths shall be credited to labor in such manner as the by-laws shall determine. The amount due each member or stockholder upon settlement shall be paid in money or stock, as the Council shall determine, but the kind of payment shall be alike to all. It shall be the duty of the Council to transact all business of the corporation not otherwise provided for.

SEC. 17. The Council shall establish a public school, in which shall be taught all the different branches of science usually taught in the common schools of the Territory, which school shall be open and free to the children of all the members of the corporation, and shall be continued nine months in each year. All teachers of the arts and sciences, except those hereinafter excepted, shall be paid as follows, viz: Three-fourths of the amount shall be deducted annually from the amount credited to capital, and one-fourth from the amount credited to labor, and one-fourth from the amount credited to labor previous to the individual settlement with the members and stockholders.

SEC. 18. There shall always be a free toleration of religious opinion, and every member shall be protected in his or her religious belief; and no member of the corporation shall ever be taxed without his or her consent for the support of any minister or teacher of religion.

When Chase returned with the charter, the people breathed easier, saying: "Now we shall be safe; our property is in our own hands." Straightway the stock was taken by members according to the new law, and a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and nine councilmen were chosen.

By this time new settlers began to come in so that the Phalanx had neighbors. But the new-comers were afraid

of "the thing," and predicted that great mischief would come of it because of its extraordinary powers.

However, nothing of the kind happened, and outsiders soon came to regard the association as the center of intelligence and information.

During 1845 the "long house" was lengthened to 400 feet. It consisted of two rows of tenements, with a hall between, under one roof. The style of living was termed "unitary"—that is, all ate at a common table but families retired to separate houses after meals.

All felt the advantages and economies of a common table, common farm, common mill and common school, but a few families thought they would be better pleased to have their meals in private where they could scold and find fault without being overheard. They were therefore soon permitted to do their own cooking, drawing their provisions from the general store of the association.

Single men and women were delighted with the scheme, while others were divided in opinion upon the question of a community table.

All branches of labor were carried on under the direction of competent persons selected by the members, who were required to keep an exact account of labor and expense, so that the precise cost of any article or crop was easily obtainable by any one from the public books.

All labor was voluntary, members working whenever and wherever they might elect, receiving credit only for the amount of work actually accomplished. At the end of the year three-fourths of the net profits went to labor in proportion to the amount contributed by each.

The evenings, after the duties of the day were ended, were divided "between business and sociality." Monday night was given to the business of the council, and on Tuesday evening there was a meeting of the Philolothian Society, at which discussions upon progressive topics were held and a paper read called *The Gleaner*. The motto of this journal was, "Let the gleaner go forth and glean and gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." On Wednesday evening a singing school was held; Thursday was always

set aside for a dance; Friday had no meeting, and Saturday was devoted to hearing detailed reports of foremen.

The first annual report of the president showed that the property of the association, without a dollar of debt, was valued at \$27,752.22.

The whole number of hours of useful labor performed during the year was 102,760, from which 21,170 were deducted for board and cooking; but each family did its own washing. The number of weeks of board charged to members, including children graduated to adults, was 4,234, the cost of which was 5 hours of labor and 44 cents for provisions per week.

Labor received $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour, and stock, having one-fourth of the profits of all labor and business, received 12 per cent. for the year.

From a pecuniary point of view the next year was not quite so successful, owing to the purchase of and labor on a new farm, the crops on which were not first-class. Labor received 5 cents per hour and capital 6 per cent.; board cost 50 cents for provisions and $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours of labor per week, $62\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

At this time the president, in his circular to the outside world, said of the association:

They are all temperance people, using no spirits except for medicine, and seldom for that, for many of them are believers in the system of hydro-pathy and several are also dietists, using no meats, tea or coffee; but these are not general principles with them.

They avoid as much as possible profane language and endeavor to set good examples for their children.

They are sometimes called Fury-ites or Four-year-ites, but they deny all ites, each member entertaining and being responsible for his own opinions. The society belongs to the American Union of Associationists, and with them believe in co-operative labor and equitable distribution of property.

Their efforts thus far have proved as successful as anticipated and with two or three exceptions the members are contented and happy. They have no arbitrary laws, but buy and sell and go and stay when and where they please.

We have an excellent situation, well adapted to test the system we are endeavoring to prove, and from present appearances success seems almost certain.

From now on the society was financially prosperous until its dissolution; and if it had continued as it began until now, it would have been a center of great wealth and power.

The official statement of the president for the year which closed on December 6, 1847, will be inserted in full as an historical document of interesting information:

The moral and social condition of the Phalanx has experienced no sudden and striking changes; yet it is believed that those who look not alone upon the external surface of things, will have noticed that decided and constant progress which must ever attend the earnest efforts of truthful men and women to place themselves in just and harmonious relations to each other. The social intercourse of the members is governed by that correct moral feeling which must be gratifying to all who come within its influence.

Religious meetings of some kind have been sustained regularly during the year, and occasional opportunities have occurred of listening to lectures on reform from some of the leading reformers of the age.

In the educational department, we have not been able to make that improvement which we desire, owing to the want of sufficient buildings and conveniences for reducing the management of this branch to that regular system, which, by an adaptation of external circumstances to the internal nature, harmoniously unfolds that "variety in unity" without which there is no complete educational development.

Music, vocal and instrumental, has been taught to some extent; yet, laboring under the disadvantages mentioned above, there has not been that attention paid to its cultivation which its importance demands.

For want of material and from a determination to free ourselves from debt, and contract none for any improvements, we have not yet built so as to establish a library and reading-room — but there are taken by the members 136 copies of newspapers and periodical publications of thirty-nine different kinds, a constant interchange of which (comprising as they do the best publications of the age) gives us many facilities of information which isolated society can not possess.

The number of resident members is 157, viz., 84 males, 73 females — 32 males and 39 females under twenty-one years; 53 males and 34 females over twenty-one years; 18 persons above the age of twenty-one married. The whole number of resident families is 32 — we have resident with us who are not members, one family and four single persons. Four families and two single persons have left during the year, the stock of all of whom has been purchased, except of one family and one single person — the former intends returning and the latter owes but \$25. We have lost by death the past year, three persons — one married lady aged thirty-five and two infants — all by consumption. Generally the health of the members has been remarkably good.

The Phalanx has sustained a public boarding-house during the latter and major part of the year on an improved plan from the former method, at which most of single persons and part of the families have boarded at a cost of 75 cents per week. The remaining families board at their own apartments.

The number of hours' labor performed during the year, reduced to the medium class, is 98,446. The whole amount of property at the appraisal, is \$82,564.18. The net profit of the year is \$9,029.78, which gives a dividend to stock of nearly 7½ per cent. and 7 3-10 cents per hour to labor.

The Phalanx has purchased and cancelled during the year \$2,000 of stock; we have also by the assistance of our mill (which has been in operation since June) and from our available products, paid off the incumbrance of \$1,095.38 with which we commenced the year — made our mechanical and agricultural improvements and advanced to members in rent, provisions, clothing, cash, etc., \$5,287.07. The annexed schedule specifies the kind and valuation of the property on hand:

Seventeen hundred and thirteen acres of land at \$3.....	\$5,139 00
Agricultural improvements.....	3,509 77
Agricultural products.....	5,244 16
Mechanical improvements.....	12,520 00
Live stock.....	2,983 50
Farm and garden tools.....	1,219 77
Mechanical tools.....	380 56
Personal property, miscellaneous.....	1,567 42

Amount..... \$82,564 18

Without going further into details, it may be stated that from a financial standpoint the Phalanx was in every way successful. The members were in more than usual health; had an abundance of good food; were not in any instance overworked; had few or no cares and struggles; were well-informed and progressive; had no need of jails, lawyers or courts; yet in 1850 steps were taken for its peaceful dissolution, which soon after followed.

It would hardly be possible to test any ideal scheme of co-operation under circumstances more favorable than those enjoyed by the Ceresco Fourierites over forty years ago. They chose one of the finest and richest locations in the West. Land was then comparatively without limit, and to be had at ten shillings per acre. The country was growing rapidly; those who joined the community were educated, intelligent and inured to frontier life; all were American-born and thoroughly imbued with American ideas, as well as anxious to succeed in their new experiment.

Although the members of the Phalanx were clothed, fed, housed and enlightened better than the average of surrounding outsiders, one or two of the more aggressive males had an itching for speculation in lands, town-sites, etc., and by persistent effort succeeded in disintegrating the association. It should be added that all of these, including the chief (who founded the city of Berlin, in Green Lake County), died poor.

In order that laborers should receive more exact justice, an attempt was made one year to give the more skilled and valuable men greater wages, but this created so much dissatisfaction that the plan had to be abandoned. Those who accomplished the most work had a right to more compensation, yet to grant it to them caused more trouble than to treat all alike—giving the slothful as much as the industrious. This is true to-day, and the cause of many strikes.

Another element of unrest was the size of families. The man with several children, had, of course, more charged against him at the end of the year for board than the man with only one, or none; while the earnings of each were the same.

There was not the least injustice in this, but it was a source of jealousy, and helped to create sentiment in favor of dissolution.

If at such a time, with such people, on such a spot, ideal co-operation failed, what shall be said in favor of the fantastic schemes of land-reformers and communists, in our present condition, as a means of general amelioration of the working classes and reformation of society?

Workingmen should avoid the teachers of such balderdash, and when formulating practical schemes of co-operation or profit-sharing and organizing reunions, entertain no idea of at once revolutionizing society, degrading the favored, destroying wealth, or making of each community a Heavenly Utopia.

But there are many ways in which they may better both their material and moral conditions by mutual endeavor—by co-operation adapted to the circumstances of human

nature and the world as they actually are, not as they ought to be; and the object that we know may be thus attained is richly worth the endeavor.

ANOTHER EARLY CO-OPERATIVE VENTURE.

A little over 30 years ago some sort of co-operation was started among the farmers of Waukesha County; but it was of short duration. At Sussex they went so far as to open a community store, of which large things were predicted. Then, as now, some men were more shrewd and ambitious than others, and into the hands of one of these the institution fell in a short time.

CO-OPERATIVE PRINTERS.

An attempt to establish a co-operative daily newspaper in Milwaukee 25 years ago, is pleasantly sketched by Ferd. Shurr, one of the survivors:

"Give and take:" This motto expresses the Providential system of the universe. In God's world it is ever and everywhere "give and take." Reciprocity is universal—except with man, who too often takes one member of the sentence and leaves the other, having it all "take" and no "give." And so it was with my first experience at co-operation.

In 1861, when it was first talked of introducing female labor in printing offices, I was working in the *Sentinel* office, Milwaukee, Wis. The office was then owned by Germain & Brightman, Mr. Germain being a practical printer. After discussing the matter pro and con with his employes, he came to the conclusion that he would give it a trial; but as there had been no provision made in the constitution of the Printers' Union for admitting females, and as the quota of apprentices was full in the office, the Union took a decided stand against the step, and the result was a walk-out of fourteen as good compositors as ever "clicked a rule" on a daily paper.

Mr. Germain, having foreseen what would be the result, had been preparing himself for the emergency, having some ten or twelve girls in training for several months previous in rooms outside of the building. These, with the aid of three or four stray compositors, picked up promiscuously, enabled him to get out his paper.

The fourteen "prints," after walking out, met at the old rendezvous, "The Old Menominee Beer Hall," to discuss the situation. All went well for the first day; but on assembling on the second day they were politely informed by Peter Enders, proprietor, that the "slate is broke."

Having an eye to business, he could tell for a certainty that as the point was not gained on the first day, the strike was lost.

The expression of the "slate being broke" opened our eyes to the fact that we were beaten as far as the strike was concerned, and being the aggrieved parties, we proposed to start a co-operative daily wherein we could mix our grievances with the news and at the same time bury the *Sentinel*.

After holding three or four meetings and counting what little money there was in the crowd, we made arrangements with Mr. Miller, the type-founder, for an outfit, and actually succeeded in getting it. As a matter of course the types were not new, and by paying a little down we got six months' time on the balance.

There never was a prouder set of men than those fourteen when the first number of the *Daily Union* appeared on the street — every one his own boss, every one a proprietor.

Not having any advertisements we worked day and night to fill the columns of the paper with the choicest and spiciest of reading matter, paying special rates for our telegrams — having the reports made up in Chicago and sent to us as specials — which made great inroads in our last assets.

Matters run on in this way for seventeen days and we had the *Sentinel* all but laid on the shelf, when the coal gave out. As printers are never known to set type in a cold room, we had no other alternative than to call a meeting and devise some means to replenish the fire.

As we had a circulation of over 900, and there had been no collecting done, we formed ourselves into a committee on collections.

Through some oversight there was no time set for the committee to report, and so I have been waiting all these years to find out whether our co-operation scheme really had "millions in it."

Mr. Miller was not slow in taking back his material and calling it square, and as we had to pay in advance for paper and press-work, the company, whenever it shall see fit to resume business, can do so with the assurance that there are no outstanding liabilities — matters that it would be well for some of our business men to look into before making assignments.

Some of the boys drifted to Chicago, St. Louis and other places — some into the army, myself included, and some into that other world where strikes and co-operative newspapers are unknown.

When the remnant returned in 1865, T. P. Germain and Horace Brightman were amongst the first men to open their doors for work to the surviving co-operatives. Since that time I have seen a great many successful co-operative schemes; and even then, a quarter of a century ago, if we could have had \$2,000, or \$1,000, the venture would have been a success and might have been alive and prosperous to-day.

In most cases co-operation has been retarded by lack of intelligence on the part of workers. Men without education have been unable to combine, or lacked the ability, training and discipline to manage large or even mod-

erate business enterprises. Educate the worker, furnish him the opportunities for training and discipline, and co-operation will be a success.

GRANGE CO-OPERATIVE STORES.

The next attempt at co-operation, crude, though very practical, was by the Grangers, or Patrons of Husbandry. At one time there were numerous "agencies" and stores in Wisconsin belonging to this order, but now the number is small. The original theory of these institutions was to destroy "middlemen"—that is, take away their business, so they would have no money with which to purchase the grain, meat, milk products, vegetables and fruits raised by the farmers.

The largest grange store was in Milwaukee; one of the most successful in Brandon, in Fond du Lac county, of which Chester Hazen is president, F. Collins secretary, J. Wormwood treasurer, and R. C. Kelly manager. It was organized in 1877 under the revised statutes by the Brandon Co-operative Association, with fifty stockholders—farmers and Grangers. On October 2, 1882, the association was duly incorporated as "No. 52, Patrons of Husbandry."

The stock was limited to \$10,000 shares at \$5 each. At the outset the association put in \$2,000 and borrowed \$2,000.

"We pay," says Mr. Kelly, "10 per cent. interest on capital, payable in new stock. The balance of the profits are divided among the stockholders in proportion to the amount they have bought during the year, this also to be paid in new stock. We have now a paid-up capital of \$10,000, with some surplus. We have regular meetings of stockholders every three months. Stock is not transferable without consent of directors; ninety days' notice to withdraw 25 per cent. of stock, and after that expires ninety days' notice for 25 per cent. more, and so on until all is drawn, which will take one year. But when parties have moved away we have paid them for their stock without putting them to the trouble of giving notice."

In reply to direct inquiries Mr. Kelly further says:

1. We sell to any who want goods.
2. Sell at regular market price—one price to all.

3. Profits on *all* the business, after paying expenses and interest on stock, divided pro rata among the stockholders in proportion to the amount of goods purchased during the year.

4. We purchase wherever we think we can buy the cheapest.

5. The stockholders buy about one-third the goods we sell; outsiders buy two-thirds.

The Grange co-operative store at Brodhead, in Green County, is owned by what is called the "Mercantile Association." It was organized in 1881, with 320 shares of stock at \$25 each. The membership numbers 60; annual business \$30,000; dividends 8 per cent.

"The association was formed," says one of the officers, "for the purpose of reducing the cost of general merchandise to consumers. We have done that, and our stockholders are satisfied."

There are Grange or co-operative stores at Evansville, Brooklyn and Greenbush managed upon similar principles, while some, notably that at Stockbridge, Calumet County, employ a purchasing agent merely, who buys in quantity at wholesale rates and sells to members of the Grange at the same price, freight charges added.

The failure of many of these stores and agencies is attributable to the fact that when members of the Grange wanted to make purchases on credit they went to other places; and then, when they had cash in hand naturally felt in duty bound to continue trading where they had been accommodated in time of need.

The Bureau has a letter from the manager of a Grange store, in which it is declared the trade now amounts to "no more than \$100 per year," members desiring to "do business where they can exchange butter and eggs for groceries and dry goods," or purchase on credit.

So the terrible "middleman," who turned Wisconsin upside down a few years ago, carries a large number of Grangers on his back after all.

And credit, let it be stated here, will prove to be the chief source of weakness in co-operative stores; but the attempt to avoid purchasing of outsiders on credit will be of great benefit to individuals, curtailing habits of extravagance, and bringing everything down to a cost basis.

In fact, the thrifty habits that will grow out of a conscientious attempt to purchase nothing without cash in hand, will be of more permanent value to the members of a co-operative store than anything else connected with it.

In this connection may be quoted a letter from L. G. Kniffen, of Milwaukee, State agent of the Patrons of Husbandry. He says:

The Grange attempts to co-operate, making large bulk purchases to distribute among its members. This we have accomplished in the handling of binding twine, barbed wire, land plaster and many other goods largely used by farmers. Our manner of doing business is not different from regular commercial business anywhere, except that we keep as near to cash as possible in all transactions.

When a farmer is educated up to the idea of buying for cash, he has learned one great highway to success; and having adopted this plan, he does not need the aid of the Grange in his trade, as cash will enable him to buy to good advantage anywhere.

In the matter of saving to co-operators, Mr. Kniffen also says:

For eleven years we have shipped sugars at actual cost, receiving nothing for cartage or shrinkage; nails at an advance of five cents a keg; barbed wire at one-eighth to one-quarter of a cent a pound profit from car-lot prices, or an advance of about 5 per cent for small lots to farmers on net wholesale rates. On some goods we have an average of 6 or 7 per cent. profit.

The saving to our patrons varies according to the advantages they have in their local markets. On teas I think we save patrons fully 25 per cent. and the same on coffee, lubricating and burning oils. On binding twine we did save them five cents a pound, but for the present season the dry weather has left a good deal of twine in the hands of dealers, and they have cut prices to close out to within one to three cents a pound of what we offered it at.

If the farmers were a unit in co-operation and would pay cash on delivery or even thirty or sixty days promptly, goods could be shipped to them in broken lots as cheap as dealers can buy of drummers. It costs the jobber or wholesaler from 5 to 7 per cent. on the value of his goods to sell the same through traveling agents, and he could break bulk and make as much profit and do a safer business, if the farmers, through their organization, would make a sure opening for goods.

This would save the farmers all the profits made by local dealers in carrying a stock in their vicinity. But of course they would have to forego the conveniences of a local point of distribution.



We sell here about \$100,000 per annum on an average, and mail prices and answer letters sufficient to sell ten times the amount. Our correspondence is simply immense. Farmers use this agency as a bureau of information more than anything else, and as a regulator of local trade. Perhaps out of ten inquiries from new customers we get one order. The information imparted in the nine other letters is used to enable the writer to buy more intelligently or to better advantage at home.

We do not sell on time, and it is probable that a large portion of our correspondence is from parties who have not the means to buy for cash, and so do the best they can for time purchases where they have a local credit. The general desire of parties who send for goods is to save fully 25 per cent. on their purchases, and we are able to save them that on many things. For fear of disappointing them we sell all staples at about net cost to us without a margin that covers expenses. We do not restrict our sales to members of the Grange, but correspond with farmers generally. We have not aimed to do more than cover expenses.

AN UNSUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT.

In 1880, the managers of the extensive La Belle Wagon Works, at Fond du Lac, hoping to secure greater economy in the use of materials, better workmanship and a better grade of goods, offered to their various foremen equal shares of the net earnings of the capital stock of the concern, after paying expenses and interest on the investment.

The sum realized for that purpose gave to each foreman \$50 at the end of the year; but after 1880 the firm abandoned the plan.

The secretary of the company, in discussing the matter, says:

The plan did not have any effect in giving us better or cheaper work. The drawback to the system is the fact that you can not discriminate in practicing it, and where, in a few cases, it may be beneficial to both employer and employes, in many more cases it will be entirely one-sided. The employe who is unworthy of an extra reward will demand just as much as his fellow workman, who does his work in such a manner as to be deserving of the reward.

There are some men who will work well, according to their capacity, and accomplish a great deal whether stimulated by a reward or not.

The long and short of the belief of the La Belle Wagon Works seems to be, that a certain percentage of workmen do as well as they can without any reward or share of profit above their wages, and that another percentage — the two

classes covering pretty much the entire herd — will do as little as they possibly can in return for their wages, under any and all circumstances; so that, so far as the employer is concerned, little or nothing is to be gained by a system of rewards and extra remuneration.

Undoubtedly there is a deal of truth in this view; but there is another important truth connected with this matter, namely: While shirking or shiftless workmen generally get all they earn, or more, those who always do their very best are quite often, if not generally, underpaid.

A faithful and industrious workman should receive a good rich share of the value he produces for his employer. When he shall be thus rewarded, justice will be promoted, but no strike prevented, for industrious and thrifty artisans are never leaders of strikes and disturbances, and generally avoid or refuse to participate in them.

CO-OPERATIVE CIGAR MANUFACTORY.

The inquiries of the Bureau brought to light no other real co-operative ventures until we come to that of the striking cigarmakers.

In November, 1881, the union cigarmakers of Milwaukee struck for the enforcement of certain "shop rules" formulated by their organization. The manufacturers agreed to pay the wages demanded, but refused to adopt the union rules, whereupon the men struck.

When it became fully apparent that the strike would be a failure, the members of the union resolved to organize a co-operative cigar factory which should give employment to at least a portion of the strikers. In May, 1882, "The Milwaukee First Co-operative Cigar Manufacturing Company" was duly incorporated by Otto Krueger, Frank Hirth and Calvin W. Styn. Officers were chosen thus: President — Emil Bloch; Vice-President — Otto Guenther; Secretary — J. Theurich; Treasurer — Jacob Poss; Directors — W. C. Schaefer, W. G. Bloch, T. Kelly and P. J. Somers; Superintendent — Frank Hirth.

The capital stock of the corporation consisted of 1,000 shares of \$10 each. In June, 1882, \$2,970 net having been

been paid in on shares subscribed, business was begun with fourteen good cigar-makers at the benches.

The president, Emil Bloch, soon gave notice that a change of financial management must be made to make the enterprise a success, and in November called a meeting of shareholders for the purpose of considering present and prospective difficulties. He offered a resolution to the effect that, the factory not having proved a success, and as goods and cash to the value of \$2,900 were on hand, the shareholders be reimbursed and the institution closed.

The resolution was voted down, whereupon the president and a majority of the board handed in their resignations.

Mr. Hirth, the superintendent, reduced the number of workmen to four, moved the factory to cheaper quarters and continued the struggle. This had hardly been done when he discovered that one agent had defrauded the factory to the extent of \$1,000 and another to the extent of \$280, which was a greater strain than the enterprise could bear. He therefore rendered a bill of sale of \$835.85 — representing the resources and chattels of the concern — to creditors for a debt of \$378.85, thus closing out the co-operative cigar factory on January 1, 1883.

The failure of this undertaking was due to rascality and incapacity, two enemies of business that will destroy any concern, whether co-operative or not. Cigarmaking is a business easily managed under co-operative principles, with a proper head.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Some time ago the Plumbers' International Union established a fund for the purpose of promulgating co-operative principles and assisting local co-operative enterprises.

Therefore, when the strike of the journeymen plumbers of Milwaukee (described under the head of "Strikes") seemed impossible of settlement, funds were advanced to the local union, and the headquarters of Patrick Coyle, president of the International Union, were transferred to that city for the purpose of lending assistance to the proposed co-operative movement.

On June 22, 1885, just two months after the commencement of the strike, four co-operative shops were located in different parts of the city, one each at the following points: No. 317½ Grand Avenue, No. 138 Mason street, No. 680 Third street and No. 275 Grove street.

Circulars were issued soliciting patronage, promising first-class work at first cost. The share of patronage bestowed upon the new enterprise enabled it to give employment to thirty-five journeymen and seven helpers.

About ten unmarried members left the city at the commencement of the strike to find employment elsewhere. A few more members found employment in recognized union shops—shops which seceded from the Master Plumbers' Association.

Mr. Coyle reports to the Bureau, in proof of the success of the undertaking, that not a single member has withdrawn from the co-operative plan, although they are at liberty to do so at any time. Only one member withdrew from the union before the co-operative shops were opened. He reports further that the men are often called upon to repair the work of the master plumbers; "but," says he, "one might as well try to change a pair of boots into shoes as attempt to repair defective sanitary plumbing."

The men seem to be well satisfied with the new order of things. The borrowed capital was paid off within four months after the shops were opened, notwithstanding the efforts of the master plumbers to "boycott" the co-operative shops. But little trouble was experienced in obtaining a license and bond, and but very few architects to-day refuse them the privilege of bidding.

On June 23, 1885, the day after the co-operative shops were opened, the National Master Plumbers' Association, represented by 150 delegates from all the principal cities, met in convention at St. Louis, Mo., at which the Milwaukee Master Plumbers' Association was represented. "Boycotting" resolutions were adopted against the co-operators by this convention with such effect that they at first found some difficulty in obtaining materials.

While Mr. Coyle was in Chicago, buying a bill of goods, .

and being just about to pay for the same, a telegram from St. Louis was received by the firm selling the goods, ordering a boycott against the Milwaukee co-operative shops.

The order was promptly obeyed, and Mr. Coyle got no goods. This difficulty was soon overcome, however, ready money taking up the argument, until to-day no difficulty is found in buying all the material needed. Even Milwaukee manufacturers of cement sewer pipe were importuned not to sell goods to the co-operators, but they refused to comply with the demand. Subsequently the Master Plumbers' Association organized a sewer pipe association among themselves, in order to be better able to boycott dealers and manufacturers, especially those of Milwaukee.

This Bureau is convinced by frequent conversations with members of the co-operative firm that they feel perfectly satisfied in their new situation, fully appreciating the direct interest they have in the results of their own labor.

The Bureau records here the largest co-operative enterprise in Wisconsin which bids fair to be a permanent success, and the first among plumbers in the United States.

Interviews with many of the leading master plumbers as to the effect the establishment of the co-operative shops had upon the trade in general, resulted in the statement that it had "demoralized" prices to some extent, but that no effect is visible upon the volume of business. They also report that they have no longer any difficulty in obtaining workmen, but have succeeded in bringing to the city a number of journeymen who intend to stay.

The co-operators deny the latter statement, and assert that but very few married men have been brought to Milwaukee, and that those are, with but very few exceptions, a shiftless set who travel from place to place, seldom staying longer than two or three months in the same city.

They state in substantiation of this assertion, that two of the plumbers imported by the masters have been sentenced to prison for daylight safe robberies, and also that even at a late date, overtures were made by master plumbers with a view of getting the co-operative shops out of the way.

Instead of this, however, one of the largest plumbing es-

tablishments in the city made an assignment early in July, 1886 — less than thirteen months from the time the co-operative shops were opened.

It is stated that at the time of the strike no more than sixty-five journeyman plumbers were found in Milwaukee, of which number fifty-six were members of the union.

The co-operative workmen are paid regularly every Saturday night, and have been since co-operation was undertaken. There are two scales of wages aggregating \$700 per week; after these are paid, the profits of the business — except a per centage required for capital — are divided among the men in proportion to their wages.

The shops have now run over a year, and without the loss of a single day's work to any member of the association. In fact the manager has been compelled to "borrow" and hire outside men in order to keep up with his work. The concern is out of debt and has about \$10,000 ahead in cash and good accounts, and may be considered a success.

It would seem that plumbing is an easy trade to bring under the government of co-operative principles, for in the beginning the journeymen regard "bosses" as merely ornamental. They say that 90 per cent. of the cost of plumbing is for labor alone. The capital required for material is nominal, while the profit on labor is great. They say, also, that many a plumber has grown rich upon the labor of a half-dozen men, which accounts for the numerous small shops employing only two and three men, the "boss" nevertheless, being able to superintend the work in his carriage.

PROFIT-SHARING WITH THE "HOFFMAN & BILLINGS MFG. CO."

The large iron and brass founding concern of "Hoffman & Billings Mfg. Co., limited," has given employes an interest in the business, disclosed by the following circular:

TO OUR EMPLOYEES.

MILWAUKEE, April 21, 1886.

Beginning with January 1, this year, we propose to divide the profits made in our business upon the following basis:

After allowing 7 per cent. interest on actual capital invested, the remain-

der will be divided equally upon the total amount of wages paid and capital employed.

Our pay-rolls for the year will amount to about \$125,000, which would receive about one-quarter of the net profits. Each employe will get his proportion according to the amount of wages paid him for the year.

This will apply to employes who have served this company six months or over within the year, and who have not been discharged for good cause.

To make the proposition binding, we will draw up a legal contract to that effect, and deliver same into the hands of a representative of our employes, whom they may see fit to elect.

Yours truly,

HOFFMAN & BILLINGS MFG. CO., (Limited).

When the foregoing proposition was made the men paid little attention to it. The eight-hour agitation was at white heat, and the various unions and Knights of Labor assemblies, believing that if the 200 men employed by this concern should accept the proposition and become interested financially in the business the factory and its employes could not be controlled by them, forbade the acceptance of the proposition.

A few, however, signed the document, but the professional agitators of the labor organizations carved the word "traitor," and other obnoxious terms, on the benches of those who signed, and by other means made it so unpleasant for them that the project failed for the time being.

Mr. Kalvelage, secretary of the corporation, says that "men who had been with them eighteen years, and always steady and faithful, became suddenly crazy and ready to believe, as the disturbers told them, that the proprietors were thieves, cut-throats and robbers."

At last the great eight-hour strike subsided, and the firm again renewed the proposition quoted above, giving notice that it should have a fair trial, and the men receive their dividends next January.

The employes of this firm work 55 hours per week, but receive, as before, pay for 10 hours per day. Although, as will be seen, they thus receive double dividends, members of the firm say the men work no more faithfully—earn no more in a given time than before; and, as competitors in

the brass and iron business run 10 hours per day, the disadvantages of the plan to the firm are easily seen.

It should be stated that the men are pleased with the new arrangement of 55 hours of work at 60 hours' pay; and doubtless, next January, when dividends are placed in their hands, they will be still more pleased.

HUDSON BARREL COMPANY.

An instance of productive co-operation embracing nearly all the essential elements of this form of conducting industrial pursuits, is that of the Hudson Barrel Company, in St. Croix county, Wisconsin. Four practical coopers are working together to carry on the manufacture and sale of barrels, sharing the proceeds equally, according to the time each contributes to productive labor, after paying all general expenses.

Charles J. Wikan, one of the co-operators, writes :

Previously our shop was owned by one man; but as long as he was proprietor there was trouble. He bought the poorest stock, paid the lowest wages, and made the poorest barrels. At last, two years ago, five of us practical coopers bought him out, taking equal shares in the business.

The miller here knew our reputation, and promised to purchase our barrels as long as he needed any, and pay a fair price. The business has not been so rushing the last year, so we bought one of the members out last spring; we are now only four. We are not incorporated. The sales, collections and bookkeeping, are attended to by one of the firm.

We get heads and staves on time, pay cash for poles. We sell barrels at 41 cents; pay 17 for staves and heads; 15 for making, and 8 cents for a set of hoops. We generally get a little profit out of the poles, so as to pay expenses, and the balance we divide.

We have been successful and like co-operation well. Hope it will last as long as barrels are used in the market.

DER HEROLD COMPANY'S REWARDS.

The Herold Company, at Milwaukee, by its president, W. W. Coleman, on January 1, 1880, instituted a system of rewarding faithful employees. The plan adopted is as follows: Every piece-worker who has worked uninterruptedly for the firm for five years, receives a "bonus" of 5 per cent. upon his earnings during the fifth year, and the same dividend upon his earnings every year thereafter.

Albert Huegin, the secretary of the company, reports to the Bureau that the plan is well appreciated by the employees; that, while in 1880 very few were entitled to the bonus, the number increases every year.

Apprentices who have faithfully served their four years' term receive, at the expiration of the last year, the sum of \$50 as a reward, and this plan also proves very beneficial.

There is a mutual aid society connected with the establishment, by which each member, upon payment of twenty-five cents monthly dues, secures a benefit of \$5 per week in case of sickness. Mr. Coleman deposits into this fund the aggregate amount contributed by the members. In case of the death of a member's wife every member pays a per capita assessment of fifty cents, Mr. Coleman again adding a sum equal to the aggregate amount of the contributions of the members. The same plan is followed in case of death of a member, when a per capita of \$1 is paid.

When the money in the treasury of the society exceeds \$500, dues are suspended until the fund dwindles down to the minimum of \$250. No payment of dues has been required for over two years.

About twenty-four compositors are employed at piecework on *Der Herold* and other of the company's publications.

CO-OPERATION AT OSHKOSH.

On August 5, 1886, articles of incorporation of "The Workingmen's Co-operative Society of Oshkosh," were filed with the secretary of state. The capital stock is \$3,000, divided into 600 shares of \$5 each. The incorporators are Joseph H. Osborn, President, A. Bragden, J. P. Hansen, F. McDaniel, C. B. Wright, R. M. Benedict and H. Gustavus.

The objects of the association, as stated in its articles, are "to conduct a general business on the co-operative plan — mercantile, manufacturing, dealing in real and personal property, buying, building and leasing houses and dwellings, and any and all other lawful business which may be carried on advantageously by a co-operative society."

Oshkosh is an active and progressive industrial city and offers as favorable conditions as any for a successful enter-

prise of this kind. It ought to, and with good management undoubtedly will, succeed.

For some further thoughts on this venture, see article on "Lack of Co-operative Laws in Wisconsin."

AT MARINETTE.

At Marinette the Knights of Labor are discussing the advisability of opening a store for co-operative distribution. In this they should be encouraged; but it is to be hoped they will avoid debt as much as possible and transact only a cash business. The benefits of such a store will not appear clearly to the thoughtless patron before the end of six months or a year; but when the dividend comes in, the most skeptical will be comfortably convinced that he has discovered on which side his bread is buttered.

CO-OPERATION AT EAU CLAIRE.

Just as this matter goes to press a report comes that the Knights of Labor of Eau Claire have decided to purchase the Chilled Plow Works in that city, heretofore idle, for the sum of \$18,000, and to form a co-operative organization for their operation. Several public meetings had been held, attended alike by capitalists and Knights, for the purpose of advancing the industrial interests of the city and giving employment to surplus labor.

This move cannot be too highly commended; it deserves to succeed.

BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS.

On page 39 of this volume may be found the laws enacted in behalf of co-operative and mutual loan and building associations.

In the report of this Bureau for 1883-4 some notice was taken of these organizations, in which their usefulness was commended as well as illustrated by examples of what had been actually accomplished by the Savings and Industrial Association of Milwaukee.

It is desirable to repeat the commendations written at that time, and to put them forth with added emphasis. The intervening two years have made the value of building as-

sociations to the man of moderate income still more apparent, and this Bureau, without reservation, advises all homeless workingmen to become members of them, where they are properly organized, at the earliest opportunity.

If there are none in your locality, write to any of those given herein and secure a constitution, which will aid you in the organization of one.

In fact it is safe to go still further in offering advice under this head: If a homeless workingman can belong to but one, a union or a building association, take the latter by all means. Unions, notwithstanding the good they have done, sometimes cause workers to lose situations and wages; but the member of a building association is constantly laying by something for the future—for a rainy day—and no one ever lost a situation by reason of belonging thereto.

Appended is a table of such as, upon request, reported to this office:

NAME.	Location.	Capital.	Organized.	Members.	Loans.	Borrowers.	Houses built for members.
¹ Milwaukee Mutual Loan & Building Association	Milwaukee.....	\$5,000,000	1884	700	\$90,000	180	180
People's Savings Fund & Building Association	Appleton.....	400,000	1883	81	9,000	27	13
Provident Loan & Building Association	La Crosse.....	500,000	1884	308	44,750	68	39
² Wausau Loan & Building Association	Wausau.....	50,000	1888	.....	.....	.....	.....
Provident Loan & Building Association	Madison.....	200,000	1885	170	7,800	10	7
Oshkosh Mutual Loan & Building Association	Oshkosh.....	500,000	1886	370	900	2	1
Sheboygan Loan & Building Association	Sheboygan.....	200,000	1885	280	10,000	50	9
Savings & Investment Association	Milwaukee.....	100,000	1883	487	87,000	211	33
Mutual Loan & Building Association	La Crosse.....	500,000	1883	363	82,000	146	146
³ Home Mutual Loan & Building Association.	La Crosse.....	1,000,000	1886	52	600	1	.....
⁴ Chippewa Falls Building & Loan Association	Chippewa Falls	500,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ First organized in 1873 with \$50,000 capital; re-organized and became active, with \$5,000,000 capital, in 1884.

² Died after a brief illness.

³ Newly organized.

The Savings and Investment Association of Milwaukee is operating upon a plan somewhat different from the others given in the foregoing list. C. A. Read, the secretary, says:

We differ from them in that we pay more attention in the first place to helping the labor class to procure the lot on which to build at a low price. Then, as he pays for it, or pays enough to make it safe, if our association has the means, we advance or make a loan to help to build a house thereon, thereby improving and enhancing the value of our remaining unsold lots and at same time helping him. The borrower is benefited by the enhancement also.

Our correct title is "The Savings and Investment Association of Milwaukee."

Authorized capital.....	\$100,000
Paid in to date.....	98,275
Number of members at present.....	487
Number of members during the year.....	521
Number of lots sold to date.....	561
Number of purchasers.....	267
Aggregate price of lots sold.....	\$104,195 84
Aggregate amount of loans, including time payments on lots sold.....	87,000
Number of borrowers as above.....	211
Number of houses erected on lots sold.....	33
Average valuation of houses, about.....	600

In order to stir up among workmen a livelier interest in building associations, the following valuable information is quoted from an article on "The Influence of House Ownership," by B. F. Northrup, LL.D.:

Philadelphia, as the greatest workshop of America, furnishes a striking influence in point. Its comparative exemption from strikes is due to the fact that, as a rule, the workingman there owns his home. Hence, he is as conservative as the capitalist. You may find scores of squares with nice brick houses of workingmen, not one of which is a tenement house. Philadelphia has now double the number of dwelling-houses of any other city of its size in the world. This marvelous increase in its homesteads is due to its co-operative building associations, numbering over four hundred. They have been tried for nearly fifty years, and have proved such valuable forces in promoting industry, economy, sobriety, thrift and prosperity that the State encourages them by exempting all their stock and mortgages from taxation. Though the holdings of these associations exceed \$50,000,000, they are managed by workingmen at little expense, and are always open to public scrutiny. Failures have been very rare, less than in any other class of financial associations. The worst of those closed during the panic of 1873 paid ninety-three cents on the dollar. These associations, so unique, tried so long and so successfully, are a model for the workingmen of the country, certainly in large manufacturing centers.

That I may speak authoritatively, I will epitomize certain statements kindly furnished me by an eminent Philadelphian, especially conversant with this subject, who says: The tenement house is unknown here. In

the riots of 1877 the 20,000 members of building associations acted as an effective counterpoise to the lawless throngs that crowded the streets. The instinct of self-preservation, of social order, was as strong with them as with the wealthier classes, and was even more effectual. It neutralized in their own camp the clamors of a vicious and riotous rabble, so that the presence of the mayor and the police was sufficient to quell all disorder without collision. These associations have been a potent factor in making our people prosperous and moral, encouraging sobriety and preventing dissipation. The absence of any socialistic tendencies can undoubtedly be traced to the general ownership of homes.

In Switzerland, out of 485,000 households 465,000 are householders. Here is one secret of the remarkable patriotism and prosperity of that people, and of their comparative exemption from labor troubles.

LACK OF CO-OPERATIVE LAWS IN WISCONSIN.

At Oshkosh, Joseph H. Osborn is organizing a distributive co-operative association, a considerable portion of the capital being already taken. He finds, however, that the laws of Wisconsin relative to corporations and associations were not framed with the intention of aiding and protecting co-operative industries, no demand for such statutes having ever been made to our legislators.

One obstacle is that the law requires the amount of stock to be fixed and stated in the articles of incorporation; 20 per cent. of it paid in and one-half of the outside limit subscribed for.

In England, under the co-operative laws, an association can proceed with its business as soon as organized, irrespective of the amount of stock, which, where the membership is unlimited, can not be exactly stated or circumscribed at the outset, or at any other time.

There are, very naturally, in the absence of any specific enactments relative to co-operation, other obstacles in the way of forming such an association as that contemplated by Mr. Osborn, which, to fully carry out the principle involved, must be so elastic that its membership may be 1,000 or 100, or any other number, as circumstances may require, without any amendment of articles or change in constitution, or new fee to the Secretary of State.

In writing of the difficulties in the way of forming a gen-

uine system of co-operative distribution at Oshkosh, Mr. Osborn says:

In my judgment we want, not only in Wisconsin, but in all the states, a separate law, as much so as the present law for building and loan associations—(why not)—and that law should include the body of the English law, to-wit: "The Industrial and Provident Societies of 1876." Very few modifications would be necessary. The same with regard to the "General Rules for an Industrial Society."

To adopt any other course at this date would be like trying to get up some new machine to navigate with, instead of using the old and tried mariner's compass, or, as one correspondent says, "trying to drive a square wedge into a round hole." We may go on floundering around, but in the end we shall settle down to the tried English law.

There are some other points I would like to call your attention to. One is the name.

The word "society" conveys a meaning which is distinctive and appropriate—more so, in my judgment, than "association." So also with the words "industrial" and "provident."

Again, I think these societies should have a record in your Bureau, and not with the Secretary of State; and the record should be without charge.

I have a good many reasons in connection with this point. The whole movement is in behalf of working people—the very class in whose interest your office was created and for whose especial interest you are working. The communication would be necessary and complete. It would enable you to keep constant oversight of the whole movement. The State should authorize you to issue "circulars" of information whenever you thought it of interest to do so for the benefit of these societies, and thus afford them a means of communication. In fact, as I said before, your office could be made the "Guild" of Wisconsin and thus class the State as far ahead of other states as she has thus far been behind in legislation with regard to these societies. Then your official position would enable you to communicate with the Attorney General in behalf of these societies, should occasion require, thus supplying the place occupied by E. V. Neale with those societies in England so far as relates to legal counsel.

Altogether it seems to me that your office is the place to "register" and most appropriately so, and the law should so provide. It would be "Headquarters" of the movement in this State, which as far as I can judge, is destined to take the lead eventually of all other labor organizations.

One more point. In following the English law there is an outlook for the future of "Productive Co-operation." As I write I am in receipt of the "Congress" number of the *Co-operative News*. If you please, note in it the words of the chairman in introducing the Earl of Morely, to-wit: "It was not the purpose of co-operators to push the different classes of society farther apart, but to fuse with one aim and purpose all classes of the community into a grand whole."

In another letter, Mr. Osborn expresses the belief that whoever shall succeed in establishing co-operation in its various forms, will "accomplish a peaceful settlement of the labor question" and repeats his appeal for such new laws as will enable all who desire to test the theory of co-operation in Wisconsin, to do so.

C. A. Read, secretary of the Milwaukee Savings and Investment Association, also complains of the inadequacy of our statutes, saying:

It will be seen by our prospectus that we started out to make this a poor man's association, and proposed to guard it so that the capitalist, or richer ones could not control or crowd out the poorer, but we found in most essential points that the statutes are against us in that they require *shares of stock* to vote instead of membership. This allows the capitalist to come in and gobble up the stock and control the direction of matters. It seems to me that a change in the statutes that relate to associations of our nature would be beneficial to the class of people we desire to reach and help.

It is not deemed advisable to present here a form of law to be enacted by the legislature; but when a proper bill covering the subject shall be brought forward, no doubt it will be passed promptly and unanimously.

MILWAUKEE ART GLASSMAKERS.

Some time ago a company in Milwaukee began making novelties and bottles from glass, on a small scale.

The business being new to the proprietors, was not a financial success. In 1885, new men were brought from the East, but the management still proved inadequate or faulty, and the owners, at the end of the glass season in 1886, refused to advance more money to keep the works in operation at a still further loss.

At this point J. H. Reaper, a skilled maker of glass moulds, submitted several co-operative plans to James Kneeland, of Milwaukee, the principal stockholder, one of which he accepted, and the works began running on a semi-co-operative plan during the last of August.

The men subscribed for nearly \$3,000 in stock; Mr. Reaper taking the largest block—\$400. These subscriptions are

divided into fifty-two equal parts, and every Saturday one part is deducted from the week's wages. In some cases this makes a serious reduction, but the men are cheerful and lively, and determined to succeed "even if we work sixteen hours a day," as one of them enthusiastically declared.

If, at the end of the year, the men make a success of the venture, Mr. Kneeland will divide up amongst them, without cost, 2,000 more shares of stock. He has also made some other liberal propositions to the men which puts them in the best of humor.

This concern, called the Standard Art Glass Company, makes table casters, goblets, salts, bar-ware of every style — colored and engraved; fancy lemonade, toddy and wine glasses, and novelties generally either of "lime" or "lead" glass.

The men in the establishment belong to the flint-glass branch of the Glassblowers' Union.

VIEWS OF EMPLOYERS ON CO-OPERATION.

In the process of collecting information, the Bureau, on June 1, 1886, asked 2,000 employers of labor in Wisconsin whether they favored any system of co-operation or profit-sharing, and if so, to state what they believed would prove an equitable basis therefor.

The great majority had given the subject no thought or attention, and were therefore unprepared to express an opinion either way; while 396 had considered the matter, and reached a conclusion. Their conclusions, however, with three or four exceptions, were not based on actual experience.

Of the 425 who expressed opinions, 126 favored co-operation in some form, and 299 opposed it, either as impractical or as a system that would work injustice among men of widely differing capacities and dispositions to accomplish a fair day's work.

In order to afford a better interchange of opinions, quotations will be given from among those who made more than the mere monosyllabic answers of "yes" and "no," drawing first from those who favor it:

Agricultural Implements — Theoretically we believe in some system of co-operative profit-sharing, but this amounts to a co-partnership and necessarily involves "loss-sharing," which is out of the question as men would not submit to it, and, in the case of unscrupulous employers, workmen would be cheated by fictitious balance sheets. We should like to see it tried.

Employer should have fair compensation both for labor and capital and surplus, if any, should be divided proportionate to ability or wages of employes. This, of course, could only apply to well-established institutions, and a restriction should be made as to workmen in employ for a short period.

Let capital have a fair compensation, then let labor share what it is in individual cases worth above what capital requires. Still this is a hard matter to fix. Some men are worth more than others, and how can you satisfy them?

Employer and employe should have a direct interest in the success of the business, and the employe should be interested in the profits.

Classify the employes — paying each what he is *worth* by counting his labor so much; pro rata interest on his share of (supposed or implied) capital — dividends upon his capital — paying a part regularly monthly, to enable him to live, and balancing account periodically.

Boots and Shoes — We favor profit-sharing. The system adopted by Ara Cushman & Co., Auburn, Me., we think a good one under similar conditions, i. e., intelligent people.

Bottles — Give capital a per cent. of profits for interest and balance divided in proportion to skill and rank as can previously be agreed on.

Box Manufacturers — Let employers give a certain percentage of profits to worthy workmen in addition to wages.

A certain percentage of profits, according to nature of business to be divided among employes, according to their position and up to a certain time, their length of service.

Let employes share in both profit and loss.

Employes may share in profits according to the capital their more or less skill in their work represents, equaling in proportion the percentage of profits employer derives from his capital.

I would be in favor of hiring the men for regular wages and to make them take some interest allow them a certain per cent. of the net earnings.

Have them furnish a small amount of capital, but if unable to do this, leave undrawn a pro rata portion of their wages, monthly or otherwise, as a part of the capital, with permission to withdraw on certain notice.

Brick Manufacturers — The first necessity is to abolish years when you make no profits or work at a loss; the rest is comparatively easy and may be done in many ways.

Cigar Manufacturers — Pay your help enough so there will be a small

sum over every week, for which give him at the end of the year a share in the business, for which give him an equal share of the profits in proportion to the amount invested. By doing this he will be more careful at his work and at the same time watch others who would work against the interests of the firm. I have often witnessed myself that some men will waste all they can.

Farmer—First, get good, reliable employers. Second, get a corps of employes that will not get heady, men that will do as they agree, and no lying or deceit.

Flour Mills—In proportion to the amount of earnings left in the business as capital.

Allow proprietors a fair interest on their capital and a fair salary. Divide excess net profit among employers and employes according to their worth to the business.

Wages to be minimum. The losses as well as the profits to be shared by the workmen. The profits or losses to be declared by legal authority, leaving no room for doubt as to correctness.

Increase the wages of employes a fair percentage as soon as it is ascertained that a corporation or employer makes a larger percentage on his goods than is required to run his business successfully.

Allow the employes a certain percentage of profits. They would in many cases be the losers.

Founders and Machinists—Agree on the interest on the investment and amount of wear and tear; also wages of each employe, and reduce or increase wages in proportion to earnings of business.

Furniture—Make parties interested share alike in profits or losses. There should be provision to insure a participation in losses, should they occur, by fire, cyclone, hard times or any cause. A fair interest should be paid to capital, and a per cent. allowed for wear and tear; a sum agreed upon for superabundance, a sum set over to reserve fund, and any balance remaining be set over to workmen, who shall, by an agreed upon term of service, be entitled to same and in proportion to the value of each to the business. In such cases workmen should be entitled to a representation in the board of management.

Let the employes take an interest in the business, leave part of their wages as a fund, and then elect a committee to conduct business, whose power shall be according to the fund the employes have in the business.

Knit Goods—A stock system, the majority of the stock controlled by the operatives, electing their own officers and receiving dividends upon stock held. Do not think it would succeed unless every employe held the same amount of stock and had the opportunity to earn the same wages.

Lithographing—Can not be stated in a few words, but the general outline should be that after expenses of the business and legal interest on capital, in this state 7 per cent., are deducted from gross profit, balance

should be divided on the basis of weekly earnings of each, employer and employed. This calls for figuring employer's time at a fixed rate per week, same as employees.

Lumber — After paying capital a reasonable sum for its use, the workmen should share in the profits.

When an employer is doing a successful and paying business, he should encourage his men by advancing their wages, especially the old and faithful hands.

By restricted immigration, compulsory education, or property and educational qualification to vote, bring laborers up to where they can comprehend business principles correctly, after which the laborer's body represents so much capital, the amount to be paid to him in case of death or discharge from duties and be a part of capital stock on which he votes to choose management.

A system that would give the laborers food and clothes at producer's prices; that would establish reading and lecture rooms; that would give a share of the profits to faithful laborers after three years' service, proportional to salary.

Employer to receive salary for services in case of actual superintendency; a fixed per cent. to be set apart for sinking fund for wear of machinery, etc. Fair wages to be given to workmen, profits to be divided pro rata on capital, considering each employe to have as much capital invested as would produce his wages at the legal per cent., of course cash invested by employer to stand on same basis.

After paying all insurance and legitimate risks, divide the profits according to investments, considering the laborer's earnings as his investment. Say the proprietor puts in \$50,000, the employe earns \$1,000, profits in business 20 per cent., each should have respectively \$10,000 and \$200 increase.

Allow alike employers and employes each according to the value of his service in the general market, a moderate wage. Allow likewise a moderate rate of interest to the capital and a further small sum to cover the risk of the enterprise. Then apply the percentage of gain over the cost of production (if there be any) to each person's total contribution of labor, money, services, etc., as the measure of his share of the profit. In case of loss the laborers do not share, but capital bears it all, having assumed its own risk.

All the employes to have enough first invested to make them share the losses, and take a lively interest in business. Our faith in these schemes is very slight, however, in practice.

Machine Shops — The same system that is proposed by E. P. Allis & Co., of Milwaukee.

I believe if all employers would set apart from the profits of their business a sum sufficient to pay 7 per cent. interest on the capital actually invested, and a fair salary or salaries for the management and superintend-

ence of the business, then I think the balance of profit might be divided, giving one-fourth to employer and three-fourths to employees in proportion to wages earned.

Soap—If business is prosperous, I think old employees are entitled to a certain percentage, governed by ability, length of time served as a reward on being faithful.

Vinegar—Here co-operation, allowing employees the privilege of buying shares and having their share of all there is in a business will create an interest in the business heretofore belonging to one man.

Wooden Ware—After an engagement of three years, if employee had been prudent, saving a fair share of his wages, a plan to pay a fair rental to the owner for his investment and share profits and losses proportionately, would be the only fair one I know of.

Woolen Mills—After allowing interest at legal rate, say 7 per cent., on capital invested, and a legitimate rate for wear and tear on machinery, we would be willing to divide the rest. As business runs nowadays we are glad indeed if we can get interest on the money invested.

From the stated objections of those who oppose co-operation and profit-sharing the following have been selected:

Agricultural Implements—Labor is now oppressed only by capital that has been most favored by legislation. The small manufacturers and firms through the country are not making anything—they are paying higher wages than they can afford.

We consider it impracticable; 7 per cent. on capital invested, balance to be divided proportionately to the amount of wages earned and capital invested. *Losses should be shared on the same basis. Workmen should furnish security for their share of possible losses.*

Bags and Twine—I claim every man has the right to sell his labor to the highest bidder, and if one man is worth more in any particular business than his neighbor, he is entitled to more pay.

Baking Powder—Do not think such a system practical, as it would necessitate a vast amount of friction because of so many opinions.

Blank Books—When employer and employee are disposed to work each for the good of the other they never have any trouble.

Boiler and Pipe Covering—If the workman is earning fair wages proportional to his labor and skill, I see no reason why he should receive more. He would never consent to make up the losses in an unprofitable year of business. Capital takes all the risks, and if superior management makes the difference between a good and a poor business, it should receive benefits accordingly.

Brick Manufacturers—Such a system can not work, because one man can do more work than another, and no man will work to earn wages for another.

Cement Sewer Pipe—It never would be a success as some men are worth double what others are.

Chairs—Not practical, as the employe can not afford any risks and the employer can afford to guarantee nothing more than he can pay.

When workmen receive fair wages, irrespective of the times, we do not think they should share in the profits while they are not affected by the losses.

Such a thing can not be universally adopted as long as we receive 750,000 workmen from other countries every year.

Don't think any basis has been arrived at except in some few cases where companies have made large profits. When no profits are made for a year or two, co-operation is soon dropped by laborers.

Brewers—The making of men as they should be is a task that will never be performed. The rocks on which such undertakings will split remain.

Cordially I answer let there be such legislation as will compel the capitalist employer to receive a reasonable profit upon the labor and interest of millions per year, say one-half, and let the laborer have one-half. They will get rich fast enough, and the laborer can live then.

Flouring Mills—If employes would share losses as well as profits, co-operation would be fair, if both parties could agree to it.

Do not believe in partnerships and consequent quarrels.

A successful basis would be difficult to arrive at. It is hard to find a man who don't want the lion's share.

Let labor and capital run their own chances and things will adjust themselves accordingly. When the laborer, by close management, gets money enough he can buy out the employer.

Don't believe any system of co-operation that could be gotten up would be lasting, as it would be impossible to adjust any system satisfactorily to skilled and unskilled labor. It is the rude, ignorant laborer who is making the most trouble now.

You can get only about one man in five that cares anything about his own business, or yours, either.

Founders and Machinists—Everyone has a right to establish a business of his own, but can't force someone else to do so for him.

Partnerships are generally formed with care. Parties entering into partnership need to know each other well, and we know of no basis that would be successful for a system taking in Tom, Dick and Harry. It would be hell.

Furniture—We know of no such basis. If men of intelligence make a profitable invention, and invest money in putting up works to produce the goods, we do not believe they should share the profits with workmen further than to pay them good wages.

Think-profit sharing inequitable without *loss-sharing*, and think that impractical, as employes could not be depended on to make up their share

of losses. Think stated wages agreed to by both parties with protection to wages by lien laws would be most satisfactorily generally.

Gas Works — It would seem best to first pay laborers the very highest wages the business would afford, considering that the capitalist should at same time have a fair return on the capital. But employer should have sole management of his business.

If employees could be compelled to share losses then they might share profits; but to divide what you gain and have no remedy to compel employees to share what you lose is certainly unjust and impractical.

Knit Goods — Do not allow prison labor to come into competition with honest labor, and then we can afford to pay higher wages.

Linseed Oil — Unless 25 or 30 per cent. of wages paid be withheld for benefit of employer in case of loss of capital, or the net profits do not exceed 4 per cent. of capital invested, employees should have no voice whatever in the conduct or management of the business.

Lumber — Labor should be free to work where it likes and capital should be free to hire who it likes.

No, the laborers would not be willing to share any of the losses, and as a rule the employees in our business do not stay long enough to take any interest in it.

No idea that it can be done successfully. Industry and economy will have the desired effect.

Each member would like to be boss. Suspicion and ambition are opposed to such a basis.

I would not submit to any such work. Let them work by the day 25 years as I have, and live economically, and they can save money enough to start business for themselves. I would not allow laborers to share my profits. Where you find one good and deserving man, you will find thousands of the other kind who will want to share equally with the good men. A first-class man would not insult an employer by asking him to share profits.

Most of the laboring men are too poor to wait until their share of profits could be realized out of any new business.

No, don't think it can be done, because there are more lazy and indolent than energetic and progressive men. It takes energy and push to make a business prosperous, and we think there would be no particular incentive for any one to take the lead under such a system, and there would be a sort of languor and lethargy pervading the whole business.

For the laborer to work for the best wages he can obtain, and the employer to hire him as cheap as he can. If the employe is not satisfied to work so, let him go and take 160 acres of land of "Uncle Sam." I do not know of a system that will not make it worse than it is at present.

In many branches of business it would hardly be practicable, except with intelligent employees, as most of the lower grade would want results much faster than a regular business would furnish them. So much has to be

kept back for so long a time and no dividends made in a great many years, that men get discouraged waiting for results. In this I have had considerable experience.

Don't agitate the question.

I know men who have worked here for years at \$4 per day, and their families suffering all the time for the necessities of life. Whisky is to blame.

I do not think any system of profit-sharing would be satisfactory, except on the stock company plan. Then the employes would have to invest money in stock to make them interested. Very few would be satisfied with this plan long. The profits are so small that dividends would not amount to much for each individual.

Supply and demand will regulate all matters between employer and employes, if you kill off the politicians.

To pay the men every week in cash, so they may buy where they please.

Hire by the day and pay every night.

The idea is absurd. If they share the profits, let them also share the losses.

Don't think it can be made to work successfully—at any rate, not just now. If you could select higher grades of labor, it might and ought to do, but taking labor just as it comes, no.

Give every man what he is worth and earns; make it an object for a good man to continue faithful. Railroad employes are all paid the same scale of wages; consequently railroad companies can not build their own cars as cheap as they can buy them of private parties, who pay high for skilled labor and low for poor labor.

There are men who will take half a loaf if they can not get a whole one. If I can not get what I ought to have, take what I can get. Have worked fifteen years of my life by the day and month, and have had from \$6 to \$125 per month. I am 56 years old and worth \$15,000, and shall not divide with anybody.

Most all business at the present time is conducted on such small margins that laboring men could not afford to take the chances of depending on the profits for their support, and if capital has to guarantee a fixed rate of wages, it must also have what profit there is, if any.

Paper Mill—For the employer and employe to work hand in hand together. It is the duty of the employer to not be unmindful of the interests and general welfare of his laboring men. Give us home protection upon our goods and we can give protection to our employes.

Rectifier—No employer can avoid losses, and the same employes might not be employed when the loss is found to be a loss.

Saddler—In most cases it would only breed quarrels.

No, it would drift into communistic uprisings.

Staves and Heading—There is no considerable basis that makes co-op-

erative production possible or successful in competition with capital controlled by a master.

Stove Foundry—An equitable basis would not be successful as it would not satisfy all parties concerned. As a number of men never are alike in intellectual capacity, they therefore would not appreciate each other's services alike.

Transformed Fruit—Work while the sun shines. Pound the iron when hot. Drink less whisky and buy less strawberries.

Vinegar—No, the ignorant workman would have no show with a sharp employer. Don't believe in it, unless a public officer in the service of the state be employed to examine such concerns and see to it that the workman is fairly dealt with.

Wagons—It is not believed that a general system of co-operation would be practicable, owing to the great difficulty of an agreement among so many. The industry must be under the undisputed control of an independent head. All attempts at co-operation seem to have failed.

Let the wage-earners put up something, so that when bad years come they will have to share the losses. Otherwise they will co-operate in good years but in bad years they won't.

No; we have tried it with the view of getting better work, but it did not work. We found, unless we kept a rigid inspection, the work was not done as well, even though stimulated by reward.

I do not know of a basis on which any man should dictate to another how and where he must pay out his money and manage any enterprise whatever.

No; we believe mental capacity and business ability are peculiarly a man's own possession and are not to be shared with others except as the possessor wills. The success of a business depends more upon management than upon its capital, and thus no class of men have an inherent right to share in the successful results of another's efforts or business ability except to such an extent as their own abilities as wage-earners may be able to command.

Woolen Mills—Do not believe any system could be devised, and if one could be it would be only a continual source of contention between each individual party to it, and would do more mischief than good.

It is not practicable except where there are a very small number of employees.

Only co-operative partnership would be equitable, but owing to mutual distrust and disagreement this system is hardly ever successful, and has not proved permanent.

RECAPITULATION.

In order that a glance may determine the prevailing opinion of manufacturers in Wisconsin, the subjoined table is presented of those who answered yes or no to the inquiry relative to the desirability and practicability of co-operation:

BUSINESS.	Yes.		No.	
	No. of Firms.	Number of Employes.	No. of Firms.	Number of Employes.
Agricultural Implements.....	5	867	4	51
Bags, Twine and Cotton Bolt.....			1	12
Baker.....			1	4
Baking Powder.....			1	
Blacksmith.....			1	1
Blank Books.....			1	15
Boiler Makers.....	1	42	4	24
Boiler and Pipe Covering.....			1	11
Book Binder.....			1	7
Boots and Shoes.....	3	179	4	456
Bottlers.....	1	5		
Boxes.....	1	5	2	56
Brass Founders.....	1	4		
Brewers.....	9	111	19	643
Brick.....	3	150	5	145
Bridge and Iron Works.....	1	48		
Brooms.....	1	3	1	3
Broom Handles, etc.....			2	6
Carriages, Wagons, etc.....	3	67	3	29
Cement and Sewer Pipe.....	1	110	1	5
Chairs.....			4	839
Cigars.....	6	369	14	246
Clothing.....	3	673	2	425
Coffee and Spices.....	1	6	1	10
Coopers.....	5	59	6	120
Cordage.....			1	11
Dyeing and Cleaning.....			1	3
Farmers.....	2	3	1	5
Flax Tow.....			1	
Flouring Mills.....	20	106	22	188
Founders and Machinists.....	2	14	10	198
Furniture.....	3	214	6	440
Gas.....	2	11	2	21
Glass.....	1	260		
Gun Powder.....			1	24
Hubs and Spokes.....	1	30	2	113
Ink, Bluing, etc.....	1	6		
Jewelry.....			1	11

BUSINESS.	YES.		No.	
	No. of Firms.	Number of Employees.	No. of Firms.	Number of Employees.
Knit Goods.....	1	175	3	510
Leather.....	1	65	.....	.....
Lime.....	1	45	2	56
Linseed Oil.....	.....	.....	2	38
Lithographing.....	1	65	.....	.....
Lumber, Lath and Shingles...	29	1,464	106	6,844
Machine Shop.....	2	128	2	12
Watches.....	.....	.....	1	168
Millwright.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Oatmeal Mill.....	.....	.....	1	10
Paper Mills.....	2	96	3	199
Pork Packers.....	.....	.....	1	300
Printing and Publishing.....	.....	.....	2	19
Rectifiers.....	1	5	1	14
Saddlery.....	1	8	1	85
Sash, Doors and Blinds.....	2	53	5	142
Sewer Pipes.....	.....	.....	3	52
Ship Builders.....	.....	.....	2	98
Snuff.....	.....	.....	1	1
Soap.....	2	33	.....	.....
Soda Water.....	1	8	2	13
Staves and Heading.....	.....	.....	5	274
Stoves.....	.....	.....	1	19
Suspenders.....	1	8	.....	.....
Tanners.....	.....	.....	7	320
Tile.....	.....	.....	2	15
Transformed Fruits.....	.....	.....	1	4
Trunks.....	.....	.....	3	260
Type Founders.....	.....	.....	1	15
Vinegar, etc.....	1	25	1	10
Wagons.....	.....	.....	6	649
Washing Machines.....	.....	.....	1	8
Wind Mills, Pumps, etc.....	.....	.....	1	18
Wire.....	1	49	.....	.....
Wooden Ware.....	2	58	2	68
Woolen Goods.....	2	169	6	172
Totals.....	129	5,701	302	14,964

In contemplating the above table, one query inevitably suggests itself, viz: May we not hope—indeed, have we not a right to hope—that the 129 firms who favor co-operation will, before the issue of another report, put their theories into practical operation?

Why favor co-operation and not practice it?

Those workmen who are addicted to planning and executing strikes and boycotts should try co-operation. They should build up a business of their own instead of trying

to tear down and ruin that of others; establish something over which they would have rightful control, instead of attempting, without warrant, right or law, to control the concerns of others.

PART V.

STRIKES AND INDUSTRIAL DISTURBANCES.

SAW-MILL WORKERS.

One of the peculiar strikes of the year 1885 — peculiar by reason of the manner in which it crossed over into Wisconsin — and withal one that has resulted in a marked advance of the cause of labor, a class hitherto attracting but little attention, is that of the saw-mill workers at Marinette.

The Legislature of Michigan, at the session of 1884-5, enacted a law, which became operative on September 23, 1885, defining a day's work in a mill or factory to be 10 hours. The act in full is as follows:

Section 1. The people of the state of Michigan enact:

That in all factories, work-shops, salt-blocks, saw-mills, logging or lumber camps, booms or drives, mines or other places used for mechanical, manufacturing or other purposes, within the state of Michigan, where men or women are employed, ten hours per day shall constitute a legal day's work, and any proprietor, stockholder, manager, clerk, foreman, or other employers of labor, who shall require any person or persons in their employ to perform more than ten hours per day, shall be compelled to pay such employes for all over-time or extra hours at the regular per diem rate, *unless there be an agreement to the contrary.*

Section 2. That in all contracts, engagements or agreements to labor in any mechanical, manufacturing or other labor calling, where such contracts or agreements are silent, or an express condition specified, ten hours shall constitute a day's work, and the contract or agreement shall be so construed.

Section 3. Any individual, firm, agent of any corporation, or other employers of labor, who shall take any unlawful advantage of any person or persons in their employ, or seeking employment, because of their poverty or misfortune, to invalidate any of the provisions of the preceding section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than five dollars nor more than fifty dollars for each offense, and it shall be the duty of the prosecuting attorney of the county

n which such offense was committed, upon receiving complaint, to prosecute all such cases in the name of the people of the State of Michigan, before any justice of the peace or other competent court of jurisdiction.

Section 4. All fines collected for violation of this act shall be turned over to the school board, or board of education, of the city or township wherein such fine may be collected, and the same shall by them be disbursed for and in the benefit of the public schools.

Section 5. Nothing in this act shall be construed to apply to domestic or farm laborers, or other laborers who agree to work more than ten hours per day.

On the day the foregoing act became operative, the mill proprietors on the Michigan side, across from Marinette, presented to their men for signature the following:

WHEREAS, The — are about to employ me to work for them in their lumbering operations and about their yards, and in various ways connected with their lumbering operations, now, therefore, I agree that, in consideration of such employment, and as one of the conditions thereof, I do hereby waive the provisions of the act of the legislature of the state of Michigan, passed in 1885, making TEN hours a day's labor, and agree that a day's labor shall be eleven hours, and this agreement shall be in force so long as I am in the employ of the said — company.

The men thought the document possessed a more far-reaching and dangerous meaning than could be seen by them on its face, and refused to sign it — except 260, all but twelve of whom were non-union men.

They were told, in some instances, that unless they should sign the agreement the mills would shut down, and most of the owners on the Michigan side did bank their fires, as the union men refused to sign the contract.

The Kirby-Carpenter Company then began to pick up non-union men and fetch in outside workers to run their mill. This, after some days, aroused the union men, who were ordered from both sides of the river to go to Menominee and boycott that mill. They all went, which took so many men from the Wisconsin side that the Marinette mills were compelled to close. That is how the strike, if such it may be called, invaded Wisconsin, where, up to that time, there had been no trouble, the men working, as in saw mills everywhere, eleven hours per day, as they had for years.

But the mills on the Wisconsin side would have been compelled to shut down in a very few days anyway, because the Menominee mills being idle, their coom-pockets filled with timber and rendered it impossible for the Boom company to continue the sorting of logs.

Although the men were orderly, offering no resistance or violence, except when they surrounded the boarding houses of the Kirby-Carpenter Company, two hundred and fifty deputy sheriffs were sworn in "to keep the peace." This annoyed the mill workers more than anything else that occurred, though without good reason; for peaceable citizens are never disturbed by officers of the law.

The general lock-out which followed the boycotting of the Kirby-Carpenter Company's mill, occurred on October 14. On the following day the mill owners met and adopted the following, unanimously:

WHEREAS, A large portion of the crews from all the mills on the river, left their positions, and joined together for the express purpose of intimidating certain men from performing labor for which they were legally hired, and to stop work which was being legally prosecuted; therefore,

Resolved, That a proper regard for our own interests and for the welfare of society, makes it incumbent on us to take measures to prevent the recurrence of such unwarrantable proceedings.

Resolved, That we are not warranted in further continuing work at the mills when subject to such interference.

Resolved, That it is advisable to close all of the saw mills on both sides of the Menominee as soon as practicable, to remain closed until such times as business can be resumed upon a satisfactory basis.

Immediately after this several filers, engineers, and other workers met and adopted the following, which was presented to the proprietors:

To the Executive Committee of Mill Owners of Marinette, Wis., and Menominee, Mich.:

WHEREAS, It was resolved in a meeting of the mill owners of the Menominee river on Thursday, October 15, 1885, that a proper regard for their own interests and the welfare of society, it was absolutely necessary on the part of such proprietors to take measures to prevent a recurrence of such proceedings as named in the preamble of those resolutions. And, whereas, it was unanimously declared advisable to close all

mills until such time that business can be resumed upon a satisfactory basis;

Therefore, be it resolved, that we, for ourselves as individuals, and as representatives of the employes in the said mills on the Menominee river, hereby pledge ourselves to resume work upon the following basis:

First. We will not countenance or aid in any manner any plan, scheme or organization to interfere or interrupt the operating or running the mills on the river during the remainder of the sawing season of 1885.

Second. We will not in any manner be subject to, guided or directed by any union or any other organization while we are performing our daily labor or executing the promises of these resolutions during the time above named.

Third. We will resume work upon the same basis or conditions, the same hours, the same wages, as existed prior to October 14, 1885.

Fourth. We will use all fair and honorable means, so far as it lies in our power, to carry out the spirit and intent of these resolutions.

Fifth. That we submit these resolutions to said executive committee for action, adjustment and settlement of the existing difficulties.

HENRY BRANSHAW, Chairman.

JOHN RONDEAU, with N. Ludington Co.

CHAS. CHOSA, with Hamilton & Merriman Co.

HENRY BRANSHAW, with H. Witbeck Co.

JOS. REINOLDT, with Edward Schofield.

M. A. THURLOW, with Rob't Merryman.

JAMES WOOD, with Sawyer, Goodman & Co.

J. LEBRAU, with M. R. Lumber Co.

The owners thus responded:

MENOMINEE, Mich., Oct. 20, 1885.

To H. Branshaw and others, Committee:

Gentlemen — The executive committee of the mill men received the petition which your representative has submitted to us, and will say that when a sufficient number of men have signed that petition to warrant all the mills on both sides of the river in starting up, all or in part, we shall advise that work may be resumed.

By order of the Executive Committee.

C. H. JONES, Chairman

CALEB WILLIAMS, Secretary.

The lock-out continued about two weeks, during the latter part of which this petition, so-called, was put in active circulation. In the meantime squads of men went South to work on new lines of railway, while logging contractors and jobbing contractors came in and secured hands for their

winter operations in the woods. It was therefore practically impossible, had the union men been disposed to sign, to secure enough competent operators to start all the mills.

However, after some delay, part of the mills resumed work, but many of them remained closed for the season, thus depriving the community of a considerable amount of wages at a time when food, clothing and supplies for advancing winter were sorely needed. The losses of the mill owners were as nothing compared with the losses of the men, many of whom had not made their usual preparations for winter.

Three officers of the Bureau spent a week at Marinette during the strike, mingling with owners and operators, union and non-union men. The Commissioner advised the men to finish the season's work under the contracts entered into by them in the spring, before the ten-hour law became operative in Michigan; to inaugurate their movement for ten hours the following spring, when making new contracts. This the men were willing to do, and this is what those that returned to work did do.

Isaac Stephenson, one of the chief mill owners and lumbermen of Marinette, said:

I have been on this river twenty-eight years and never before had any trouble with my men. We always got along together all right until some stranger came here the other day from the south and said to the men, "You are oppressed" and the men said: "Yes, that's so, we are oppressed."

On the face of it, this statement places the case in a somewhat ridiculous light; but if the men were really suffering any injustice, they were not less entitled to redress because some one else first called attention to it.

As an illustration it may be said that slavery was not abolished because slaves demanded freedom; nor was slavery right because the free whites in the North, instead of the blacks in bondage in the South, cried out against it.

As to the merits of the controversy, it is difficult to make a complete statement that will be either satisfactory or perfectly just to both sides. In the first place, there can be no doubt that the owners fell into an error when they suddenly presented to the men a contract waiving all their

rights under the Michigan ten-hour law. The men had not struck or given notice or sign of striking, nor demanded any change of policy or pay after the ten-hour law became operative, so it would seem that the action of the owners was precipitate and uncalled-for.

The men informed the Commissioner that they intended to finish the season's work, as they had commenced it, under the eleven-hour contract and pay, and would have done so had not the proprietors suddenly presented an iron-clad contract waiving all rights under the new law of whomsoever should sign it.

The union men committed an error, if not a breach of statute, when they went in force and prevented the old and new non-union millmen from proceeding with their lawful labors in a free country. Thus there was error on both sides; but the original error was with the mill owners, as stated. Whoever is responsible for causes is responsible for consequences.

Although this Bureau has nothing to do directly with what goes on in Michigan, the action of Davis, Black & Co., of Manistee, will be quoted in this connection in order to show one of the happier ways of dealing with employes. Mr. Davies, of the above firm, while in Marinette during these troubles, said:

"We are law abiding citizens, and expect our men to be; so, when the date came, we simply put up a notice saying, 'From this day these mills will work only ten hours a day.' We made no reduction of wages. I never saw a happier set of men in my life."

Those who work in the lumber woods and mills can not be generally classed as skilled artisans. A few, to be sure, hold positions requiring judgment, skill and experience, but most of them perform the commonest kind of plain labor. Such can never command the wages of artisans; but after they had toiled heavily for eleven hours a day they were entitled, under the common laws of safe political economy, to such compensation as would enable them to bring up their children decently, provide them with comfortable shelter and clothing, and send them to school.

The general public has a right to demand that much, as poverty is a form of oppression as well as a fruitful source of crime and national weakness, and a bar to progress; and that much the mill owners were able to do, as most of them are making money quite rapidly. But it must be said, at the same time, that until the formation of the union, early in 1885, there had been no trouble on the Menominee river between masters and men. And it must also be said that the men had had more steady work than those of many other lumber districts in the country.

Here the owners mostly cut and drive their own logs as well as saw them, so their crews go from the mills into the woods in the fall and from the woods into the mills in the spring without much loss of time. And while there was generally no settlement until the end of each season's work, the men could go every Saturday night (except when in the camps, where that was impossible) and get some portion of their pay in cash. They were not compelled to trade at or accept orders upon company stores. They get the cash, as was learned at the banks, and invest it where and when they please, as was learned from the merchants of the city. Nevertheless those who will, do get orders on and purchase goods on credit at company stores; and this class is numerous.

The men, however, complained that while in the logging camps during the winter they received but a small portion of their wages in cash, something like \$6.00 per month, which circumstances really compelled their families at home to obtain credit at the company stores for several months, at whatever prices the proprietors chose to charge for their goods.

There can be no doubt that in this there was an advantage on the side of the companies which the workmen were unable to offset. The companies declared that they never wronged their employes through this vast system of credit, but, on the contrary, gave the men steady work and their families a sure supply of the necessities of life during the long winter months.

On the other hand some workmen maintain that the com-

panies did profit by this credit system. However, this Bureau was unable to secure from complaining workmen a list of prices of company and other stores establishing this fact, the following letter from an intelligent employe coming the nearest of any to giving some exact information, though failing after all to do it:

Since the laboring men organized here and the weekly pay system has been adopted, some of the companies have confined their store business simply to supplying their numerous logging camps, while the others were forced to sell at city prices in order to retain their customers. The company I worked for last year compelled us to trade with them. Several articles they handled were 8 to 15 per cent. higher than at other stores. I have heard no complaints under the new system adopted last spring. This alone has been a great blessing to the mill boys, and a benefit to the business community and town in general.

At any rate, the men were compelled to work eleven hours per day; the compensation was, except in the cases of the head sawyers, engineers, etc., considered inadequate, and the sentiment was unanimous among the workmen in favor of weekly cash payments and no credit at company stores based simply on the fact that they were employes of the proprietors of these stores.

Therefore, the men joined the Knights of Labor, resisted the signing of contracts on the Menominee side contravening the Michigan ten-hour law, established a weekly paper called *The Menominee River Laborer* for the enlightenment of the public on matters connected with logging, driving, booming and sawing, and secured for the season of 1886, which means of course for all future seasons, ten hours, ample time for dinner, and cash payment of wages. While the Marinette mills run now but ten hours per day, there are this Bureau has found, 120 mills in other parts of the state running eleven hours. Nevertheless the trouble at Marinette bore some good fruit, as we have reports from over ninety mill proprietors who have reduced their hours to ten; and these include the largest in the state, except the Knapp & Stout Company. Among them is the Peshtigo Lumber Company, giving employment during a portion of the year to nearly 1,200 men.

Following is the scale of wages ranging in Marinette saw-mills during season of 1885-86: Sawyers, \$3.50 per day; setters, \$2 per day; carriers, \$30 per month; log-rollers, \$26 per month; scalers, \$35 per month; engineer, \$2.50 per day; filers, \$3.50 per day; trimmers, \$23 per month; laborers, \$16 to \$22 per month.

The companies charge \$3 per week for board. Married men are allowed the same amount in cash for boarding themselves.

An unpleasant fact to be recorded in connection with the above scale of wages is the constant danger to life and limb of those engaged in making lumber. Dr. E. H. Mann, of the Menominee River Hospital, at Marinette, reports to the Bureau no less than thirty-five accidents that came under his treatment in the course of a single season. The hospital on the Michigan side of the river probably had an equal number.

That many of these accidents are quite serious is proven by the fact that a total of 1,129 days were spent at the hospital by these thirty-five patients, or an average of $32\frac{1}{4}$ days to each patient.

Dr. M. S. Hosmer, of the Wisconsin & Michigan Hospital Company, at Ashland, reports thirty-three injured lumbermen cared for by his institution. They were confined 658 days, or an average of about twenty-one days each, showing numerous, in fact an average of, serious accidents.

Many fatal accidents happen in the camps by falling trees and rolling logs of which the public never hears. Considering this constant risk, it would seem that the wages given above could not be regarded as high. But for the humane plan upon which these hospitals are conducted, numbers of families would have to suffer actual want.

On Saturday, August 1, 1886, the Northwestern Lumber Company, of Eau Claire, notified their employes that the shortage of lumber in the yards forced them to demand a return to the eleven-hour system, offering an increase of 10 per cent. in wages.

The mill located at Porterville had been running upon the ten-hour plan this season. The employes refused to go to work the next Monday morning, preferring ten hours. The company yielded the afternoon of the same day.

In August, 1886, there was a small strike of river men employed by the contractors running logs out of the Chippewa river for the Eau Claire Lumber Company. They were receiving \$1 per day and found, and struck for \$1.25; after this demand was granted, they struck again, and demanded \$1.50. This was refused and the men paid off. After a brief time the contractors gathered up new men, mostly in the vicinity, at \$1.25 and found.

THE UPHOLSTERERS.

In order to convey a good understanding of the strike of journeymen upholsterers of Milwaukee, in the spring of 1885, it is necessary to refer back to October, 1881, when a union was organized. Before the organization the price of labor was quite unsettled, wages for journeymen ranging all the way from \$10 to \$14 per week. In order to equalize wages, as well as to systematize work in the various shops and factories, a strike was inaugurated in the spring of 1882, which proved successful in the main and effected a general increase of wages of about 20 per cent. In the month of February, 1882, a national union was organized at Philadelphia, the Milwaukee union sending a delegate.

In April, 1883, business being brisk, Bub & Kipp saw the necessity for working over-time, but offered for it only the regular rates of wages. The constitution of the national union prescribed that time-and-a-half rates should be paid for over-time, and fifteen cents per hour extra to piece-workers. In ignorance of this provision of the constitution, the men accepted one-and-one-fourth rates for over-time. Upon discovering this proviso, some of the members wanted to see the constitution enforced; but the idea that the accepted agreement should stand prevailed. All went along smoothly till the winter of 1883, when a reduction of 10 per cent., to run from Christmas, 1883, till April, 1884, was pro-

posed in all shops, which was accepted after some remonstrance, without a strike, the members recognizing the fact that a reduction was necessary, on account of over-stock having suffered from long storage. About April 1, business having sufficiently revived, a demand for restoration of wages was made and granted. But, in granting this, Bub & Kipp made it a condition that the former privilege of buying beer to be drank in the factory be abolished. The men, however, were soon reinstated. This condition was silently submitted to after two men had been discharged for petitioning to have the privilege restored. The men, however, were soon reinstated. This firm since that time, has furnished its 140 employes coffee free in the shops.

During midsummer, work in this trade is generally dull, and "short time," or eight hours per day is the rule. For about four months in the fall of the year business is more brisk, and over-time becomes necessary. It so happened that in the fall of 1884, over-time was demanded at regular day rates, under the alternative of employing more help. Rather than see more help employed the union accepted the terms. But troubles were not at an end. Anonymous letters were directed to employers claiming that union members were boasting that through their organization they could even regulate the amount of work a man should do. Acting upon this information, employers generally became uneasy, until in the spring of 1885, Bub & Kipp, one of the leading firms, ordered all union men discharged.

The employes, of course, denied the imputation; but all efforts to find out the name of the informant were futile.

The employers, accepting the denial, stated that they would reduce wages 10 per cent. and would have no more union talk about the shops.

About twenty-five of the employes in this shop refused these terms and stated the fact in writing, after holding a meeting in the shop. The union subsequently sustained the action of the men at a special meeting.

The strike never came to an actual settlement, although the men were gradually taken back without the 10 per

cent. reduction; but they had lost faith in their organization. To-day Upholsterers' Union, No. 10, exists in name only.

From statements officially and personally made, it would seem that the trade now is even in a worse condition than before the organization of the union, inasmuch as the several small strikes have brought into the business a great percentage of boys. It is now stated that the proportion of apprentices to journeymen in the larger shops is 50 per cent.

Wages are even more unsettled than ever, for out of 21 upholsterers, 3 report weekly wages at \$15; 7 at \$12; 10 at \$9; 1 at \$8.50. Milwaukee journeymen state that Chicago pays at least 25 per cent. higher wages; while employers claim that Chicago is selling at lower prices in the market than Milwaukee manufacturers are able to reach at the wages they are paying.

Milwaukee has no more than six prominent upholstery shops employing in all seventy-five journeymen. Of these sixty-five were members of the union. All the shops were more or less affected by the strike.

THE TANNERS.

About April 1, 1885, some of the larger tanneries of Milwaukee proposed a reduction of 10 per cent. in wages of all employes earning \$10 per week and under, and a reduction of 15 per cent. on all those earning over \$10, alleging an over-stocked market and excessive competition. The Tanners' Union, with about 100 members, constituting no more than 9 per cent. of all persons working at the trade, resolved to resist the reduction so far as beam-hands, yard-men, finishers and setters were concerned. The three branches received \$10 and less per week, and claimed their wages to be already low enough. Consequently, a strike was inaugurated on the 13th day of April, affecting all tanneries in the city, save one, in which about 150 men participated, the union being re-enforced by about 50 non-union men.

The strike, which lasted one month, although conducted in an orderly manner, was rather an undisciplined affair, for on May 12 a compromise was effected by accepting a

general reduction of 5 per cent. in the three branches affected. This result was brought about by the Pfister & Vogel men to the number of fifty, holding a meeting among themselves, independent of the union, and taking the matter into their own hands. This action forced the remainder, although in the majority, to accept the same terms, against their will.

Considering the fact that only 10 per cent. of the journey-men tanners of Milwaukee belonged to the union, the result of the strike was as good as could be expected.

While the strike may be considered a financial loss to both employes and employers, the former will be able to make up the lost wages in the course of two years, provided no further reduction is enforced within that time. The leisure they obtained by the strike was hardly appreciated, especially at that inclement season of the year.

The strike strengthened the union somewhat, no members withdrawing, while immediately after the settlement about fifteen new members affiliated. Few strikes are inaugurated or carried on upon such friendly principles as characterized this one — the affected men from the several tanneries working out the perishable stock before quitting work. Neither have the relations between employers and employes suffered in consequence of the strike.

The Milwaukee union stood alone in the controversy, there being no national organization, and the men engaged in the strike received no financial aid from any source. A few years previous to this strike the organization was far more numerous, but the question of sick benefits, added to the fact that the English-speaking element, although far in the minority, attempted to rule, caused its partial disruption.

A committee of five journeymen tanners furnished the Bureau with the following additional particulars in regard to the general features of the trade: Weekly wages in the different branches, before the strike, averaged as follows: Beam-hands, \$10; yard-men, \$8; setters, \$9.75; finishers, \$10; whiteners, \$14; shavers, \$15; splitters, \$18. The men in the latter three branches are paid by the piece. About three-fourths of those working in and about tanneries are

of German birth, the majority of whom learned their trade in Europe. While wages here are somewhat better than in Germany, the committee stated that the mode of living in the latter country, and the purchasing power of money over there, make the European wages almost equivalent to the wages received here. More labor is exacted in this country during a given time, but the hours of labor are far less.

The Milwaukee wages compare well with those of other parts of Wisconsin; but in Chicago, Ill., wages are 12 per cent. higher. About one-half of the journeyman tanners of Milwaukee own homes. The average age of the working tanners is about 38 years, few of them being able to work at the trade after their 45th year, the work being productive of rheumatism and kindred disorders. The sanitary condition of the tanneries at Milwaukee is as good as the requirements of the business can allow. For some reason the better paying branches of the trade are held by men of other nationalities than German.

Fifteen men employed in the tannery of Conrad Bros., Milwaukee, struck on March 4, 1886, for a restoration of the wages of 1885. The increase was granted on the following day.

The eight-hour agitation of 1886 affected the trade to a considerable extent. Some tanneries for several weeks worked upon the eight-hour plan, but it was soon abandoned by allowing an increase of 10 per cent. in wages for ten hours' work. The union has dissolved, and an assembly of Knights of Labor has been formed to take its place, with about 950 members.

THE MOULDERS.

At Neenah — An unpleasant affair in the shape of a strike of the moulders employed at Bergstrom Brothers & Co.'s stove foundry at Neenah, occurred on Sept. 30, 1885. The causes that led to this strike, which was protracted until Feb. 1, 1886, seem extremely trivial. It appears that a certain piece of work was given to a certain man, which he refused to do at the established scale, but demanded an in-

crease of 5 per cent. Such refusal, in all foundries, is regarded as a voluntary discharge. This man left the foundry, and in the evening called a meeting of the members of the local moulders' union. The union decided that the member was in the wrong. He thereupon returned to his work in the morning, when the foreman forbade him to go to work on the ground that the man had actually discharged himself. This resulted in hard feelings, culminating in a strike, the entire force of moulders leaving the foundry.

At a subsequent meeting it was decided to strike for a general increase of 5 per cent. on the scale. The employers claim that the scale was established for one year, and the men were in duty bound to live up to it until its expiration.

The firm claimed that its relations with the men had always been of a cordial nature during the many years their foundry had existed, until the organization of the union. They had anticipated trouble from this source, and had prepared themselves for the emergency. They made little or no attempt to work the foundry, but simply allowed the strike to have its course, determined not to accede to the demands of the union.

The men, on the other hand, claimed that their wages were entirely out of proportion to those paid in Milwaukee.

This, undoubtedly, is a fact. But rent, food, and land are cheaper in Neenah.

Some movements were made by the men with a view to establish a co-operative stove foundry; but as in most cases, the plan was not realized. After four months of useless strife, a truce was declared, the friendly relations between employes and employers restored, and the men returned to work upon the old terms; but the loss of wages, with its consequences remain, as well as one more illustration that arbitration, or at least a conference, should precede a strike in all instances.

Bergstrom Brothers & Company's moulders work by the piece and earn from \$2.75 to \$4.25 per day. Carpenters receive from \$1.75 to \$2.25, and mounters and laborers receive from \$1.35 to \$2.25 per day.

In Milwaukee — Just previous to May 1, 1886, the stove moulders at Milwaukee demanded an increase of wages of 15 per cent. waiving the demand for eight hours instead. The Brand Stove Company granted the increase, but the Milwaukee Stove Works, J. A. & P. E. Dutcher, refused the demand.

It being very near the time that stove foundries have an annual shut-down of a few weeks, the latter firm found no difficulty in resisting the demand for the time being. The men, about the 1st of June, resumed work on a 10 per cent. increase.

An unimportant strike of moulders occurred at the Wisconsin Malleable Iron Works, in October, 1885. It appears that the manager wanted the moulders to shovel their own sand, work ordinarily done by laborers. The moulders, taking into consideration the fact that laborers were earning but \$1 per day, and the proposed change would throw some of them out of employment entirely, remonstrated by a momentary strike. After a consultation with the manager, the latter receded from his position, and the men returned to work.

CARPET WEAVERS.

A small shop-strike, involving only eight men, occurred in H. Thiele's establishment, Milwaukee, on Feb. 15, 1886. The men complained that even by hard work they could not manage to earn over \$6.00 to \$6.50 per week. This trade to a very large extent, is carried forward on the domestic plan in Wisconsin, there being about thirty of these establishments in Milwaukee, employing but very little hired help. The strike was partially gained by the men.

The prices for weaving carpets vary in different localities, but in Milwaukee they are 13, 14 and 15 cents per yard, at which decent wages can be earned only by the longest hours of labor.

At Fond du Lac, ten hours of labor will result in earning from 90 cents to \$1.05. At Oshkosh, Neenah, Eau Claire and other cities, the earnings average about the same, while John Simons, of Milwaukee, says: "A good man, working 10 hours per day, can earn from \$7 to \$8 per week."

CABINET MAKERS AND JOINERS.

The first strike of the present year in Milwaukee, was inaugurated on Feb. 1, at the extensive sash, door and blind factory of Sanger, Rockwell & Co., corner of Park street and Sixth Avenue. The factory employs about 200 hands, 88 of whom are cabinet makers. Thirty-four of the latter struck on the above date for equalization of wages. The men were engaged on work for the new Insurance Building. The trouble was settled within three days by new men taking the places of the strikers, and several of the latter returning to work.

A few days later about 50 joiners in the same factory struck, also for an equalization of wages, but more particularly against certain rules of the factory.

These demands are set forth by the firm, as follows:

Last December, being the lowest bidder for furnishing and putting up the interior woodwork in the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company's building, the job was awarded to us. We had bid low on this, as some work previously let had been given to a Chicago party. We felt that it was for our interest, and the interest of every workingman, to have the work done here, therefore made a low bid on it. Some one published a statement in the papers that we had taken the contract, and were bound to have the whole building completed by the first of May, 1886.

In January we commenced work on the job, and as it would take a few more hands than we usually employ, we made some extra room and took some *extra* men. *These* men, after working from 1 to 15 days, one morning all (38 in number), left their work in a body. This was done without making any request for more wages, or finding any fault.

Some time after leaving, a demand was presented to us, which, as near as we can remember, called for \$2 a day as the lowest pay for any man; also for the privilege of using fifteen minutes before noon, and the same time in the afternoon for eating lunch; also that their pay should be delivered to them once a week and during working hours. And another idea was eventually involved, and that was, that we should not discharge any man without the consent of a shop committee, which shop committee should be appointed by them. Because the superintendent told one of the men that he did not think the firm would agree to any such demands, a boycott was declared against us, and worked as vigorously as they knew how, for some time.

The fact is, they concluded that was the time to force us to yield to any demands, or, on our refusing, to ruin us, if possible, by preventing us from

finishing our contract, and by preventing any man or boy from entering or remaining in our employ, and stopping, by threats or otherwise, any person from buying from us. And all that, in this free country of ours!

The union, which had but just been organized, carried on the boycott against this firm not only, but also against *Der Herold* newspaper because, on the second day of the strike it contained an article which was considered insulting to the strikers.

The usual mode of boycotting was resorted to—the distribution of hand-bills—and all members were enjoined from entering any saloon where *Der Herold* was kept on file, or in any way to deal with any patrons of either firm.

The boycott in this case was very effective, and on March 11, led to the adoption of the following contract between the firm and the union:

The undersigned respectfully submit to the Joiners' Union of Milwaukee, as a basis on which to settle all differences, the following proposition. In consideration of the acceptance of the same, it is agreed as follows:

First—We will accept union joiners, and will take back of those who recently left our employ, such men as we can use on our work, and as many as we have work for.

Second—The lowest wages of joiners shall be \$2 per day of ten hours.

Third—We will pay off twice each month, and deliver the same to each man's bench as requested, and are to have five days to make up the pay-roll. This would make pay-day the 5th, and five days after the nearest Saturday to the 15th.

Fourth—When any difference of opinion arises between the said union joiners and ourselves, the shop committee selected by them shall submit the same to the senior members of our firm, and should we fail to agree upon a settlement of the same within ten days, then it shall be left to a committee to consist of one member of our firm, one member of the shop committee, who shall agree upon a third member, who shall not be a member of any union.

Fifth—Before making a bid to furnish joiner work for any job that would amount to over \$100 we will notify the shop committee of our intention to make such a bid. Their consent to our making such a bid is to be understood as the consent of said union to such a bid being made, and an agreement that the union men employed by us shall not engage in any strike without first finishing up all such jobs that may have been awarded to us, upon bids made with the consent of said shop committee.

Sixth—We are to retain those joiners now in our employ, whom we may desire to keep, but agree that they may become members of the union,

it being understood that by May 1, next, all will become members, and our joiner department be a union shop. The said union is to at once withdraw their boycotting circulars and publications, and cause to have published in all the papers a statement that said boycotting was entered into hastily and through a misunderstanding.

Seventh — The said union will, from this date, use all their influence to get their friends and all citizens to patronize our business.

Eighth — This agreement to be and remain in force till January 1, 1887.

This agreement was signed by the firm and a committee on the part of the union.

Notwithstanding the firm yielded to the demands of the union, in such terms as to be equivalent to a complete surrender, there was no end to the troubles at this factory until the agitation for the eight-hour day had subsided — about the middle of May. Numerous employes of the firm have from time to time complained to the Bureau about the arbitrary rules of the superintendent, and urge this in justification of their subsequent tactics.

The boycott on *Der Herold* was removed only upon condition that the office be made thoroughly union, and the payment of all expenses of the boycott, which the company agreed to.

This strike, confined to one factory, was supported by a union of 1,400 members and was very telling in its effect; for it indirectly forced all the German newspaper offices in Milwaukee to join the German Typographical Union.

CIGARMAKERS.

Perhaps the most disturbed trade, not only in Wisconsin but all over the United States, is cigarmaking.

Five years ago a protracted and disastrous strike, involving more than 800 cigarmakers in Milwaukee, demoralized the trade to such an extent that its effects are felt even at this late date.

The failure of the strike at that time led to the disintegration of Cigarmakers' Union No. 25, then a numerically strong organization. Those remaining faithful to the International organization, at the commencement of 1886, did not exceed forty.

An officer of the International body, early in the fall of

1885, sojourned in Milwaukee for several weeks with a view to kindle a renewed interest in the union, but did not meet with visible success. Business, however, did not seem to suffer for want of such an organization.

Thus matters stood in January, 1886. Meanwhile, the order of Knights of Labor commenced to grow in favor among workingmen, and the agitation for the eight-hour work day began to assume shape.

As early as February a K. of L. assembly of Cigarmakers was organized. There was apparently, nothing antagonistic to the union in this, many union members joining the order. But it was soon charged by the union men that the very persons who had deserted the union at the time of the strike, were the first to join the Knights. This assertion gave immediate cause for antagonistic feeling on both sides. Trouble, however, might have been easily avoided, had it not been for the action of the executive board of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor.

To make the merits of the controversy more plain it is necessary to relate a piece of history.

The International Cigarmakers' Union, with headquarters at New York, was organized some twenty-three years ago, and, like all similar bodies, is composed of duly elected delegates from subordinate unions. This body, about six years ago, devised a means to make propaganda for union workmanship, as opposed to filthy tenement-house made cigars, by the adoption of the following label, which is an authentic fac-simile, except that the genuine is printed on light-blue paper:



This label was furnished free of charge to factories employing exclusively union cigarmakers, and is being so furnished to this to-day.

The idea was original with the International union, and, no doubt, had a great deal of favorable effect upon the cigar business of the country in general. In proof of this it may be stated that several suits for counterfeiting the label have been brought in New York, St. Louis and other cities, though no such case has as yet presented itself in Wisconsin.

The General Assembly Knights of Labor, undoubtedly aware of the success and effect of the union label, devised a label of its own, printed on white paper, and also furnished it to all factories employing Knights exclusively.

This action led to extreme unpleasantness of feeling between the two factions of organized labor, and resulted in lock-outs, boycotts and strikes of no mean proportions.

But it also had the effect of rallying the dormant sympathies for the International union in such a remarkable measure that in a very short time the local union grew from almost nothing to a membership of 550 and over.

The total number of journeymen cigarmakers in Milwaukee is in the neighborhood of 1,000. Both factions, on the 1st of June, 1886, claimed about the same numerical strength.

The controversy grew to such proportions as to make the employment of members of both factions in the same factory a total impossibility. In fact, the animosities were carried so far as to oblige Segnitz & Co., the leading cigar manufacturers of the city, employing at times from 600 to 700 hands, to close their factory until the factions should settle the controversy among themselves. That time has not yet come. To make matters worse, the General Assembly Knights of Labor, after a few weeks, discarded the white label and printed one on paper of exactly the same color as that of the International union.

Subsequently new scales of prices were presented by both the union and the Knights, and Segnitz & Co. decided to give the preference to the International union. Louis Kindling, another extensive manufacturer, employing about sixty hands, also gave the preference to the union.

The scales were substantially the same; close comparison showed the average per thousand cigars to be about seven

cents higher on the scale presented by the Knights of Labor. The latter, however, in order to have a means of attack upon the union, had inserted in the scale a certain extra long size of cigars not now in this market, and put the price upon them all out of proportion to that of the ordinary sizes.

This technical information comes from many representative cigarmakers.

The action of these two large factories made things decidedly worse. A boycott upon their products was instituted in a very vigorous and offensive manner, by a circular issued by District Assembly, No. 108, Knights of Labor, printed in English and German.

The state organizer of the Knights of Labor, Robert Schilling of Milwaukee, as stated by himself, "had instituted a boycott of his own," by advising people wherever he went in his capacity as organizer, not to buy cigars made by said firms.

Mr. Schilling's connection with this affair led to his arrest and indictment on the charge of writing threatening communications. The trial resulted in a disagreement of the jury; his second trial has not yet taken place.*

The boycott circular of the Knights of Labor was followed by an anti-boycott circular issued by the Cigarmakers' Union, No. 25.

In order to avoid an accusation of unfairness as well as to further illustrate a contest between rival labor factions, a war between individuals of the same class, more unnatural than a contest between capital and labor—between two different classes—there will be presented *ex parte* accounts, beginning with a circular of the Knights of Labor, as follows:

BOYCOTT

H. SEGELITZ & CO. AND L. KINDLING'S CIGARS.

To all Friends of Labor Reform:

In explanation of the troubles now existing between the cigarmakers of Milwaukee, the following explanation of facts is submitted:

District Assembly No. 108, K. of L., desires to inform all who are interested as to the merits of the dispute now pending between the Cigar-

* See article on boycotting.

makers' International Union and the Cigarmakers' Assembly. After the long and disastrous strike several years ago, the Cigarmakers Union was almost disbanded. Repeated efforts to revive the union were unsuccessful. Last fall, when Mr. Bisbing, the organizer of the Cigarmakers International Union, visited Milwaukee, he could not accomplish this, although he remained in the city six weeks for that purpose.

To prove the good will of our order, we need only state that our district organizer, at the request of Mr. Bisbing, actively assisted him in his efforts to revive the union. But all efforts proved futile, and as various cigarmakers expressed a desire to join the Knights of Labor, many of them were admitted to membership in the assemblies then existing, who eventually formed an assembly of their own, with no assistance from our organizer except such as was required of him by our laws, although interested parties, who must have some sinister motive, lay all the blame to him.

When, later on, the Milwaukee cigar manufacturers found, that, owing to the extraordinary growth of the labor movement, especially the Knights of Labor, they could find no market abroad for their goods unless they had a label, they opened negotiations with the Milwaukee Cigarmakers Assembly. This body presented to them a price-list, which was accepted by most of the manufacturers and endorsed in all its main features by every one of them, and all manufacturers agreed to have their men join the Knights of Labor.

But a few days later Herman Segnitz & Co. and Louis Kindling entered into an agreement with Cigarmakers' Union No. 25 and accepted their price list, which was all the way from twenty cents to \$2.95 less than the list of the Cigarmakers' Assembly, and then required of their men to join the union, evidently for no other purpose than to sow the seeds of discord in the ranks of organized labor. They succeeded in dividing the cigarmakers into two contending sections.

For the sake of peace, Cigarmakers' Assembly K. of L., after repeated conferences, agreed to endorse the label of the union if the members of the union would endorse the label of the K. of L., or would not object to its use.

Our proposition was, that in factories employing union men the union label was to be placed on the cigar boxes; in factories employing Knights of Labor our label should be used, and where members of both organizations were employed both labels should be used, or as they might be required.

This offer was refused by the union, and its members not only insisted that we should endorse their label, but not use ours at all, and, in addition, that all our members should join the International Union.

An additional proposition on our part was, that all cigarmakers belonging to the Knights of Labor should form a German Union, under the jurisdiction of the International Union, while the members of the union

should join the Knights of Labor and form an English-speaking assembly, on condition that the union should annul the contract with Segnitz & Co. and a new price-list be agreed upon jointly. Segnitz & Co. informed our executive committee that they would cancel the contract with the consent of the union, but the committee of the union peremptorily refused to do this.

As the International Union numbers probably 400 members in the State, which contains at least 40,000 Knights of Labor, we considered this demand too exacting, and refused to accede to it.

The admission to the union costs \$3; the regular dues are 20 cents a week, and assessments vary from 25 cents to \$1 week, sums that are rather too high to be thrown away for an organization which has up to this proved of no value.

Nothing has been left undone on our part to secure unity of action, but without success; hence we have been compelled to break off all negotiations with Union No. 25.

This is a plain statement of facts, and all side issues or abuse of organizations or individuals will not change them.

In consequence of the treacherous actions of H. Segnitz & Co. and L. Kindling in connection with this matter, who laid off all members of the K. of L. employed by them, District Assembly, 108, resolved to BOYCOTT the firms named, and all right-minded smokers are respectfully requested to smoke no cigars made by these parties, and in all cases to see that the white label of the K. of L. is on the cigar box.

The number of H. Segnitz & Co.'s factory is 534, and of L. Kindling's, 653.

DISTRICT ASSEMBLY 108, K. OF L.

Following is the address of the union:

ANTI-BOYCOTT.

To all Fair-Thinking Trade Unionists and Knights of Labor:

Your attention is called to a scurrilous circular issued by a so-called organization of cigarmakers, working under the authority of D. A. No. 108, Knights of Labor, of Milwaukee, and in which you are requested to withdraw your patronage from the firms of H. SEGKNITZ & Co. and L. KINDLING, manufacturers of cigars. In the opening of their circular they state that after the great strike of the Cigarmakers Union in 1882, Union No. 25 was almost disbanded.

We admit that the Union, in consequence of the failure of the strike, became decimated, but who was responsible therefor? The very men who are now attempting to array workingmen against each other in a fratricidal way, under the guise of a pseudo organization, were the ones who, after receiving about \$75,000 in strike benefits, turned traitors and did their utmost to destroy the very source that furnished them shelter and bread to eat. The same malcontents who turned scabs then are the ones

responsible for the present deplorable condition. Union No. 25 has been and always will be found a champion of the rights of labor; its self-sacrificing devotion to the great cause during its twenty years of activity, is a sufficient answer to the low, contemptible attacks made by alleged labor reformers of but a few weeks' unenviable notoriety.

When Mr. Bisbing, the organizer of the International Union, was in Milwaukee, he warned Mr. Schilling, the organizer of the Knights of Labor, to refrain from organizing a rival union, showing him the evil consequences resulting therefrom, and he left with Mr. Schilling's assurance that he (Mr. Schilling) would not organize any cigarmakers in opposition to the union already existing, but hardly had Mr. Bisbing left before he planted the seeds of discord.

It appears clearly that Mr. Schilling repudiated such action in public, but practiced it like the ground-hog burrowing in the dark. In regard to their allegation that Segnitz & Co. and L. Kindling had entered into negotiation with them for the white label, upon their so-called bill of prices as a basis for its use by them, we desire to say that is but an assertion of irresponsible parties, without the slightest foundation in fact.

We have investigated and examined the record of the proceedings during the whole controversy, and have found absolutely nothing to substantiate such a claim; and it is obvious that it is only intended to mislead men into supporting their blind opposition to a recognized Trades Union, and which to our minds is inexplicable, unless it is for the sole reason of their unwillingness to pay the higher rate of dues required by the International Union. In fact, the true animus underlying all their actions can be found in their "Cheap John" ideas concerning the fiscal policy of Trades Unions, as well as the fact of a large number of their members being indebted to the union in various ways — such as money loaned them while traveling in quest of work, and of men being under heavy fines for "scabbing" in the two shops which you are now asked to boycott.

Referring to the charge that the above firms were hostile to the Knights of Labor, and had locked out such as were members of the Knights of Labor, we can nail the lie by personally introducing any one who desires it to the factories, and showing him at least fifteen employes in L. Kindling's shop, and about sixty in Segnitz's factory, who are now and will continue to be members of that order. Besides that, the firms in question have repeatedly reiterated their friendship for the organization and disavow any hostility to their principles.

The firms are not to blame for the inconsistency and bickerings of two rival unions. Workingmen who purpose to destroy the business of a merchant in order to gratify the caprice of warring factions can not command the confidence of the public, and sooner or later must fail in an unpitied and contemptible struggle. Such action savors of the despot, and must be stamped out by all liberty-loving people. We deplore it deeply, but are not responsible for its existence.

In denying the accusation that the union allows members to work for a lower scale of wages, we wish to inform Trades Unionists generally that such is not the case. The Knights of Labor scale is made up designedly to mislead such as are not acquainted with the technical details of our trade, their division of sizes being made on the half-inch plan, while ours is put upon the quarter-inch. Thus their bill calls for twenty cents more for cigars cut shorter than $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, while our bill exacts thirty cents more for cigars cut $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length.

To illustrate: They demand \$8.70 per M., while we demand \$7.00 per M. for cigars $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, proving that the union scale is really higher instead of lower, as claimed. We could go all through the two bills and produce similar proofs upon every grade of goods made, but do not desire to be too voluminous in presenting this statement. If any one wishes to find further proofs, we will give them cheerfully on applying in person.

In concluding this paragraph, we draw attention to the fact of the assembly having changed its bill repeatedly during this dispute. In their dealings with Ascherman & Co. they changed over night, without the firm's knowledge, an item previously agreed to, from one to two dollars, and when they were confronted with the same, abruptly stated that it was the wish of the assembly, and that settled it regardless of the agreement.

In regard to the question of mutual understanding between the two unions, we will only draw attention to the remarks of a prominent member of District Assembly, 108, Knights of Labor, made when the recent conference took place between a joint committee, in which he said that from his experience had with both sides he found the black spot to rest upon the assembly, and subsequently stated that they were the most ruffianly set he ever met. The propositions then adopted by the committee of D. A. 108, were treated with contempt, and the committee of their own choosing insulted in the most disgraceful manner.

This has destroyed all hopes of an amicable settlement being effected, as nothing is considered by them that does not fully meet their arbitrary demands. In conclusion, we ask all readers of this circular, and who are desirous of seeing justice done, to support the firms above named and to continue to support the blue label of the International Union.

The dirty work here experienced has been done in other localities. Not alone has the International Union suffered at their hands, but every National Union in the country has cause for complaint. If you wish to stop the mischief and confusion resulting from the use of two labels, ask only for International Union Label cigars. If you wish to be sure that the cigar you are smoking is not made in a filthy tenement house, nor by "scabs," call for the blue label. If you are in favor of *bona fide* trades organizations, see that the International label is on the box.

CIGARMAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION. NO. 25.

Here is the case as related by Herman Segnitz, of Segnitz & Company :

Your request to give "an account of the trouble between the Union and the K. of L. in our factory" is not as easily complied with as your letter indicates a belief; besides, great temptation offers to enlarge upon the theme by adding my own views on a great number of points involved — a thing you do not call for. Again, it is hardly possible to give an intelligent synopsis, without certain explanations, without which erroneous inferences would be drawn by any one not directly connected or initiated.

Still, I will try. Late last fall our firm, who have been running during their existence as independent of any union, resolved to try running as a so-called union factory for a year. Upon inquiry we found, when ready to make said change, that two rival unions or associations of cigarmakers now existed; the old International Union, carrying a blue label as their trade mark and a recently established assembly of K. of L., carrying a white label.

Finding that the two refused to work together in one factory, we inquired by holding conferences with both parties upon what basis we could run either of them.

Meetings with the K. of L. proved to us their demands (not in wages, but in arbitrary rulings) to be impossible for us to get along with, aside from the fact that some of these demands were in our opinion directed against the liberty of the individual as well as against the personal freedom of the laborer of either sex.

The Union, on the other side, submitted a scale of wages within a fraction similar to that of the K. of L., and relinquished voluntarily all attempts to press rules or regulations upon us, other than such as we had always upheld ourselves.

This decided us to agree with the Union and desist from any further deliberations with the Knights of Labor faction.

Before we had arranged with said Union, a committee of Knights of Labor calling, had been told by us that we would not make any final arrangements with them until we had definitely consulted as a firm, and upon their desire to know when they should call again, we told them that we could not say anything about that. Thus we considered our negotiations with the Knights of Labor as broken off and ended.

Several days after the above committee call, and still prior to our arrangement with the Union, Robert Schilling stepped upon the scene by calling at our office, offering, as he stated to settle the differences between us and his Knights of Labor. He claimed great influence as state organizer and wished to learn what he could do.

We told him that he could do nothing for us; we knew of no difference as he called it; we had been treated by the Knights of Labor in anything but a pleasant way; in fact they had been guilty of double-dealing and

prevaricating, and we so detailed to him, concluding that it was sufficient for us to now desist from any further action in the premises.

He declared with great emphasis that if what we stated to him was true, we had been shamefully wronged! He would send us a committee of inquiry and wished us to make our statement before them.

We cordially agreed to repeat a statement of facts before his or any other committee, whenever desired. He left. A day or so afterward, we concluded a final arrangement with the Union for one year and started that morning as a union shop.

No investigating committee having appeared by Tuesday, our senior called at Schilling's office on his way from dinner; Schilling was said to have gone to La Crosse on business, to be back Thursday. On Thursday Schilling telephoned to our office and our senior went to call on him.

And now a most remarkable conversation took place! Probably in no other country, save our free American states could such a thing have occurred. Robert Schilling said that he had "started a personal boycott against our firm," and unless we would "come to reason he would have that boycott extended all over the United States," giving as a reason that we should have waited the result of his endeavors when we saw that he was interested in having our house a Knights of Labor factory, and should not have concluded an agreement to work Union men!

Shortly thereafter regular boycotter's bulletins and fly sheets were issued against us and circulated by hand in the city and by mail, the latter to every firm the name of which their committee could obtain as being our customers. This latter act was easily accomplished, a number of old employes of ours being on the committee who were well conversant with the majority of names of our trade.

Owing to the May riots occurring within a few days thereafter, a grand jury was empanelled; information then was filed among others, under instructions by the court, against the boycott by district attorney Williams and our firm was duly subpoenaed as witnesses.

Indictments were found against R. Schilling for issuing threats, etc., in separate form; also against some fourteen persons for conspiracy.

This latter indictment being the regular boycotters indictment, also includes Schilling's name. Trial was had of the separate Schilling case, A. Scott Sloan on the bench, the cases having been sworn away from our municipal judge, Jas. A. Mallory, under the plea of prejudice.

In this trial the jury disagreed six to six. It may be stated here as a matter of plain fact that some K. of L. members were sitting on that panel. Thus the case now stands.

During this trial Robert Schilling openly avowed having instituted this boycott, as well as his conviction of having perfect right to do so, notwithstanding the very able and plain instructions and opinions of the court as to the illegality of that peculiar and un-American institution.

To bear out the principle defended by him, he has taken particular

pains to keep up said boycott by promulgating it anew in speeches he has made since in sundry sections; denouncing our firm bitterly as "skin-flints" and enemies to labor, etc., and requesting the hearers to pick up and increase and strengthen the boycott against us; so in Neillsville, Wis., so in Fort Wayne, Ind.

At the time of this writing, September, 1886, matters have not improved as far as the inimical position of the two organizations is concerned. The boycott has not been "lifted," but the per capita assessments upon the members of local assemblies, which amounted in all to \$1.55 upon each member, from the time when the lock-out of Knights in the two factories occurred, have ceased.

Many members of the order who considered the action of the District Assembly in boycotting union labor as unjust, have refused to pay the assessments and have thereby allowed themselves to be suspended. Of the latter, many were union cigarmakers, who had joined the order before the adoption of the Knights' label.

Up to this time more than one hundred K. of L. cigarmakers have renounced the order, and joined the International Union. The latter is very exacting in such cases, and requires the applicants for membership to sign the following document:

I, ———, wishing to become a member of Cigarmakers' Union, No. 25, hereby express my disapproval of the action of Cigarmakers' Assembly, No. 5354, and District Assembly, No. 108, K. of L., in boycotting the product of the factories of Herman Segnitz & Co. and Louis Kindling, and pledge my word and honor hereafter to work in conjunction with and in the interest of the International Cigarmakers' Union.

It should be stated that the Knights of Labor exercised all possible means to come to some understanding. The members of the International Union, however, persistently refused to listen to any proposition which might in any way impair the purposes of their label, or the power of their union, which is much older.

The assertion may safely be made, that the unpleasant and inimical feeling would not have been created, and the instances of personal hatred would not have occurred, if the Knights of Labor had taken no action invading the domains of the Union.

The troubles in this trade are by no means confined to Wisconsin. Every day almost, may be read despatches in the daily papers of strikes, boycotts, and lock-outs in the Eastern states. There, another faction, called the Progressive Union, appears to be involved, and make things in general quite as demoralized as they are in this state.

It may be proper to add here, that the two cigarmakers' national unions, the International and the Progressive, have joined hands.

The divisions were caused by a difference of opinion as to political action by the organization, some favoring and some opposing, carrying the Union, as such, into politics.

The two factions separated, the old International eschewing politics, and the Progressives favoring organized political action.

The amalgamation of the two unions, originally divided on a matter that had nothing whatever to do with their business or trade, was doubtless brought about by the aggressiveness of the Knights of Labor.

Now the only cigarmakers' union, is the old International.

THE PRINTERS.

In the first biennial report of the Bureau mention was made of a strike of the union compositors against the *Evening Wisconsin*, a daily newspaper published in Milwaukee. At the time of that report an active boycott against that establishment was conducted by the publication of a weekly bulletin. The strike, however, was considered lost to the union, in so far that the matter was neither settled nor compromised, and the union allowed its members to return to work in said office under special permits.

The strike begun on February 2, 1884, was for an equalization of wages in favor of the female compositors employed on the paper. The proprietors claimed that they were not discriminating in the matter of wages of women, except during their apprenticeship. This being conceded, the union naturally wanted the office reorganized, and demanded the discharge of the men who had taken the strikers' places, as well as those unionists who remained at

work in spite of the order of the executive committee of the union.

At the time of this writing, more than two years after the commencement of the strike, all the men employed at the paper have been readmitted to the union upon payment of all dues that would have accrued if they had been members during the time of the strike. It is understood by the Bureau that this was done at the request of the proprietors of the paper.

However, Andrew J. Aikens, one of the proprietors and business manager of the *Evening Wisconsin*, says:

The difficulty with the union (not on our men) was that we insisted upon our right to hire any competent workman, whether that man saw fit to join the union or not, and persistently refused to discharge any man on that account. We, however, prefer our men to join the union and prefer union men.

An unimportant strike of "extra" compositors occurred in the fall of 1885 in the office of Yenowine's *Sunday News*. The difficulty arose about the price to be paid for matter set up at night on daily papers. The established scale calls for price-and-a-half. The regular scale on morning papers is 38 cents on afternoon and evening papers 35 cents per 1,000 ems. The proprietor was willing to pay the regular night scale, but refused to pay the other, which would have made the price 57 cents. The executive committee of the union thereupon ordered union men to quit work, as the conditions were at variance with the literal construction of the scale.

THE TRUNKMAKERS.

Strikes of trunkmakers for an increase of wages occurred during the months of February and March, 1886, at M. Sepp's factory, Racine, and at the factories of Carpeles, Hartmann & Co., Romadka Bros., and Abel, Bach & Fitzgerald, Milwaukee. The strikers in all these cases were successful after a few weeks' "lay-off," gaining advances ranging from 15 to 35 per cent.

A few years ago, trunkmakers were able to earn about \$1.75 to \$2 per day. Wages have steadily decreased, however, until many American-born trunkmakers have been

compelled to leave the trade to find more remunerative employment. Boys' labor, is the burden of their complaint. Several young men from 18 to 20 years of age, informed the Bureau that, after working five and six years at the trade, they were unable to earn over \$5.00 to \$5.50 per week. They claim that after having so far advanced as to be entitled to higher wages, they are replaced by younger boys at the foot of the ladder, and that this system is so generally in vogue as to make it inadvisable for boys to enter a trunk factory with the intention of learning the trade.

Besides this, it is said that foreigners who come here direct from the rural districts of Europe, find employment in trunk factories readily, at wages upon which Americans can not live. The trade now is chiefly in the hands of Bohemians and their children.

The general agitation during the first half of 1886, however, brought about some needful changes in this trade.

Philip Carpeles, of Carpeles, Hartmann & Co., trunk manufacturers, Milwaukee, reports to the Bureau that an average increase of wages over all the branches of the trade, amounting to 56 per cent., has been made since the commencement of 1886.

TUGMEN.

A demand for higher wages, and a refusal to grant the same, caused a strike of about twenty linemen and ten firemen on the three tug lines in Milwaukee, on Sept. 3, 1885. The men demanded an increase of \$5 per month in wages. Linemen were receiving \$30, and, firemen \$35 per month, including board and lodging, rates which had been the same for eight years previous. Owners claimed that a few years ago business was more profitable than at present and therefore they could not grant the increase.

The proprietors of some of the tugs "fired and lined," while on others the steward handled the lines in order to resist the demand of the strikers. The latter on one occasion became rather violent against a man who had taken the place of one of the strikers, and the aid of the police was called in. The strike never came to an actual settle-

ment, the men one by one returning to work after a few days. From the first the strike had not been unanimous, and was at best an unorganized demand for something, as an experiment.

WOOD CARVERS.

On April 4, 1885, the Oldenburg Manufacturing Company, furniture manufacturers at Milwaukee, experienced a difficulty with some of their employes. It appears that on Dec. 1, 1884, a general reduction of 10 per cent. in wages for the space of three months had been ordered by the firm and accepted by the workmen.

The former wages were restored on March 1, following. One of the employes, however, convinced eight or nine other carvers and a few apprentices that the firm systematically managed to retain the benefit of this 10 per cent. by requiring a higher grade of work at the increase, and that apprentices were given a class of work that properly belonged to regular journeymen.

The firm denied the assertion, and discharged the man who had caused the dissatisfaction. About a dozen men thereupon left their work. They did not stay out long, however, but came to an understanding with the firm about a week afterward, classifying the work in a manner satisfactory to all.

The wages of journeymen carvers ranged from \$50, \$60, and \$70, to \$80 per month. It being all piece work, much depends upon the agility of the mechanic, as well as his ability to produce the better class of furniture. Apprentices earned from \$25 to \$30 per month. Wages are the same throughout the year.

On April 1, 1886, the piece system in this factory was abolished by request of the hands, and the day system introduced, without any objections on the part of the firm. Now the men receive the same wages whether they do more work or less.

WOODEN BLOCK PAVERS.

Eight wooden block street pavers employed on Walnut street, Milwaukee, struck on Sept. 29, 1885, for an advance

in wages to \$3.00 per day. They were receiving \$2.50. The strike was lost.

THE NAILERS.

On February 27, 1884, the first nail made in Wisconsin was manufactured at Bay View, a busy suburb of Milwaukee. The establishment of a nail mill by the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company, in addition to their already extensive works, opened up a new field of employment to about two hundred people. This mill runs one hundred machines, making it one of average size, there being but two or three mills in the United States running 125 to 140 machines.

At this time 25 nailers, 50 feeders, 25 boys tending automatic machines, 6 tenders heating iron for the machines, 20 packers, 5 engineers and firemen, and 50 rollers, heaters, helpers and laborers constitute the working force of the Bay View mill—183 persons in all. A mill of this capacity produces on the average about one thousand kegs of nails per day. The majority of the skilled mechanics came from Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Now, only a trifle over two years from the establishment of the mill, the Bureau must record a strike full of complications, and which lasted nearly nine months. Before going into details of the strike, it should be stated that the nailers, nail-feeders, rollers, roll-hands, heaters and heaters' helpers, all over the United States, numbering about 5,000 men, previous to May 25, 1885, formed part of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. The latter association, in order to equalize the wages of Eastern nailers, proposed that the Western men accept a reduced scale. The agitation of this question led the Western men, meaning all men working in mills west of the Allegheny mountains, to withdraw from the Amalgamated Association at its annual convention in May. On July following, a convention was called to form a union by themselves. A preliminary convention for this purpose had been held at Wheeling, West Virginia, on April 30, at which a levy of seventy-five cents upon each machine was decided upon to defray the expenses of delegates to the July convention. All the Western mills, twenty-six in number, were represented.

It was at first intended to include nailers only, but during the convention the nailplate heaters and rollers were also admitted. The union thus formed was simply an organization of the Western men; but it is now reported that those of the Eastern states are fast joining the new organization, which will ere long result in a national union.

The immediate cause of the strike, was a proposition on the part of the mill owners to reduce the scale of wages 19 1-5 per cent. The scale had been the same for nine years previous to June 1, 1885. The men resisted the proposed reduction by a general strike.

Following is the scale in force prior to June 1, 1885, according to which the nailers' earnings are computed, the 10-penny nail being the basis of calculation, and a keg of nails weighing one hundred pounds:

2-penny.....	\$1.68	8-penny.....	\$.27
3-penny.....	1.10	9-penny.....	.23
4-penny.....	.70	10-penny.....	.21
5-penny.....	.58	12-penny.....	.19
6-penny (cut cold) .....	.43	16-penny.....	.18½
6-penny (cut hot).....	.42	20-penny.....	.17½
7-penny.....	.38	30 to 60-penny.....	.16

As will be seen by the above scale, the wages for cutting 100 pounds of 10-penny nails was 21 cents, provided the selling price of nails was \$2.50 per keg. A reduction of 19 1-5 per cent. would bring the scale down to 17 cents, and all other sizes in proportion. After nine months of heated debate through all the newspapers in the country, a compromise was made at Mingo, O., which was acceptable to the Bay View mill, establishing a sliding scale, fixing the wages for cutting a keg of 10-penny nails at 18 cents, based upon a selling price of \$2 per keg, and providing that every 25 cents increase in selling price the nailer is to receive an increase of one cent. In other words, when nails sell at \$2.75 the nailer receives the same compensation as before the strike. At this writing nails sell at \$2.50 per keg; consequently the nailer receives 20 cents per keg for cutting.

The Bay View mill resumed operations on March 1, 1886. The compromise, as one of the results of the strike, it would seem, could have been brought about in nine days instead of as many months. The same scale had been paid in

Wheeling, W. Va., since December 1, 1885. The reduction, as at first proposed, would have lowered the nailers' wages about 60 cents per day. The scale accepted has reduced them about 15 cents per day. At any rate, no good reason can be offered why the strike should last as long as it did.

Immediately following the settlement of the strike, another difficulty arose, this time between the feeders and nailers. The latter, having accepted a reduced sliding scale, the feeders were slow to accept a proportionate reduction of their wages. With this matter the owners had nothing to do, each nailer hiring and paying his feeders.

The feeders demanded the old wages. For a few days nailers fed the machines themselves. The trouble was finally settled by the nailers agreeing to pay the feeders according to a 20-cent scale—a straight reduction of one cent per keg.

This strike proved an expensive one to all concerned, \$56,000 in wages being lost to nailers and feeders in Bay View alone, and about \$20,000 in wages to other labor connected with nail-making. To the manufacturers the loss was perhaps proportionately large. But even the public did not escape its share of the cost of this strike. The selling price of 10-penny nails on June 1, 1885, was \$1.90 per keg. On February 15, 1886, they were quoted at \$2.50, and just previous to that time the price had jumped to \$3.00.

It may be safely estimated that the amount of nails consumed in Milwaukee alone cost the people \$30,000 more than they would if this strike had not taken place.

Again, the effect of a prolonged strike upon a village like Bay View, where merchants, boarding houses, etc., are dependent upon the trade and patronage of those engaged in the mills, can better be imagined than figured out.

Visible effects are there in the shape of vacant houses, stores and saloons; broken windows tell the rest of the story. The man suddenly thrown out of employment, financially unprepared for idleness, as a rule, expects his grocer, butcher, tailor, and all others with whom in prosperous times he spent his earnings, to give him credit until the trouble is over. Some of them may be able to do so, but

many of them can not. The end of the strike is expected every day, but is generally postponed from week to week and from month to month, with the result that the smaller trader is forced out of business, his ledger full of doubtful or worthless accounts, because some of his striking customers became disheartened and left for parts unknown.

On July 6, 1886, the price of nails having declined so as to bring wages of the nailer down to a seventeen cent scale, the feeders refused to accept a proportionate reduction. They demanded three-fifths of the product of each machine, instead of one-half as they were then receiving. After ten days parleying, the strike was settled on a basis of one-half product on a 21-cent scale, which means, in reality, that feeders now are receiving more than they originally struck for. The average product of each machine being 15 kegs of 10-penny nails, we have

$$15 \times 21 = 315 \div 2 = 157\frac{1}{2}; 15 \times 17 = 255 \div 3 = 85.$$

Since the settlement of the strike at Bay View, the men have been sharing the amount of work on hand, with their less fortunate colleagues of Calumet, Ill.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS.

A strike of apparently small proportions, involving only fifty-five men, members of the Journeymen Plumbers' Union of Milwaukee, was inaugurated on April 24, 1885. The immediate cause of the strike was the refusal of Richard Finn, a master plumber, to discharge a man, who, it was claimed by the union, had violated the trust of his colleagues.

It is asserted that the individual member owed the union money, representing a certain number of tickets of admission to an anniversary ball given by the Journeymen Plumbers' Union, and who, after several requests to appear at the meetings of the Union and account for said tickets, had failed to comply with the mandate. For this reason, the delinquent was expelled from membership.

The union prohibits its members from working with non-union men, and, in obedience to that regulation, called three men out of the shop of Mr. Finn. It was then that the

union discovered, that the master plumbers (who are also organized) had agreed among themselves not to employ a journeyman who could not produce a certificate from his last employer.

The enforcement of this rule against the three men withdrawn from the Finn shop, led the union to adopt the coercive measure of calling all their members out of the shops of the following firms: W. E. Goodman, Geo. A. Spence & Co., Geo. S. Lyon, Jacob Winkler, J. & F. Wittig, H. Freudenfeld, L. H. Plum, H. Apel, Ed. Doyne, R. A. Finn, T. Gilbreath, Philip Murphy, Louis Eggert and C. Polachek.

From this time on, an animated controversy was kept up between the Master Plumbers' Association and the Journeyman Plumbers' Union. Neither was willing to surrender an iota of professed rights or principles. The journeymen, on the one hand, claimed it to be one of the fundamental protective principles of their organization, not to work with non-union men, and insisting that the master plumbers rescind the obnoxious rule above referred to. The master plumbers, on the other hand, claimed the right to employ or discharge whomsoever they pleased, and denied the existence of such rule, requiring certificate from last employer, except in relation to apprentices.

Numerous conferences, between representatives of both societies, were held, but proved a failure in every instance.

At the final conference, the following declaration was submitted by the journeymen, but refused by the representatives of the Master Plumbers' Association, the latter at a previous meeting having resolved not to employ union men, under a forfeiture of one thousand dollars each:

First — We concede the right, and always have conceded the right, of master plumbers employing or discharging men whenever they please.

Second — That the Journeymen Plumbers' Association claims the right of withdrawing members, where non-union men are employed, after due notice to their employers, without the interference of the Master Plumbers' Association.

Third — That all members of the Journeymen Plumbers' Association, be privileged, after due notice, to quit any shop and go to work in another shop, without the interference of their former employer, or the Master Plumbers' Association.

Fourth — That all men and boys be reinstated to their former employ, and that the strike be declared off immediately.

Both societies now appealed to the public, through the medium of the daily press, and made statements of their grievances; but this only served to make the breach wider, the one accusing the other of falsehoods in public statements.

Following are the official statements of both parties in the controversy:

STATEMENT OF THE MASTERS.

The journeymen plumbers are endeavoring to mislead the public and place us in a false position by an erroneous statement of facts, in order, apparently, to secure public sympathy. The journeymen claim and state to the public that they struck because an obnoxious rule was being enacted by the bosses, which prevented a man from leaving one shop and going to work in another without first having secured a certificate from his last employer. That statement is untrue, and the men know it to be untrue. The "obnoxious" rule, as they term it, is for the government of apprentices only, and has nothing whatever to do with the journeymen. The actual and only cause of the strike was a refusal on the part of the bosses to employ certain men who are members of the Journeymen's union. The trouble originated in Mr. Finn's shop. One of his men got into disrepute with the Journeymen's union some time last fall, we understand. There is a rule in their by-laws prohibiting members from working in the same shop with non-union men. But winter was coming on, and to attempt to expel this member from Mr. Finn's shop might possibly have resulted in a lock-out. They wisely, for themselves, concluded to wait until spring and get the winter's work and pay out of Mr. Finn. Notwithstanding the anti-union rule of the society, they allowed a member of their union to work alongside of non-union men all winter in Mr. Gilbreath's shop, and when the president of the union was asked why the reply was: "It is winter now." The matter was reported to our association by Messrs. Finn and Gilbreath, and we concluded that under the circumstances the men deserved to be idle, and that they could go back to work in the shops where they struck or do without work, and that the other members of the association did not want and would not hire them. Our reason for refusing to hire them was not caused by the antipathy existing between union and non-union members working in the same shop, or the refusal of one class to work with another. It was on account of the abrupt, arbitrary and dictatorial manner in which the Plumbers' union acted in withdrawing the men from the shops of Messrs. Finn and Gilbreath without proper notice, thereby injuring these men knowingly and inexcusably. The "union" allowed its members to work

all winter in those shops when work was scarce and when their services were not actually needed; but just as soon as the spring trade commenced and they thought they could get employment elsewhere, they suddenly discover that their "honor" is being compromised and immediately proceed to expel this man in Mr. Finn's shop from their union, and order Mr. Finn to discharge the man from his employ, or the other men would quit work without delay. They furthermore ordered the member working for Mr. Gilbreath (working for him all winter with the sanction of the union) to quit work without one moment's notice to Mr. Gilbreath. Mr. Finn asked his men to give him a half day to consider the matter. They refused his request and immediately took their tools out of the shop.

Is that a just way to treat an employer who is paying wages to men through a long and severe winter when they do not half earn it, that he may have their services when the spring work begins? Honor! How fortunate that their sense of honor was not so delicate last fall. The same circumstances existed then. When the committee of journeymen waited upon us, they made no attempt at an explanation of their actions, but demanded "to know why these men were not employed." They were told respectfully, but firmly, by a committee from our association that we considered that Messrs. Finn and Gilbreath were justified in their course; that the Plumbers' union had done an injustice to both gentlemen by its abruptness, and on that account we would not employ these men. Further, they were told that in the future all men acting in the same manner would be treated likewise. It was to prevent a repetition of this kind of conduct that caused us to refuse to hire these men. We are not going to be compelled to hire these men. We propose to know whether we are running our own shops or whether the Plumbers' union is running them.

Hence the strike. The public now can place the blame where it justly belongs. The fact of the matter is our men are too well paid and too decently treated in the way before stated. They know that they have no valid excuse for their conduct, and are ashamed to have the public know the cause of their ridiculous strike. They therefore resort to the "certificate" dodge. They have "got their foot in it" and must abide by the consequences. When they get through with this strike they will be poorer but, we hope, wiser men.

The following statement was immediately prepared in answer to the representations of the master-plumbers:

STATEMENT OF THE JOURNEYMEN.

We are indignant because of the insignificant and degraded position our late employers are trying to make us appear as occupying by their untrue assertions. We are not soliciting public sympathy, for the public is ever ready to uphold the just cause of labor against the inconsiderate. It is almost needless to state the true cause of the strike. The public is quite familiar with it, although the employers are trying everything to mislead

the people and say that "the obnoxious rule only applied to boys," and that "we claim and state to the public that we struck because by its enactment a journeyman was prevented from going to work in another shop without having first secured a certificate from his former employer. They say that this is false, and we know it to be false."

In order that the public may know the whole facts of the case, it is only necessary to mention a few cases to prove by their own words and actions how misleading their public statement is:

In February, 1884, we notified our employers that we would demand an advance of wages on April 15. This advance was given to a majority of us, but the journeymen who were denied it had to leave the city, although there was plenty of work at the time, and they were as good mechanics as were in the city, but they had incurred the displeasure of their former employers for some reason, and the latter effectually kept them from procuring employment.

In view of these facts, we leave the public to judge whether the "obnoxious rule" only applied to apprentices, or to journeymen as well. We are not sure whether a printed rule to this effect is in the constitution of the Employers' Union or not, but this we do know, that there is a mutual agreement among them to carry it out to the very letter.

In their communication they try to assume the role of philanthropists by saying that they kept us to work all winter when we "did not earn half our wages." The public knows about how much of this is true. They have not forgotten the plumbers' bills of last winter yet. They know just how much we are paid, and also how much they are charged for our services. They can judge for themselves who got the largest share of the proceeds of last winter's work. If the plumbers of Milwaukee have been so well treated, and received such good wages for so little work the past winter, why have the employers received so few applications from plumbers outside the city to take our places?

The bosses want the earth — they can have it; but not the plumbers who traverse it.

After this statement on the part of the striking journeymen, the following advertisement appeared regularly in the daily papers for several weeks:

THE PLUMBERS' STRIKE.

The journeyman plumbers of Milwaukee are claiming, as the cause of their strike, that they are required to obtain a certificate on leaving one shop in order to obtain employment in another.

Now, therefore, that the difficulty may be set right before the people, and all persons interested, the following affidavit is hereby appended:

The undersigned officers, in behalf of the Milwaukee Master Plumbers' Association, do hereby declare that the above statement of journeymen

plumbers is utterly devoid of truth, and that such a rule has never been in existence, only in the minds of the strikers, and by them used as a subterfuge to deceive the public.

W. E. GOODMAN, President.

GEO. A. SPENCE, Secretary.

GEO. S. LYON,

Chairman of Arbitration Committee.

Sworn to before me this 21st day of May, 1885.

E. W. GRIEBLING,

Notary Public, Milwaukee County, Wis.

In regard to the foregoing affidavit, John Massino, a master plumber, informed the Bureau that, on one occasion, in obedience to the rule so much disputed, he gave the required certificate to a journeyman whom he discharged for unreliability, but who was in all other things a first-class workman. This workman had the bad habit of patronizing too many saloons in working hours.

The Bureau has no evidence that such a *written* rule existed, but the position of the journeymen is further strengthened by the statement of H. Apel, another member of the Master Plumbers' Association, that his brother-in-law, who had been his foreman for nine years, left him and joined the cause of the journeymen. If no such secret, though perhaps unwritten, understanding existed, such instances as the above could not be cited, because no question of wages was involved in this strike. It was an organized effort on the part of the masters to break down the Journeymen's union, and an equally organized effort on the part of the journeymen to establish their independence from rules which to them seemed tyrannical.

The National Journeymen's Union sanctioned the position the local members had taken, and sustained the married members financially to the amount of \$10 per week, while single men drew \$6 per week.

Great public inconvenience was the result of this prolonged strike. Being in the midst of the busy building season, many contracts were unfinished, and the master plumbers, during the first two months of the strike, experienced not a little difficulty in finding men to take the place of the strikers. Whenever masters succeeded in inducing a few

men to come to Milwaukee, the journeymen succeeded in persuading the men to leave the city, after stating their side of the case. The union had telegraphed to all prominent points to keep journeymen plumbers aloof from Milwaukee.

Thus matters stood in the plumbing trade from the time of the inauguration of the strike until the middle of June, when the strikers organized a co-operative shop.*

THE BRICKLAYERS.†

About twenty-five bricklayers, employed on the new Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway depot in the Fourth ward, Milwaukee, struck on March 22, 1886, because ten expert red-press bricklayers, from Philadelphia, who did not belong to the union, were set to work on that day. The constitution of the Bricklayers' and Masons' union prohibits its members from working with non-union men. This trouble was overcome by the Philadelphia men joining the union. A few days afterward the union demanded that no more men should be "imported," which demand the contractors refused to accede, because of possible emergencies that might arise to prevent the completion of the building at the specified time. The promise that no more outside men would be engaged if sufficient help could be secured in Milwaukee, proved satisfactory, and work was resumed without further interruptions. The strike lasted but one day.

On July 1, the bricklayers and masons, after having worked for two months upon the eight-hour plan, at the rate of 37½ and 40 cents per hour, contractors demanded the return to the ten-hour system, alleging that the briefness of the building season made the ten-hour plan impracticable. The journeymen, on the other hand, claimed that at any time during the present season nearly one hundred of their members were without work, and that it was a matter of principle with the union to share the amount of work to be

* See Article in Part IV on Co-operation.

† See paragraphs in chapter, "The Eight-Hour Movement," relative to bricklayers.

done. Consequently a strike was instituted, and for about two weeks building operations were at a standstill, save for a dozen or more non-union men the contractors succeeded in obtaining.

The journeymen, arguing that the chief motive of contractors to return to the ten-hour system was a future reduction of wages, prepared a paper binding contractors to the eight-hour plan for three years. This the latter refused to sign, and the union subsequently withdrew the demand.

Not until July 27 did the contending parties come to an understanding whereby the journeymen returned to work upon the eight-hour plan for an indefinite time.

The non-union men were either discharged or compelled to join the union.

GERMAN BAKERS.

Journeymen bakers employed in the domestic shops of Milwaukee, to the number of about 125, struck on April 17, for ten hours work per day and the abolition of the "boarding system." They demanded \$4.00 a week as an equivalent for the latter.

Employers claimed that it would be totally impossible to regulate the hours of labor in their business, and that boarding at the bakery was an absolute necessity.

The journeymen, representing in numbers about the number of bakeries in Milwaukee, had previously formed a union, but soon after merged into the Knights of Labor. The employers to almost an equal number formed a society to resist the demands of the employees. The latter were successful in the main, the trade being now conducted upon the old plan, with slightly higher wages.

A feature of this strike was the severe "boycott" imposed upon two employers. Handbills like the following, printed in English and German, were daily distributed in the neighborhood of the boycotted bakeries:

BOYCOTT!

OSWALD JAEGER, 916 MILL STREET, AND ADOLPH FIENHOLD, COR.
GALENA AND SEVENTEENTH STREET.

Fellow Citizens:

The Bakers' Helping Hands are on a strike because they could not endure to work any longer 14, 16 or 18 hours under a boarding system, under which we are sure to become white slaves. With the support of the Central Labor Union we intend to strike until the bosses sign our agreement and are willing to stand on the present platform, if it takes the whole summer.

Fellow citizens, help us to fight out the just cause, by favoring our Union-Label-Bread and supporting the boycott of Oswald Jæger, 916 Mill Street, and Adolf Fienhold, corner Galena and Seventeenth streets.

This action exasperated Mr. Fienhold to such an extent that he caused the arrest of the individual distributing the bills, who was fined \$25 and costs by Judge Jas. A. Mallory.

The strike never came to a formal settlement, the men after four or five weeks of idleness, gradually returning to work on the old terms.

THE STEAM BAKERS.

On April 15, 1886, the journeyman cracker, bread and cake bakers employed in the three extensive steam bakeries of Milwaukee struck for an eight-hour work day and an increase in wages of \$4 per week.

At the time of the strike weekly wages averaged \$12.50 to \$13. After an idleness of only five days a compromise was made—employers granting the increase asked, at ten hours of labor per day.

This is an increase of 30 per cent. in wages, and one of the few instances where employes made a direct gain by the method of striking. The increase did not apply to the bread and cake bakers, however, the latter quitting work simply to strengthen the cracker men in their demands.

CUSTOM TAILORS.

A strike of journeymen custom tailors in Milwaukee was inaugurated on April 1, 1886. A union had been organized during the month of May, 1885. The union is styled "The Custom Tailors' Protective and Benevolent Union of Mil-

waukee." Members of the union report that for several years the trade had been demoralized, a good deal of extra work which was formerly paid for being left unnoticed, decreasing the earnings to the amount of nearly 25 per cent.

In the absence of any regulations in regard to apprenticeship or female help, an unfair competition was established of one store over another, resulting in a general unfavorable condition of the trade.

To remedy these conditions, the union, which in the meanwhile had grown to a membership of nearly 400, submitted a "bill of prices" to employers for their signature, intending, that if it should not be signed by April 19—the date fixed upon—a general strike would follow. Employers thereupon pretty generally organized for the purpose of resisting the union.

Following is the bill of prices submitted:

DRESS COATS OF CLOTHS, BEAVER OR SMOOTH-FACED GOODS.

Dress coat.....	\$10 50
Double-breasted frock	9 50
Single-breasted frock.....	8 50
<i>For Diagonals, Worsteds, Corkscrews, and fine goods others than Cloths, Beavers and smooth-faced Goods —</i>	
Double breasted frock.....	9 00
Single-breasted frock.....	8 00
Single-breasted cutaway.....	8 00
<i>Cheaper Quality —</i>	
Double-breasted frock.....	8 50
Single-breasted frock.....	8 00
Single-breasted cutaway frock.....	7 00

OVERCOATS.

<i>Fine Goods —</i>	
Double-breasted surtout.....	10 00
Double-breasted sack overcoat.....	9 00
Single-breasted sack overcoat.....	8 50
Double-breasted spring surtout	9 50
Double-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	8 00
Single-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	7 50
<i>Cheaper Quality —</i>	
Double-breasted surtout	9 50
Double-breasted sack overcoat.....	8 50
Single-breasted sack overcoat.....	8 00
Double-breasted spring surtout	9 00
Double-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	7 50
Single-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	7 00

UNDERSACKS.

<i>Fine Goods —</i>	
Double-breasted sack.....	7 50
Single-breasted sack.....	7 00

Cheaper Quality —

Double-breasted sack.....	\$7 00
Single-breasted sack.....	6 50

EXTRAS ON COATS.

Try on dress, frock, or overcoats.....	1 00
Try on cutaway.....	75
Try on sack.....	50

Fly on all Coats Equal to Double-Breasted —

Fly behind.....	25
Silk or velvet facing to the waist.....	75
If to the bottom.....	1 00
Flaps per pair.....	25
Flat braid.....	75
Edges bound with cloth or velvet.....	1 25
Edges piped with cloth or velvet.....	1 50
Cord edge.....	75
Seams felled and stitched.....	1 00
Lapped seams on sack overcoat.....	75
Lapped seams on frock overcoats.....	1 00
Lapped seams on business coats.....	50
If double-stitched, extra 25c. and bound $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$	50
Interlined through body and back.....	50
Cuffs with holes.....	50
Cuffs without holes.....	80
Pockets over three, each.....	25
Bound facings.....	25

Notched Facings Equal to Bound —

Open bottom.....	25
Neck pad.....	15

PANTALOONS.

Doeskin, cloth or beaver.....	2 50
All other goods.....	2 25

EXTRAS ON PANTS.

Broad falls.....	50
Lined through.....	25
Welt or lapped seams.....	25
Buttons on bottoms.....	15
Double straps on waistbands.....	20
Piping or cord on seams.....	50
Protectors on bottoms.....	10
If all around.....	25
Puffs.....	10
Canvas in bottoms.....	15

VESTS.

Double-breasted with lapels of cloth, beaver tricots, meltons, velvet, Marseilles, silks, or other fine goods.....	2 75
Single-breasted, material same as above.....	2 25
Double-breasted with lapels, common goods.....	2 25
Single-breasted with lapels, common goods.....	2 00
Double-breasted or single-breasted without lapels, less.....	25

EXTRAS.

Try on vests.....	25
Fly in front.....	12
All pockets over three outside.....	25
Flat braid.....	25
Flaps per pair.....	25
Eyelet holes.....	15
Edges bound with cloth or velvet.....	25
All extras not mentioned herein shall be paid by the hour, at 80c, per hour.	
The employer shall give a ticket with each job with price and extras.	
* Bushelman's wages, 25c. per hour.	

The objection on the part of employers to this scale was principally to the prices charged for "extras;" also to items put under that head which had never before been considered as such. Another objection was the date on which the bill was to take effect. They claimed that a great amount of work in hand just at that time had been taken at such prices as would not enable them to sign the new scale without loss.

A sharp controversey was kept up for a week or so, when at a joint meeting of employers and journeymen the following scale was adopted and signed by all the leading firms in the city:

DRESS COATS, BEAVERS, OR SMOOTH-FACED GOODS.

Dress coat.....	\$10 50
Double-breasted frock.....	9 50
Single-breasted frock.....	8 50
<i>For Diagonals, Worsteds, Corkscrews, and fine goods others than Cloths, Beavers, and smooth-faced Goods —</i>	
Double-breasted frock.....	\$9 00
Single-breasted frock.....	8 00
Single-breasted cutaway.....	7 50
<i>Cheaper quality —</i>	
Double-breasted frock.....	8 50
Single-breasted frock.....	7 50
Single-breasted cutaway.....	7 00

OVERCOATS.

<i>Fine goods —</i>	
Double-breasted surtout.....	10 00
Double-breasted sack overcoat.....	9 00
Single-breasted sack overcoat.....	8 50
Double-breasted spring surtout.....	9 50
Double-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	8 00
Single-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	8 00

* A term applied to men kept at the store altering goods, refitting, etc.

Cheaper quality —

Double-breasted surtout.....	\$9 50
Double-breasted sack overcoat.....	8 50
Single-breasted sack overcoat.....	8 00
Double-breasted spring surtout.....	9 00
Double-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	7 50
Single-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	7 50

UNDERSACKS.

Fine goods—

Double-breasted sack.....	7 50
Single-breasted sack.....	7 00

Cheaper quality —

Double-breasted sack.....	7 00
Single-breasted sack.....	6 50

EXTRAS ON COATS.

Try on dress, frock, or overcoats.....	1 00
Try on cutaway.....	75
Try on sack.....	50

Fly on all coats equal to double-breasted —

Fly behind.....	25
Silk or velvet facings to the waist.....	75
If to the bottom.....	1 00
Flaps per pair on frocks.....	25
Flat braid.....	75
Edges bound with cloth or velvet.....	1 25
Edges piped with cloth or velvet.....	1 50
Seams filled and stitched.....	1 00
Lapped seams on sack overcoat.....	75
Lapped seams on frock.....	1 00
Lapped seams on business coats.....	50
Interlined through body and back.....	50
Cuffs with holes.....	50
Cuffs without holes.....	30
Pockets over four, each.....	25
Bound facings.....	25

Notched facings equal to bound —

Neck pad.....	15
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PANTALOONS.

Doeskin, cloth, or beaver.....	2 50
All other goods.....	2 25

EXTRAS ON PANTS.

Broad falls.....	50
Lined through.....	25
Welt or lapped seams.....	25
Hip or watch pockets over one, each.....	25
Buttons on bottoms.....	15
Double straps on waistbands.....	25
Piping or cord on seams.....	50
Protectors on bottoms.....	10
If all around.....	25
Puffs.....	10

VESTS.

Double-breasted with lapels of cloth, beaver, tricots, meltons, velvets, Marseilles or all fine goods.....	\$2 75
Single-breasted with collar, same goods as above.....	2 25
Single-breasted without collar, same goods as above.....	2 00
Double-breasted with lapels, common goods.....	2 25
Single-breasted with or without collar C. G.....	1 75

EXTRAS.

Inside pockets, each.....	14
Pockets bound or braided.....	25
Try on vests.....	25
Fly in front.....	25
All pockets over four outside.....	25
Flap braid.....	35
Flaps per pair.....	25
Eyelet holes.....	15
Edges bound with cloth or velvet.....	25

All extras not mentioned herein shall be paid by the hour at 30c per hour.

The employer shall give a ticket with each job with price and extras. Bushelman's wages, 25c per hour.

We the undersigned agree to pay the above prices for custom work

ZIMMERMAN BROS.,	LAMFROM & DOCTER,
P. FRATTINGER,	BRENK BROS.,
JAMES LAWRIE & Co.,	BROOKE, REUTER & Co.,
ALOIS CASPER,	WOOD & NOTBOHM,
C. F. A. SCHULTZ,	CHAUNCEY SIMONDS & Co.,
HENRY SCHRAEGER,	P. HENRY REILLY & Co.,
J. J. REILLY & Co.,	J. GROLL,
STAMM & DIEDRICH,	MATT. KRAMER,
P. LEHMAN & Co.,	J. KLANN & BRO.,
WM. BOOTH,	LOUIS LACHMAN.
A. C. FELDT.	

The above scale is styled "first-class," and rates about 12½ per cent. higher than the "second-class" bill of prices, which is also inserted for comparison:

DRESS COATS OF CLOTHS, BEAVERS OR SMOOTH FACED GOODS.

Dress coat.....	\$9 25
Double-breasted frock.....	8 25
Single-breasted frock.....	7 12½

For Diagonals, Worsteds, Corkscrews and fine goods other than Cloths, Beavers and smooth faced Goods —

D. B frock, with or without binding.....	\$7 50
Single-breasted frock without binding.....	6 75
Single-breasted cutaway without binding.....	6 50

Cheaper Quality —

Double-breasted frock.....	7 00
Single-breasted frock.....	6 50
Single-breasted cutaway frock.....	5 75

OVERCOATS.

Fine Goods —

Double-breasted surtout.....	\$8 50
Double-breasted sack overcoat.....	7 50
Single-breasted sack overcoat.....	7 25
Double-breasted spring surtout.....	8 25
Double-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	6 75
Single-breasted sack overcoat.....	6 25

Cheaper Quality —

Double-breasted surtout.....	8 00
Double-breasted sack overcoat.....	7 00
Single-breasted sack overcoat.....	6 50
Double-breasted spring surtout.....	7 75
Double-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	6 25
Single-breasted spring sack overcoat.....	5 75

UNDERSACKS.

Fine Goods —

Double-breasted sack.....	6 25
Single-breasted sack.....	5 75

Cheaper Quality —

Double-breasted sack.....	5 75
Single-breasted sack.....	5 00

EXTRAS ON COATS.

Try on dress, frock or overcoats.....	1 00
Try on cutaway.....	75
Try on sack.....	50
Fly behind.....	25
Silk or velvet facings to the waist.....	50
If to the bottom.....	75
Flat braid.....	75
Edges bound with cloth or velvet.....	1 25
Edges piped with cloth or velvet.....	1 50
Cord edge.....	50
Seams felled and stitched.....	1 00
Lapped seams on sack overcoat.....	75
Lapped seams on frock overcoat.....	1 00
Lapped seams on business coats.....	50
Interlined through body and back.....	25
Cuffs with holes.....	50
Pockets over four, each.....	25
Bound facings.....	25
Notched facings, equal to bound.....	25
Neck pad.....	15

PANTALOONS.

Doeskin, cloth or beaver.....	2 00
All other goods.....	1 75

EXTRAS ON PANTS.

Broad falls.....	50
Buttons on bottoms.....	15
Double straps on waistbands.....	20
Piping or cord on seams.....	50
Lap seams.....	25

VESTS.

Double-breasted, with lapels of cloth, beaver, tricots, meltons, velvets, Marseilles or all fine goods.....	2 25
Single-breasted, with collar same goods as above.....	1 75
Double-breasted with lapels, common goods.....	1 75
Single-breasted without lapels, common goods.....	1 50
Four outside pockets allowed each extra.....	15
Double-breasted or single-breasted without lapels less.....	25

EXTRAS.

Try on vests.....	25
Fly in front.....	12
Flat braid.....	25
Flaps, per pair.....	25
Eyellet holes.....	15
Edges bound with cloth or velvet.....	25

All extras not mentioned herein shall be paid by the hour at 80 cents per hour.

The employer shall give a ticket with each job with price and extras.

Bushelman's wages 20 cents per hour.

Extras on pants pockets over four, 25 cents.

We, the undersigned, agree to pay the above prices for custom work:

CARL WAGNER,	GOTTSCHALK BROS.,
T. BELLERBECK & SON,	H. HACKENDAHL & SON,
M. BARTENFIELD,	C. Y. ELGETI,
H. ZOWEMEYER,	WM LUFISKY,
ALOIS VOITH,	G. J. HEALY,
H. VOELZKE & SON,	J. H. DATZEN,
ANTON REICH,	ANT. ZIMMER,
A. ANDERSON,	B. H. BORKHORST,
WM. SINDORF & Co.,	H. RETZMANN,
M. BENDER,	F. HARTUN
FRANK TROCK,	J. A. JRASG.
S. FRIED,	AUGUST U
JOS. BEARMAN,	A. PFEIL,
AUG. SCHVEGL & SON,	J. V. SCHMITT,
V. PIETROWSKI,	ARION LEONDORF,
FRANK GUTZMER,	W. NEMECEIK,
H. A. WINKLER,	H. LANGE,
CHARLES REDLINE,	A. HIRTRITER,
NEIL KENNY,	J. WILD BROS.,
HERMAN KLOEHN,	MORRIS MANASSE,
A. NEUMANN,	A. SIEFERT,
W. A. HOGEN,	J. G. KRAUS,
J. GASTNER & SON,	JOSEPH MEIS & SON,
JOSEPH WISCHNEBSKI,	L. BAUR,
HARRY MARKS,	FREDRICH REINSTIN,
ISAAC SANDELS,	N. P. MADSEN,
PHILLIPH OTT,	H. EMERICH-SILVERSTONE,
L. BAUM,	LOUIS MANASSE,
F. LOEHNDORF.	

Since the adoption of the above scale the firm of John J. Reilly & Co. has withdrawn, asserting that the union is too dictatorial on the subject of employing women.

The trade in Milwaukee is chiefly followed by Germans, furnishing full-time employment about seven months of the year, at average wages of from \$15 to \$16 per week. During the remaining five months wages average from \$10 to \$12 per week.

The work is mostly done at home. A member of the union who takes jobs and contracts is allowed to employ one, and only one, woman. A male apprentice at the age of eighteen must join the union. Heavy penalties are attached to violations of all union laws and regulations.

In order to prevent outside tailors from coming to Milwaukee during the strike, the initiation fee of the union was raised from twenty-five cents to \$25; so a resident of Racine or Oshkosh was compelled to pay \$25 for the privilege of working at the tailor's trade in Milwaukee.

A member of the union stated to the Bureau, that while apparently union prices are maintained, as a matter of fact, many workmen, in order to secure steady employment, secretly "cut under," or pay "rebates."

THE SHOP TAILORS.

Immediately following the strike of journeymen custom tailors, a strike was instituted by the shop tailors, involving almost 2,000 persons.

Shop tailors are those who receive the material already cut and laid out, from wholesale clothiers, or from retail dealers in ready-made clothing.

No less than 1,500 women and girls find employment at this particular branch, many families running three or four sewing machines. A number of shops, equipped with from twelve to twenty machines, and employing as many girls and about one-fifth that number of men for finishing the work, also exist.

The trade had become quite poor within the last ten years, the price paid for work having been reduced during that time, almost 30 per cent. Besides, a good deal more work, in the shape of trimming, pockets, etc., is now required at the reduced remuneration.

A sewing machine, now-a-days, is considered quite a good

investment for unfortunate widows and women thrown upon their own resources, for, low as the earnings may be, it enables them to remain at home, and earn even more than by other work.

As \$3.00 to \$4.00 per week with a sewing machine is in many cases considered a great assistance to an unfortunate family, many suffered keenly during the protracted strike. After six weeks of obstinate resistance on both sides, work was resumed on slightly improved terms—a gain of about 10 per cent. in wages.

A feature of the strike was that at no time would employers treat with any committees, always offering, however, to deal with their own employees.

The union organized just previous to the strike numbered about 400 members. The women and girls employed by them also organized, about one-half forming a union, and the other half an assembly of the Knights of Labor.

THE CLOTHING CUTTERS.

The cutters employed in the wholesale clothing houses of Milwaukee, to the number of about 100, struck for eight hours per day, without reduction of pay on April 12. This action precipitated the strike of shop tailors, as the latter are dependent on the former for material. The strike was lost after three weeks; but Saturday afternoon is now allowed as a half-holiday, without reduction of pay. No efforts were made by employers to fill the places of the strikers with men from other cities, except by the insertion of advertisements in the daily papers.

The journeymen tailors of Eau Claire formed a union, at the time of the strike of their Milwaukee brethren, and were also successful in gaining an advance of about 25 per cent. in wages. The employers three months afterward informed the Bureau, that they were obliged to accede to the demand at the time of the strike, but that it will be impossible to maintain the wages very long.

THE SHOEMAKERS.

Quite an extensive strike of shoemakers employed in the factories of Milwaukee was inaugurated on February 24, 1886. This trade is represented in Milwaukee by eight factories, employing in the aggregate about 900 men, boys and girls.

It appears that the constant introduction of new machinery has for a number of years caused a new difficulty to arise, which, since trade organizations became so numerous is easily discovered by the workingmen affected—namely, the inequality of wages.

Strikes on that account are quite frequent. In this case it appears that at the largest factory in the city, that of Bradley & Metcalf, the wages were satisfactory to the Shoemakers' Assembly, Knights of Labor, to which all, or nearly all, the journeymen belonged, and that there was a wide range of pay for certain classes of work in the other seven factories.

The union, or assembly, therefore, at its meeting on February 16, adopted a price-list based on the wages paid in the Bradley & Metcalf factory, and presented it to the other factories.

The firms affected were Beals, Torrey & Co., Atkins, Ogden & Co., F. Mayer Boot and Shoe Co., F. T. Neubert & Co., The Page Shoe Co., and Amazeen & Healy. The firm of O. D. Bjorkquist & Son was exempt from the demands of the scale, because no machine work is done in their factory.

The manufacturers all refusing to sign the scale as submitted, about 400 employes quietly left their work at noon on the 24th of February.

The strike throughout was conducted very quietly, but with determination, all matters being left in the hands of an executive committee of the assembly.

The advance demanded did not exceed 8 or 10 per cent., which the employers did not much object to; but they insisted that the scale should be submitted to Bradley & Metcalf as well, claiming that to exclude these was an unfair discrimination.

The executive committee insisted that it was the scale in force in Bradley & Metcalf's, to remain good until January 1, 1887, and that the same conditions should extend to all.

After many conferences and a good deal of wrangling, manufacturers one by one gave in, and signed the scale exactly as submitted by the employes, until on March 10, just two weeks after the "walk-out" all manufacturers had signed. This bill of prices is to remain in force until January 1, 1887. If any alteration is demanded on either side, notice must be given on December 15, 1886.

SHOE LASTING.

	Per Pair.
<i>Kid—</i>	
Women's plain toe button and polish.....	06½
Women's ties, low button and slippers.....	05½
Misses' plain toe.....	05½
Misses' ties, low button and slippers.....	05
Child's and infants'.....	04½
<i>Goat —</i>	
Women's plain, toe button and polish	05½
Women's ties, low button and slippers... ..	04½
Misses' plain toe.....	04½
Misses' ties, low button and slippers.....	04
Child's and infants	04
<i>Grain —</i>	
Women's plain toe, button and polish.....	04½
Women's ties, low buttons and slippers.....	04
Misses' plain toe.....	04
Misses' ties, low button and slippers.....	04
Child's and infants'.....	03½
<i>Men's Boys' and Youths' —</i>	
Men's Calf.....	08
Men's calf low shoes.....	08
Men's grain and splits.....	07
Men's grain and splits, low shoes.....	06
Men's grain slippers.....	04
Boys' calf.....	07
Boys' grain.....	06
Youths' calf.....	05
Youths' grain.....	04½
<i>Extras —</i>	
Stockings or laying soles.....	01
Box toes.....	01
Sole leather or rawhide tips.....	01
Soft box and other tips.....	00½
All samples and single pairs.....	03

BOOT LASTING AND PEGGING.

Per Dozen.	Lasting. Pegging.	
Men's river boots.....	\$1 40	\$1 15
Men's river shoes.....	1 25	1 15
Men's best calf boots.....	1 10	75
Men's B. calf boots	1 00	65
Men's veal calf boots.....	90	60
Men's split-back calf boots.....	90	65

<i>Per Dozen.</i>	<i>Lasting.</i>	<i>Pegging.</i>
Men's veal kip boots.....	90	60
Men's French kip boots.....	95	60
Men's miner's boots.....	85	2 25
Men's stoga boots.....	85	65
Men's stoga split boots.....	85	60
Men's fine split boots.....	90	60
Men's former's grain boots.....	85	60
Men's Eureka grain boots.....	85	60
Men's Eureka tap sole boots.....	1 00	85
Men's plow boots and shoes.....	75	50
Men's drover's boots.....	85	60
Men's drover's boots, tap sole.....	1 00	85
Men's riding boots.....	1 00	75
Boys' boots.....	75	50
Men's kip shoes, Balmorals.....	80	60
Men's grain, Balmorals, cap toe.....	96	...
Men's calf Oxfords.....	85	60
Men's grain Oxfords.....	75	50
Women's pegged Bats. and Balmorals.....	66	50
Misses' pegged Bats. and Balmorals.....	66	45

MACHINE WORK.

<i>Sewing on McKay Machine —</i>	<i>* Per Doz.</i>
Men's shoes.....	12
Women's, Misses', Children's and Infants'.....	10
<i>Standard Screw —</i>	
Men's.....	16
Women's, Misses', Boys' and Youths'.....	12
Children's and Infants'.....	10
<i>Leveling —</i>	
Machine sewed, men's.....	12
Machine sewed, by hand.....	24
Machine sewed, women's, misses', children's and infants'.....	10
Standard screw, men's.....	10
Standard screw, women's, misses', children's and infants'.....	08
<i>Edge Trimming and Edge Setting —</i>	
Men's welt all round.....	36
Men's fair stitch.....	30
Men's calf shoes.....	24
Men's common and boys'.....	18
Youths'.....	15
Women's kid and goat.....	18
Misses' kid and goat.....	15
Children's kid, goat and grain and misses' grain.....	12
Women's grain.....	15
All slippers.....	12
<i>Heeling on Woodlaw Machine —</i>	
Price same as edge trimming, excepting fair stitch work.....	24
<i>On National Heeler —</i>	
Men's.....	18
All others.....	12
<i>Heel Trimming and Heel Burnishing with Scouring —</i>	
Men's welt, all round.....	30
Men's fair stitch and calf shoes.....	24
Men's common and boys' shoes.....	18
Youths'.....	15
Women's kid and goat.....	18
Misses' kid and goat.....	15
Children's kid, goat and grain and misses' grain.....	12
Women's grain.....	15
All slippers.....	12

Extras —

Driving brass nails in top lift	08
Slugging heels.....	06
Nailing heel seats, standard screw, men's.....	06
Nailing heel seats, standard screw — all others.....	04
Nailing heel, seats by hand.....	06
Tacking on rans.....	06
All single pairs and samples, men's.....	01
All single pairs and samples — all others.....	00½

This list does not apply to men now employed by the week.

Under this scale, which applies to piece-work only, the men were enabled to earn from \$15 to \$18 per week on an average, after deducting the wages of a boy employed as helper, who earns from \$3.50 to \$5 per week.

Shoemakers, however, are subject to what they call dull and busy seasons. The latter, it is said, lasts about four months in each year, while in the month of January, or from December 15 to January 15, factories generally shut down. During the dull season the operator may not be able to earn over \$10 a week, although he puts in all his time, keeping in readiness for work as it may come in.

A good deal of female labor is employed in shoe factories, at sewing, buttoning, etc., at wages varying from \$3.50 to \$5.50 per week.

Officers of the Bureau visiting one of the factories employing over one hundred girls, noted that a number of them were singing, showing that the work is not unpleasant nor the conditions surrounding them unacceptable.

On July 21, 1886, a controversy sprung up between the Knights of Labor and the firm of Atkins, Ogden & Co., the former claiming that a certain provision of the basis of settlement of the March strike had been violated. Seventy employes were called out, and remained out for a week, when the trouble was amicably settled.

It appears that one of the firm's men doing a certain class of work under contract and hiring his own help, being in need of another hand, went into a neighboring factory in the middle of the day and middle of the week to hire the needed workman. To this method Atkins, Ogden & Co. objected,

and demanded that the new man should give his former employer reasonable notice before going to work in their factory.

About the middle of September, 1885, forty sewing girls in Bradley & Metcalf's factory struck against the forewoman. The superintendent stated to the Bureau that the cause of the difficulty was a matter of jealousy on the part of a few girls who managed to arouse the jealousy of the others. The matter was treated lightly, the girls apparently being anxious for a few holidays and an excursion on Lake Michigan. After three or four days all returned to work on the old conditions but two, who were debarred because of their predeliction to stir up trouble.

At Fond du Lac — About twenty lasters employed at the Stickney shoe factory, Fond du Lac, struck on Feb. 11, 1886, owing to a disagreement with one of the foremen. The difficulty was overcome in two or three days. The firm in replying to the inquiry for particulars, by the Bureau, said: "It was a very light attack of the prevailing epidemic."

At Neenah — A very unimportant strike occurred at the factory of the Neenah Boot and Shoe Factory on Aug. 15, 1885. In answer to inquiries for particulars the firm replied: "Our so-called strike did not amount to anything, except to inconvenience us for three or four days. They are all at work again."

THE COOPERS.

About February 15, 1886, a strike occurred at the large cooper shop of Joseph Fixter, Milwaukee, involving about eighty men. The strike was caused by a proposed reduction of five cents per barrel, equivalent to 15 per cent. in wages.

The men not only refused to accept the reduction, but demanded that Knights of Labor only, be employed. After three weeks the men gained their points.

Coopering, of late years, has become much demoralized. It is said that brewers, at one time compelled many of their

coopers to start beer saloons, wherever they thought the cooper's homestead offered a favorable stand.

This, of course, compelled many of these *quasi* saloon-keepers to start small cooper shops in connection with their saloons, and it is of these one-man shops that regular journeymen mostly complain, because the proprietors of them care for no hours. They may be found working early in the morning, late at night, Sunday mornings and at almost any time. This, especially is what breaks wages down. But as the trade does not furnish work the year around, it is only natural that individuals should try to get as big a share of it as possible.

The trade was subsequently considerably affected by the eight-hour movement, and its thorough organization resulted in a decided increase of wages.

Philip Goerres, a manufacturing cooper, 514 Fifteenth St., Milwaukee, in answer to inquiries, furnished the following information to the Bureau:

I have brought my time book along, that you may judge for yourself that an average journeyman, on making full time, is able to make at least \$12.50 per week. The work is all done by the piece. All employers throughout the city are now paying 45 cents for a one-eighth barrel, 60 cents for a quarter barrel, and eighty cents for a half barrel. This is five cents per piece more than was paid previous to May 1, 1886.

There is a great difference in men; some will earn as much as \$18 per week, while others can not earn over \$12 on exactly the same class of work.

You notice the great difference in the earnings of these fifteen men? It is owing to "blue Monday." In this the journeyman coopers are a good deal like many cigarmakers, although it is not so bad as it used to be.

Look here, the same man that made \$18 last week, only made \$7.50 the present week — not because there was no work, but simply because he did not feel like working until Thursday.

Before the strike of last May the men were absolute owners of all waste material, which to each man is worth from \$25 to \$30 per year.

Since the strike, new shop rules have been established, and employers now own the waste. It is, however, never refused to the men whenever they ask for it; whereas, formerly, employers had to ask the men for waste shavings, etc. This waste saves quite an item of expense for fuel, especially during the summer months.

All of this relates to tight-barrel coopering. Flour barrels

have in a great measure been replaced by sacks, forcing many men to seek other employment.

At Menasha.—In 1885, a strike involving something of principle as well as wages, occurred amongst the coopers of Menasha. These men went out on a strike in the winter of 1884-5, almost immediately after organizing an assembly of Knights of Labor, demanding a reduction in the number of apprentices, weekly instead of monthly payments, and the nullification of an existing contract, of which the following is a copy:

MENASHA, Wis., 188..

This agreement, between Chas. R. Smith and the undersigned, an employe, witnesseth:

That said Chas. R. Smith will give two weeks' notice of any intended reduction in wages.

That each of said employes agrees to give said Charles R. Smith two weeks' notice of his intention to leave his employ, or of any demand for increase of wages; and further agrees that he will not engage in any strike for any advance in wages, or for any other purpose, while in said Smith's employ.

To secure the performance of above agreement, each of said employes, by his signature annexed, authorizes said Smith to retain \$20 from his wages.

The said money, in case of violation of above agreement on the part of said signer, to become the property of and be retained by said Charles R. Smith as a fine or a penalty, by agreement to aid in enforcing regulations.

As may be seen, this contract was signed by employes only; and while they were compelled to deposit \$20 each of their earnings as security, the employer deposited nothing—furnished no security to them.

In an address to the public, the coopers said:

We strike because, last winter when we were pushed to the wall for bread and butter, which are the absolute necessities of life, we were obliged to obtain work, and therefore we were compelled, before obtaining employment from the Wooden Ware Company, to sign the following contract. [Given above.]

The men furnish their own capital from four to five weeks, in the shape of wages owing to them, to the great disadvantage of themselves and their families, having to get credit at the stores, by which they have to pay from 10 to 20 per cent. more for their goods than where they pay cash. It is not more than right that we should receive our payment weekly, and derive the benefit of our hard-earned money.

We, as citizens, think it very unjust to put on a special police force, as we have offered no violence to any one, nor issued any threats or intimidation against any person or property, and as we have been peaceable, and intend to be peaceable citizens, and merit the respect of one and all.

All we ask from the company is to stop the excessive apprentice system, and to pay wages weekly, and to abolish the contract system, and to pay over to us money held back, belonging to the coopers, most of the time from four to five thousand dollars, and at no time less than \$1,500, to our great disadvantage.

The Coopers' Union invoked the power of this Bureau to aid them in collecting the penalty-money held back under the terms of the above contract, but no action was necessary, as Mr. Smith abolished the hated contracts, paid the men up in full, and granted weekly payment of wages. Since then everything has been running smoothly between Mr. Smith and his men, some of whom write that they now have little to complain of.

Mr. Smith furnishes the subjoined account of the matter:

As to the cause of the strike, I could learn from the men themselves that there was no real grievance whatever, but they were led to strike by a few hot-headed leaders, who thought it an excellent time to show their authority and dictate terms.

This assertion I am warranted in making, as at least three-fourths of the men themselves acknowledged they did not know at the time of going out what they were striking for, but were simply compelled to stop work by a few leaders.

The first thing asked by the men, represented by a committee, was that a few apprentices, all of whom had been taken by men voluntarily, be discharged. This I refused to do, as in no case had any man been asked to take an apprentice against his wish, and all of them at the time had been asked to learn the trade and taken in by the men themselves; this request was not granted, as the injustice of the demand was apparent, as a few of the men had been working three or four weeks, learning the trade, and of course making nothing themselves (as is the custom with apprentices for the first few weeks), but were nearly ready to begin work on their own account, and make wages for themselves.

Next, the men asked to be paid once a week instead of once a month, and that an agreement that a few of them had been asked to sign [given above] be annulled.

This agreement had never been enforced up to the time of the strike, and none of the men employed of late, that is, prior to the strike, had been asked to sign it; and at the time of the strike not more than one-third of the men employed had signed the contract.

No suits were begun, and such being the case, and thinking that all should certainly be treated alike, I destroyed all the contracts then in force.

In regard to weekly payment, I assured the men that I could not be forced to pay them once a week, and further, gave as my reasons, that men employed around here were accustomed to be paid monthly instead of weekly.

After remaining idle about three weeks, a committee of the men called upon me and signified their willingness to begin work, providing all, including those that had been foremost in the strike, be re-employed. To this I agreed, excepting one who was not only the leader in the disturbance, but who at different times had been detected in acts of dishonesty.

A committee called again and said they were not willing to go to work unless all, including the obnoxious one, was re-employed. This I emphatically told them I would not do, and, after waiting a day or two longer, the men concluded to go to work without taking back the man referred to, and did so.

I might add here that although the men went back to work expecting and thinking they would only be paid monthly, after they had been at work a few weeks I concluded to pay them weekly, wishing to show them that I could not be forced into matters of such a kind, that a good many employers felt kindly towards their employes and could be asked to make a change of this kind for the benefit of their men, but could not be forced into it. Since then I have paid them weekly.

KNITTERS, LA CROSSE.

A reduction of two cents per dozen led to a strike in the La Crosse Knitting Works, on March 29, 1886. The firm employs fifty-four females and six males, and claimed that they were paying two to three cents more per dozen than their competitors, and were forced to make the reduction.

The strike lasted just one week, when a compromise was made, the hands accepting a reduction of one cent per dozen.

THE LABORERS.

Strikes of common laborers have been less numerous than among other classes, although unskilled labor is compelled to live upon pretty small wages.

At Eau Claire — In the spring of 1885, a labor association was formed at Eau Claire comprising mostly men seeking employment on public improvements. The members of the organization were pledged to work for no less than \$1.50 per day instead of \$1.25.

The Pittsburgh Water and Gas Construction Company, then operating at Eau Claire, refused to accede to the demand, notwithstanding public sympathy was with the laborers. This led to more or less difficulty during the entire summer, and at one time threatened to result in a repetition of the riotous proceedings of 1881.

But the fact that Eau Claire is always overrun with unskilled laborers, was at last recognized, and the men sullenly submitted to the force of circumstances.

This surplus of laborers became so prominent that the common council, in the month of June, held a special meeting to consider a petition presented by 200 unemployed laborers, to advance funds for their transportation to the Canadian Pacific.

The laborers declare that this unfortunate state of affairs is owing to deceptive advertising of certain contractors in order to keep wages down.

At Menomonie—On September 24, 1885, about seventy-five shovelers employed on the water-works at Menomonie struck for an advance of twenty cents per day. They were receiving \$1.30. The contractors refused to accede to the demands, and the laborers claim that they were literally intimidated into submission by the appointment of several special police by the city marshal.

At Neenah—The laborers at work erecting the new paper-mill for the Kimberly-Clark Co., at Neenah, struck for higher wages on September 30, 1885, demanding \$1.50 instead of \$1.25. Demand was refused.

At Victory—About thirty miles south of La Crosse, on the line of the Burlington & Northern railroad, a small but riotous strike was occasioned by a dispute about pay between a few laborers and an engineer. The men were soon joined by others, and succeeded by driving other men from their work. When the party had increased to about sixty they began unhitching teams and frightening horses so as to cause them to run away. An overseer was assaulted, and a horse so injured that it had to be killed. This led to the arrest of eight of the strikers, which ended the strike.

At Milwaukee—The laborers employed at the Wisconsin Malleable Iron Works, Milwaukee, struck on March 1, 1886, for an increase of 25 per cent. in wages. They were receiving \$1 per day throughout the winter. After two hours of parleying the advance was granted.

At Duplainville—About fifty tracklayers employed on the new Wisconsin Central railway at Duplainville, near Waukesha, struck on Jan. 3, 1886, against a reduction of wages. No offers of settlement were made. The men left for home and their places were filled by new men within two days.

It is a matter of wonder that no more fatal disturbances occur among railroad laborers, as complaints frequently reach the Bureau that the questions of nationality lead to many unpleasant features. Especially is this the case where Irish are in the majority, and Germans or Polanders in the minority, and *vice-versa*. A sort of race jealousy seems to exist, and a system of petty harrassing carried on by throwing small stones or lumps of earth, spoiling lunches or overturning coffee-pails, etc., often result in general melees, or a leaving of the work on the part of the men in the minority.

But we may look for an improvement in these affairs, and by methods better than police protection. The fraternity established by the Knights of Labor is penetrating even this class of workmen, and a member of the order fears no violence of the kind described.

RACINE STRIKES.

A period of depression in business befell Racine in 1883, from which it has been rather slow in recovering. Wages at various times were cut down until they reached a point at which working men had a sharp struggle to live. This depression was felt the more seriously because Racine, with only 22,000 inhabitants, maintains nearly one hundred manufacturing establishments. That those of her people dependent upon their daily labor, who, in prosperous times succeeded in acquiring homesteads, but in many cases incumbered, are in difficult circumstances when overtaken

by seasons of depression, is but natural. That at the first dawn of returning business prosperity movements should be made with a view of regaining former wages is no less natural.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that more or less labor troubles should arise under such isolated conditions.

Complaints of loss of time were very numerous among the workmen, more so than of low wages. They seemed to realize the difficulties of the employers, as, well as their own condition.

When a demand for an increase of wages was made in Joseph Miller & Co.'s shoe factory, the works were closed. Mr. Miller said he would have no trouble, but went to Milwaukee and consulted the executive committee of Shoemakers' Assembly. Next day the committee went to Racine and settled the matter at once, Mr. Miller agreeing to pay the Milwaukee scale of wages.

Other gains were made by demands for a restoration of wages at the J. I. Case Threshing Machine Works, the Wagon and Carriage factory, and the Mitchell-Lewis Wagon Manufactory.

At Aschuler Bros.' overall factory the introduction of steam power and a reduction of 25 per cent. upon piece-work rates caused a strike of the women employes. After the fact was demonstrated that the introduction of steam power increased production so much that the former aggregate wages would not be reduced, the girls returned to work.

About fifteen moulders, headed by the foreman, struck at the works of the Hurlbut Manufacturing Company, on October, 12, 1885. The direct cause of the strike was a proposed reduction of working time from ten to nine hours per day, with corresponding reduction of wages.

The men, taking into consideration that machinery moulders in Milwaukee, only twenty-five miles distant, were receiving at least 35 per cent. more wages, refused the proposition. They insisted that no reduction of wages should be made. The company then offered to keep

on working full time at the same wages. The men had been receiving \$2 per day, and, thinking this an appropriate time, demanded an increase to \$2.25. The company thereupon discharged the men and tried to engage a new force from Milwaukee. In this they were unsuccessful, owing to the strength of the Brotherhood of Iron Moulders in the latter city.

A few days after the strike, representatives of the Bureau found the foundry in working order with the old force, with the exception of the foreman, who had been discharged for his participation in the strike, the firm holding that the relations between employers and foreman are of a confidential nature, and that "no man can serve two masters." The strike was compromised on a basis of a full-time day at the old wages.

The Racine Hardware Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of church, school and hall furniture, at Racine Junction, came very near precipitating a strike of its 250 employes in the fall of 1885.

The State Factory inspector, at the time of his visit, posted the factory laws throughout the building. Some of these laws appeared to be quite new to a majority of the employes, especially Section 1729, Revised Statutes, relating to hours of labor for mechanics and factory men, which says:

In all engagements to labor in any manufacturing or mechanical business, where there is no express contract to the contrary, a day's work shall consist of eight hours, and all engagements for contracts for labor in such cases shall be so construed. But this shall not apply to any contract for labor by the week, month or year.

The general discussion of the meaning of this law among the employes, which followed the posting of these placards, led the firm to prepare a paper waiving all claims under said law, and required every employe to sign the same. The first few to whom the paper was presented for signature readily complied, but suddenly the employes became alarmed, and the majority not only refused to sign, but those that had already signed withdrew their names. The firm insisted and closed their works for one or two days.

The employes held a general meeting and decided under no circumstances whatever to sign the document.

The firm soon receded, and the employes returned to work under the old conditions.

The trunk manufactory of M. M. Secor, employing about 85 men and 40 boys, did not escape the general disturbances the trade experienced throughout the state, for a strike lasting over three weeks was inaugurated on Feb. 11, 1886. The same remark as to the conditions of the trade in Milwaukee applies to Racine, as is shown in the proportion of boys to journeymen. Mr. Secor, in regard to the strike, reports to the Bureau, as follows:

It was all owing to the discharge of a man from my office who was a Knight of Labor, and who had called me a liar and a scoundrel to my face. It was not so much a question of an advance in wages; my men knew that as early as December, 1885, I had promised that on February 1 I would advance wages 15 per cent. I had had no trouble with my men for over four years; would not now, but for the man I just mentioned. Just to insult me he got all my men down on me, and I was threatened with a boycott in case I did not accede to the demands of the K. of L., which was an advance of 25 per cent. in wages, and the reinstatement of the offender. No arbitration was offered to me. I offered to arbitrate, but it was refused. After the boycott was ordered they accepted 20 per cent. advance. I understand that the boycott was not sent out of Racine by the K. of L., except by one individual member. The strike lasted over three weeks, and all that the men gained by it was an increase of 6 per cent. more than I had originally offered; but they will not be able to make up during the year the wages lost by idleness.

TURNERS' HELPERS.

A proposed reduction of 5 per cent. in the wages of turners employed at the Bolles Wooden Ware Co., Nicollet, caused a strike of about fifty boys employed as helpers on the lathes. The men had accepted the reduction, but the boys refused to bear any share of the reduction, and quit work on January 12, 1886. This action forced the men also out of employment, and the factory lay idle for about five days, when an amicable adjustment was arrived at.

OTHER STRIKES.

Various other small strikes have occurred within the state during the time covered by this report; but they proved to be so trifling in the number of persons involved, extent, duration, etc., that it is not deemed worth while to make special mention of them. Among them were strikes of boys in the National Knitting Works at Milwaukee; boys at Wisconsin Glass Works, Bay View; some grain trimmers at Milwaukee; log-drivers at Eagle River; twelve hod-carriers at Madison; same railroad laborers on Chicago & North-Western railway at Bay View, and the bus drivers at Madison.

The important strikes of May 1, 1886, are mentioned only under the title of "The Eight-Hour Movement."

VIEWS OF WORKINGMEN ON STRIKES.

Nailer, Bay View.—To strike is the laboring man's only power.

Printer, Milwaukee.— I have no faith in strikes, except in particular well-defined cases, such as non-payment of wages, for instance.

Machinist, Florence.— I am in favor of workingmen's unions, but consider strikes generally as intrusive and hurtful to personal liberty.

Marine engineer, Superior.— We have no trade unions here; but from what I can learn from the papers, I should think that strikes are generally started and kept up by a class of inferior workmen and loafers that get into the unions for that purpose. I think it is not right that a poor workman should compel a good one to go out on a strike to compel an advance of wages to the inferior workman. I think the better class of workmen should try arbitration before going on a strike.

Elevator man, Racine.— I do not believe in strikes except in extreme cases.

Laborer, Peshtigo.— I consider strikes of no benefit to workingmen.

Printer, Bay View.— Strikes are the only means of enforcing the workman's rights, and arbitration is a farce, and when men strike they should stand firm for their points; but they should not strike unless they are capable of carrying their points.

Currier, Milwaukee.— I do not believe in strikes. They involve a loss to both employer and employee. Whoever wins, it always proves a loss, and can not be made up any more.

Laborer, Peshtigo.— I do not believe in strikes, but I do believe in arbitration.

Machinist, Marinette.— I do not believe in strikes except as a means of last resort, and, when possible, instead of striking, to leave my situation finally and forever.

Laborer, Marinette.—I do not like strikes. I think when trouble can be settled by arbitration, it is by far the better way.

Carpenter, Peshtigo.— Strikes are no good and will seldom do good.

Feeder, Marinette.— I think trade unions are a very good thing, but I don't believe in strikes.

Printer, Madison.— I do not favor strikes only in very exceptional cases. Think arbitration the proper way of settling differences.

Paving cutter, Berlin.— Strikes I don't believe much in, as I think workmen have lost more than they have gained by them.

Puddler, Bay View.— Strikes are injurious both to employer and employe, but more so to the latter. I think if the employe would resort more to reasoning and moral suasion, that more good would be accomplished in the course of time.

Carpenter, Marinette.— I believe in trade unions, but as to strikes I believe they are wrong.

Rougher, Bay View.— A strike should never last over three months.

Stone dresser, Berlin.— Strikes are the worst means of redress.

Saw hammerer, La Crosse.— Approve of trade unions, oppose strikes; favor arbitration.

Laborer, Marinette.— I do not believe in strikes, as they put a stoppage to the employment of men dependent on their daily labor; and in many cases, strikes are the means of black-listing honest working men—a practice which is used extensively on the Menominee river.

Machinist, Bay View.— As to strikes, would say I am opposed to them as at present conducted. In my opinion no man can be idle without hurting some one else.

Sawyer, Superior.— I think trade unions are a good thing, but strikes are a poor thing; they are a poor thing and a great damage to the laboring men. I have seen strikes, but I never was in one. The law ought to put a stop to them as soon as they begin.

Lumber laborer, Peshtigo.— With regard to strikes, I believe that T. V. Powderly's idea is about right—strike only as a last resort, all other means having been tried. However, in extreme cases I think strikes are justifiable.

Puddler, Bay View.— Strikes are bad for both parties; but they are often forced on workingmen by unreasonable employers who get their millions in a few years.

Tailor, Milwaukee.— I say, make strikes impossible, somehow, because they have never done workingmen any permanent good.

Yardmaster, Janesville.— I am against strikes of all kinds; think it tends to create hard feeling between employers and employes, and in about nine cases out of ten the strikers are eventually supplanted by new men on the least provocation.

Carpenter, Neillsville.— Strikes that are not under control of a union, as a general thing, do the laborer more harm than good, as without it

strikers are without means of support. Such strikes, through labor unions, as in New York, lately, I consider fair, as there was nothing asked that was in excess, and it was conducted in an orderly way, and left to the officers of the union.

Upholsterer, La Crosse.— Strikes are a necessity where the employer fails to deal justly with the employes.

Painter, La Crosse.— Do not believe strikes are beneficial, as a rule.

Pattern-maker, Marinette.— My observation is that where anything has been gained through strikes, saloons where liquor is sold have reaped the benefits.

Cooper, La Crosse.— I think that strikes have been an injury to the coopers. I have been engaged in a great many strikes, but do not think we have been helped by it, for the very reason that so many transient coopers engage in strikes, and then do not stick long enough together to gain the day.

Machinist, Janesville.— Striking, as a general thing, is poor policy.

Machinist, Marinette.— I would not join a strike willingly.

Printer, Marinette.— Am opposed to strikes except in extreme cases, where all other means have failed, and then should think the matter over thoroughly in all its bearings before I would advise a strike; for in most cases they are more of a loss to the employe than the employer.

Printer, Milwaukee.— I have been in many strikes, and though in some instances we made temporary gains, I have observed that most of them were forced upon the union by "tourist" printers, who on the second or third day of the strike shake the dust of the city off their feet, and count the railroad ties between here and Chicago or Madison, but return to Milwaukee as soon as the troubles are settled. No more strikes for me if my vote can prevent it.

Two Carpenters, Milwaukee.— June 26.— Last year at this time not a carpenter was idle in the city. We have not done a thing now for four weeks. All on account of these damnable strikes. Have learned a good lesson.

From a Striker's Diary.— DEAR SIR: I like to answer your question in regard to strikes by a few pages from my diary of 1881, when I was engaged in a strike of twelve days' duration. I have never been on a strike since, and great things will have to happen before I go on a strike again at the dictation of others:

May 20, first day.— "Say, wife, I never felt better in my life. We are all on a strike." She could not believe it, that I should leave my employers, after working eleven years for them without the loss of a single day. She did not scold, however. She simply said nothing, as though she meant, "Well, husband, you ought to know what you are doing."

May 21, second day.— I made a fool of myself last night. I must have been drunk. My head aches. I talked too much; that accounts for it.

May 22, third day.— Last Saturday I had \$12 in my pocket; it's now only Monday, and I have but \$9.11 left. Fool!

May 23, fourth day.—“When you get down town will you order a cord of wood?” “Y-e-s.” I only sent up a quarter of a cord. One of us went back to work; the scoundrel! Well, we'll fix him.

May 24, fifth day.—The weather is raw. Policeman says: “Gentlemen, please move on.” John took my job.

May 25, sixth day.—I did not go down town to-day; I sawed some wood. I did not go down town because all my acquaintances annoy me by asking what the reason is for my walking the streets. They intimate that I'm a fool. Commence to believe it myself. I just got \$4.55 left.

May 26, seventh day.—I've been promised a job on June 1; only \$15 a week, though. I had \$18 before. Fool! Fool!!

May 27, eighth day.—Guess I better take the job for the time being, anyway. Better half an egg than an empty shell. Wish it was June 1. D—n fool I am.

May 28, ninth day.—“Papa, buy me a pair of shoes.” “And me, too, papa; look here!” Great God! My heart sinks into my shoes. My good little wife; all this time you have not yet reproached your foolish husband, but your shadowed face betrays your feelings. O, that I dared to speak!

May 29, tenth day.—Wife not a cent in her hands, and I but \$2 left. That's striking, is it? Not a dollar earned, but \$10 spent in a little over a week.

May 30, eleventh day.—I hate myself; I hate everybody; I hate the world. After all, it would have been better for me if I had not had such steady work; I might then have learned to save a little. I've made up my mind to one thing; I strike no more! Three of the fellows have already gone back to work. I like to call them cowards, and yet, they acted wiser than I. O, how humiliated I feel before my friends, to be obliged to go to work in another shop at \$3 per week less than I was getting. Fool!

May 31, twelfth day.—Thank God, I am going to work to-morrow. Wife's face brightens up. Better acknowledge it right here, that I made a fool of myself. This diary may get into my children's hands after I am dead, and the record may teach them a lesson. I shall advise every workman to beware of strikes.

SUMMARY OF STRIKES.

The following table is compiled from the returns of 2,000 employers to the Bureau, and contains no strikes or facts concerning them not given in those returns. It is not complete, but with the foregoing details collected by officers of the Bureau, practically covers the strikes in Wisconsin from January 1, 1885, to September 1, 1886:

SUMMARY

Business.	Location.	Date.	Cause.
Agricultural implements.	Appleton	March, '86	Discharge of one man.
Agricultural implements.	Racine	March, '86	For higher wages.
Hay tools.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Eight hours and more pay.
Bakers, crackers, etc.	Milwaukee	April, '86	More pay and less hours.
Bakers, crackers, etc.	Milwaukee	April, '86	For higher wages.
Boiler manufacturing.	Marinette	March, '86	For higher wages.
Boiler and pipe covering.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Eight-hour system.
Boots and shoes.	Milwaukee	Feb., '86	For 25 per cent. higher wages.
Boots and shoes.	Racine	March, '86	For higher wages.
Boots and shoes.	Milwaukee	Feb., '86	For higher rates on piece work.
Boots and shoes.	Neenah	Aug., '85	Against reduction of wages.
Boots and shoes.	Milwaukee	Feb., '86	Equalization of wages.
Boots and shoes.	Fond du Lac	Feb., '86	Against disliked superintendent.
Boots and shoes.	Janesville	Jan., '86	For higher wages.
Brewing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher wages.
Brewing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher wages.
Brewing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Compelled to strike by K. of L.
Brewing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Compelled to strike by K. of L.
Brewing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher wages.
Brewing.	Plymouth	April, '86	For higher wages.
Carriages and wagons.	Fond du Lac	May, '85	For higher wages.
Carriages and wagons.	Racine		For higher wages.
Cement and sewer pipes.	Racine	April, '86	Ten hours' pay, nine hours' work.
Cigars.	Milwaukee		For higher wages.
Cigars.	Milwaukee		For higher wages.
Clothing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher wages.
Clothing.	Milwaukee	April, '86	Cutters, 8 hrs.; tailors, more pay.
Clothing.	Milwaukee	April, '86	Cutters, 8 hrs.; tailors, more pay.
Clothing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.
Clothing.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher wages.
Coopers.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher wages.
Coopers.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher rates on piece work.
Coopers.	Menasha	Oct., '85	Weekly payment and no forfeits.
Contractor and builder.	Menasha	May, '86	Eight hours, at ten hours' pay.
Contractor and builder.	Menasha	May, '86	Eight hours, at ten hours' pay.
Founders and machinists.	Ahnapee	May, '86	Eight hours, at ten hours' pay.
Furniture.	Milwaukee	March, '86	Discharge of union man.
Furniture.	Milwaukee	April, '86	Eight hours, at ten hours' pay.
Furniture.	Milwaukee	April, '86	Eight hours, at ten hours' pay.
Glass.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Eight hours, at ten hours' pay.
Iron, steel and nails.	Milwaukee	Jan., '85	For higher wages.
Knit goods.	Milwaukee		Boys and engineer more pay.
Knit goods.	La Crosse	March, '86	Against reduction of piece rates.
Knit goods.	Milwaukee	March, '86	For higher wages.
Knit goods.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Eight-hour agitation.
Locksmith and bellhangers.	Milwaukee	May, '86	Eight hours, at ten hours' pay.
Linseed oil.	Milwaukee	May, '86	For higher wages.
Lumber.	Royalton	May, '85	For higher wages.
Lumber.	Marinette	Oct., '85	Help to institute strike in Michigan.
Lumber.	Menasha	Oct., '85	Help to institute strike in Michigan.
Lumber.	Hayward	May, '86	For ten hours' work.
Lumber.	Elisworth	April, '86	For higher wages.
Lumber.	Pineville	Jan., '85	Conditions of boarding house.
Lumber.	Turtle Lake	May, '86	For higher wages.
Lumber.	Colby	May, '86	Ten hours of work.
Lumber.	Abelman	May, '86	For higher wages.
Lumber.	Marinette	April, '86	More wages.
Sash, doors, and blinds.	Cedarburg	May, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.
Sash, doors, and blinds.	Milwaukee	April, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.

OF STRIKES.

Duration.	Won.	Lost.	Number of employes.	Loss in wages.	Gain of wages.
One day.		Yes	50		
One day.	Yes		132		15 per cent.
Ten days.	Partly		18	\$150 00	10 per cent.
One week.	Partly		83	175 00	About 25 per cent.
Two days.	Yes		80		Some lost, some gain'd
One hour.	Yes		8		25 cents per day.
February 22 to March 9	"Derision"	Yes	11	75	
Two weeks.	Yes		60	2,500 00	25 pr. ct more wages, &
One week.	Yes, except girls		210	2,500 00	35 per ct less work.
Two weeks.	Yes	Yes	112	700 00	10 per cent.
February 22 to March 9	Yes		42	413 00	10 to 20 per cent.
Thirteen days.		Yes	48	1,500 00	K. of L. schedule on
Nearly 5 mos.		Yes	60 to 75	200 00	piece work.
Two and one-half days.	Yes		71	4,000 00	Experience.
Two and one-half days.	Yes		385	2,375 00	Nothing.
Two days.	Yes		158	800 00	20 per cent.
Two days.	Yes		40	200 00	18 per cent.
Five days.	Yes		181		20 per cent.
Five days.	Yes		75	105 00	20 per cent.
One week.		Yes	35	275 00	\$10 per month to each
One day.			3		employe.
One day.	Yes		130	100 00	Nothing—tend Masons
Three days.	Yes	Yes	225	34 00	now.
May 30.	Partly		8	25 00	10 to 15c. per day.
Six weeks.	Partly		9		Nothing.
Six weeks.	Cutters	Tailors no.	25		16 per cent.
Five weeks.	Partly		37	860 12	10 per cent.
Ten days.	Yes		500	15,000 00	10 to 15 per cent.
Three weeks.	Yes		129	1,500 00	Cutters, five hours per
Two weeks.	Partly		300	Can't tell	wk. less at same pay
Two days.	Partly		44		10 per cent.
Two days.	Yes		6	270 00	10 to 25 per cent.
Two days.	Yes		28	150 00	10 per cent.
Two days.	Yes		75	4,000 00	10 to 25 cents per day.
Two days.	Partly		88	821 00	10 to 12½ per cent.
Two days.	Partly		34	500 00	8 per cent. about.
Two days.	Partly		4		10 per cent.
Two days.		Yes	11	20 00	Two more union men
Three weeks.		Yes	188	4,668 67	discharged and one
Two and one-half weeks.		Yes	110	2,500 00	K. of L. left.
Two days.	Yes		260		
Jan. 1, '85 to March 1, '86.			1,200	60,000 00	20 per cent.
One day.			250		
One week.	Compromise		60	125 00	
Ten days.	Yes		225		Places filled in 10 days.
One week.	Partly		200	500 00	
One week.	Partly		14	85 00	10 per cent.
Three weeks.	Yes		56		Nothing.
One-half day.	Yes		6)	20 00	Nothing.
Nine days.	Yes		400	2,000 00	Nothing.
One week.	Yes		200		
One day.	Yes		230	200 00	Nothing.
One week.	Yes		5	50 00	Nothing.
One day.	Yes		53		Few discharged.
Fifteen minutes.	Yes		60		Nothing.
One half day.	Yes		26	18 00	Nothing.
Two weeks.	Yes		9	30 00	Nothing.
One day.	Yes		100	10 00	Nothing.
One month.	Yes		71		Nothing.
Two weeks.	Yes		117	2,000 00	Nothing.

SUMMARY

Business.	Location.	Date.	Cause.
Sash, doors and blinds...	Milwaukee...	Jan. Feb., & March, '86.	See page 254.....
Sash, doors and blinds...	Milwaukee...	April, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.....
Sash, doors and blinds...	Milwaukee...	April, '86	Eight hours' work.....
Sewer pipe.....	Milwaukee...	May, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.....
Stove foundry.....	Neenah.....	Sept., '85	For higher wages.....
Stove foundry.....	Milwaukee...	April, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.....
Tanners.....	Milwaukee...	June, '86	Against reduction of wages.....
Tanners.....	Milwaukee...	.....	For higher wages.....
Tanners.....	Milwaukee...	May, '85	Against reduction of wages.....
Tanners.....	Milwaukee...	June, '86	Ten hours work should be resumed at 10 per cent. advance.....
Tanners.....	Milwaukee...	April, '86	Discharge of foreman.....
Tanners.....	Milwaukee...	May, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.....
Trunks.....	Milwaukee...	May, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.....
Trunks.....	Milwaukee...	May, '86	Eight hours at ten hours' pay.....
Wood working machinery	Berlin.....	Feb., '86	Extra time, one and one-half rates
Wire goods...	Racine.....	May, '86	For weekly payment.....
Woolen mills.....	Watertown...	'86	For higher wages.....
Trunks.....	Racine.....	.....	Discharge of K. of L.....

OF STRIKES. — Concluded.

Duration.	Won.	Lost.	Number of emp'oyes.	Loss in wages.	Gain of wages.
Three weeks...		Yes.....	300		About 12½ per cent.
Three weeks...		Yes.....	150	8,300 00	Nothing.
One week.....		Yes.....	83		Nothing.
Twenty five days.....		Yes.....	22	184 00	Nothing.
Six weeks.....		Yes.....	69	2,500 00	Nothing.
Two weeks.....	Yes.....	Yes.....	46	2,000 00	Nothing.
Three weeks...	Yes.....		100	400 00	Compromised.
One day.....	Yes.....		25		10 per cent.
One day.....	Yes.....		880	2,000 00	10 per cent. loss only.
One day.....	Yes.....		34		10 per cent. and ten hours' work.
One week.....	Yes.....	Yes.....	160	33 67	Nothing.
First, two w'ks, second, two weeks.....	Yes.....		105	1,000 00	10 per cent.
Fourteen days.	Yes.....	Yes.....	62	3,000 00	20 per cent.
One day.....		Yes.....	200		Nothing.
One day.....		Yes.....	34	21 00	Nothing.
One day.....		Yes.....	18	50 00	Nothing.
Three weeks...		Yes.....	16		Nothing.
Three weeks...		Yes.....	125		6 per cent.

PART VI.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

INCEPTION OF THE MOVEMENT IN WISCONSIN.

An agitation unlike anything recorded in the history of the industries of the world, convulsed the manufacturing centres of the United States during the early part of 1886. It was a movement to establish eight hours as a regular days' labor, and was to be brought about by agitation, combination and organization of the working classes in all the states of the union.*

Wisconsin in this campaign took a foremost part. The movement, however, was not new. As early as March, 1866, Wm. A. Prentiss, then a member of the board of councilors, and afterward mayor of Milwaukee, introduced a resolution declaring that eight hours should constitute a full days' labor for all men employed as day laborers by said city:

WHEREAS, The most distinguished and enlightened writers on the laws of health affirm this to be a fundamental truth, that in order to keep the human body in a healthy and vigorous condition at all times, it is necessary to be temperate in all things; and that a proper division of the twenty-four hours of each day should be made, so that portions thereof may be devoted to labor, intellectual and social improvements, and rest; and believing it to be the duty of the representatives of the people in all public bodies where the power exists to make such regulations as will tend to the amelioration of the condition of the laboring classes; and further believing that such division of time should be as follows: Eight hours devoted to labor, eight hours to intellectual and innocent social amusements, and eight hours to sleep; we do enact the following regulation in relation to the working hours of the employees of the city of Milwaukee:

Resolved, if the board of aldermen concur, That on and after the third Tuesday in April next, being the day on which the city officers and mem-

* See pp. 4 and 5 for eight-hour laws of Wisconsin.

bers of the common council enter upon the discharge of their duties for the ensuing fiscal year, eight hours' faithful labor shall be deemed and taken as a full day's work for each person employed by the city of Milwaukee or by the street commissioner of any of the wards thereof, *provided, however*; that this resolution shall not be operative where special agreements are made to labor a greater number of hours each day, nor in any of the several departments of the city government where the regulations of such department require more than eight hours each day to be devoted to the public service.

The resolution was referred to the proper committee, but never reported upon.

More agitation upon the eight-hour work day was had about two years later, in the shape of public meetings and the calling of speakers upon the subject, who came here principally from Chicago, in which city agitation was quite general, and also some speakers from Detroit. Labor organizations twenty years ago were in their infancy, and the agitation after a few months died out, not to be heard of in Wisconsin again until the Federation of the Trades, a body composed of delegates from trades assemblies of the United States and Canada, at its fourth annual convention, held at the city of Chicago during the month of October, 1884, adopted a resolution recommending all labor organizations "to so direct their laws that eight hours should constitute a legal day's work on and after May 1, 1886."

Allusion was made to this resolution in the first biennial report of this Bureau; little notice was taken of it in Wisconsin previous to Jan. 1, 1886.

On December, 1885, the fifth annual session of the Federation of Trades was held at Washington, D. C.

When the matter was again taken up, shortly after the session the secretary forwarded the following circular to labor organizations throughout the country:

PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY, 1886.

To the Officers and Members of all Trade and Labor Unions, and International, National, State and Central Organizations representing Trade and Labor Unions:

BRETHREN:—At the fourth annual session of the above-named Federation, held in Chicago, a resolution was adopted recommending all labor organizations to so direct their laws that eight hours should constitute a

legal day's work on and after May, 1886. At the fifth annual session, held December 8 to 11 inclusive, in Washington, D. C., I was directed to request you to report to the Legislative Committee, through me, on or before March, 1886, whether or not you have resolved to introduce the eight-hour workday, with the steps already taken to carry it into effect, your local and national strength, numerically and financially, an estimate of the number of non-union hands in your trade, and other information bearing upon the condition of your organization.

The Legislative Committee suggests that Unions intending to put the eight-hour day in operation ought first to endeavor to secure the acquiescence of employers by submitting for their signature some such compact as the following:

— AGREEMENT.—

Entered into between.....
and.....Union
.....hereby agree [or agrees] that
on and after May 1st, 1886, their [or his] establishment shall be
restricted in its working hours to eight per day.
.....Union hereby agrees not
to ask any increase on the present rate of wages until such a
time as the same is warranted by the condition of trade.
Signed this.....day of.....1886.
.....for the firm.
.....for the Union.

As you will observe, the question of the adoption of the eight-hour rule on May, 1886, was not hastily conceived, but has been under consideration for the past two years. While many workmen have discussed the eight-hour work-day, this is the first attempt on the part of organized labor to concentrate its efforts to bring about this most desirable result simultaneously or as nearly as possible on a fixed date.

In the name, then, of the Federation, I urge upon you the importance not only of making a thorough canvass of your trade, but also of doing all that you possibly can to arouse your members to a clear understanding of the urgent necessity for the establishment of the eight-hour rule. Do not let this opportunity pass by unheeded, but be up and act.

Yours Fraternally,

[SEAL.]

W. H. FOSTER,

Secretary.

The influence of the above circular was merely nominal. The Trades Assembly, a body composed of delegates from trades unions in Milwaukee, and the only one in the state, had long been on the wane. Internal dissensions, chiefly fostered by political actions and schemes, as well as financial reverses, had impaired its usefulness as a means of inter-communication between men of different trades; the

circular, therefore, was entirely disregarded. Here begins the second chapter of that unfortunate agitation, out of which, a few months afterward, grew such disastrous consequences.

Two local assemblies of the order of the Knights of Labor existed in Wisconsin in 1881. Numerically they were weak, and being secret, the innovation did not at that time become popular. Great stress was laid upon newspaper assertion, during the strike of the Brotherhood of Telegraphers in 1883, that they were backed by the Knights of Labor, reported then as being quite strong in the Eastern states.

The sudden termination of that strike, and its complete failure, caused a general disclaimer that the Knights of Labor had anything whatever to do with the cause. This fact brought the order in Wisconsin into disfavor, and the result was that its two assemblies went to pieces.

Suddenly, in 1885, reports from all parts of the country told of the enormous growth of the order, and before long renewed interest was awakened in Wisconsin, leading to the establishment of two or three local assemblies in Milwaukee. This was during the winter of 1885-6. A state organizer was appointed; local assemblies sprung up on every hand, and old trade organizations were abandoned, to join the more homogenous order of Knights, until within a very short period of time, it was claimed that no less than 30,000 people had joined its ranks in Wisconsin.

The preamble and declaration of principles is very broad, and the planks of its platform very numerous — twenty-two in all.

The twenty-first plank declares it to be the aim of the order, "To shorten the hours of labor, by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours."

Upon this very plank was the recruiting for members conducted, all statements to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Eight hours' work at ten hours' pay," became the watchword and the rallying-cry. All other planks were lost sight of. The charm was resistless.

This plan, it will be seen, is in direct conflict with that of the Federation of Trades, which made the honorable proposal

of accepting one-fifth less pay, for a one-fifth shorter work-day.

The agitation for shorter hours in the name of the Knights of Labor became so general, and at the same time such a palpable misconstruction of that part of the declaration of principles of the order, that Grand Master Workman Terrence V. Powderly, on March 26, 1886, caused a letter to be promulgated to all the assemblies in the world, in which, among other things in regard to this agitation, he says:

It is evident that our members are not properly instructed, else we would not find them passing resolutions approving of the action of our executive officers, in fixing the first of May as the day to strike for eight hours. The executive officers of the Knights of Labor have never fixed upon the first of May for a strike of any kind. Assemblies of the Knights of Labor must not strike for eight hours on May 1, under the impression that they are obeying orders from headquarters, for such an order was not and will not be given.

Neither employers nor employes are educated to the needs and necessities for the short-hour plan. If one branch of trade or one assembly is in such a condition, remember that there are many who are in total ignorance of the movement. Out of the 60,000,000 people in the United States and Canada, our order has possibly 300,000. Can we mould the sentiments of the millions in favor of the short-hour plan before May 1?

It is nonsense to think of it. Let us learn why our hours of labor should be reduced, and then teach others.

That part of the circular relating to the eight-hour agitation was not heeded, in Wisconsin, at least. New assemblies continued to be formed all over the state, with the eight-hour day foremost in view.

Another organization intended to help the agitation along was created about the middle of February, and called the "Eight-hour League." It was composed of three delegates from each assembly K. of L., and when the Central Labor Union was organized about a month later, its delegates were also admitted.

The purposes of the League were to take charge of and manage the eight-hour mass meetings by procuring speakers, renting halls, etc.

A secretary was appointed to see to the proper advertising of meetings, receiving shop reports, etc.

The League was very successful in its work, as was shown by the action of the common council of Milwaukee, which, at its session of March 16, adopted, with but one dissenting vote, an ordinance fixing a day's work at eight hours for all day-laborers working for the city.

The first great mass-meeting was held in the West Side Turn-Hall, at which no less than 3,000 persons were present. It was called for the purpose of influencing the various aldermen to favor the pending 8-hour resolution, and create a general 8-hour boom.

The action of the common council, in promptly passing the ordinance, gave renewed vigor to the agitation throughout the state, and helped it along more than any other agency; and from that very date it seemed that people had made up their minds that the eight-hour day was a too long-neglected necessity, and that May 1 would see its universal adoption, if not the millenium.

Another incident that contributed towards the agitation was the adoption of the eight-hour plan, without reduction of pay, by all the tobacco [not cigar] manufacturers of Milwaukee: F. F. Adams & Co., B. Leidersdorff & Co. and J. G. Flint, Jr.

The agitation permeated our entire social atmosphere. Skilled and unskilled laborers formed unions or assemblies. Men, and even women, contributed money and time to its promulgation. It was *the* topic of conversation in the shop, on the street, at the family table, at the bar, in the counting room, and the subject of numerous able sermons from the pulpit.

Columns upon columns in daily newspapers showed the varying phases of the movement in different sections of the country, and long editorials and literary contributions from learned men were given to the public from day to day. Everybody claimed to thoroughly understand the subject, and appeared prepared for its consummation. And yet, what do we see? The movement a complete failure, and everybody engaged in counting the cost!

As in other parts of the country, so in Wisconsin, the agitation was chiefly confined to the larger cities. In fact,

the *visible* agitation, by means of strikes, boycotts and riot, was entirely confined to Milwaukee. In Illinois its power was concentrated in Chicago. The "refusal to work more than eight hours per day" was therefore by no means so general as, previous to May 1, it was supposed it would be. At Marinette, Peshtigo and Oconto, in the northern part of the state, where the numerical strength of organized labor is next to that of Milwaukee, the people rejoiced in having their labor reduced to ten hours per day, instead of eleven, since the commencement of the new season; but no move was made for a further reduction of time to eight hours.

Unions and assemblies of the Knights of Labor are now found at Eau Claire, Racine, Oshkosh, Marinette, Appleton, Neenah, Bay View, Menasha, Sheboygan, Stoughton, Madison, Shawano, Fond du Lac, Black River Falls, Cedarburg, Janesville, La Crosse, Whitewater, and many other places. Milwaukee alone has forty-odd assemblies, and claims a membership of 10,000.

So far we have seen that the agitation for the eight-hour day virtually passed out of the hands of the Federation of Trades, its author, into the hands of the Knights of Labor, although as an organization it had not taken any *formal* official action on the subject that the public could see, Mr. Powderly's March circular preventing that.

Another element now claims attention. Until the eight-hour agitation became so general, the people at large were hardly aware of the existence in their midst of a class of "reformers" whose violent utterances and wholesale denunciation of society were absolutely startling.

These reformers, the more radical socialists and anarchists, though small in numbers, became obnoxious at public meetings of the workingmen by interrupting speakers and other unbecoming conduct. They waged war especially upon the Knights of Labor, charging ambiguousness of principles and denouncing the letter of Mr. Powderly as compromising and cowardly.

Strange to say, this socialistic-anarchist faction in the eight-hour movement succeeded in enlisting under its banner several trades, but especially many unskilled laborers.

The feeling between the two factions at one time was decidedly demonstrative and unpleasant.

It was a noticeable fact that the branch which had adopted the name of Central Labor Union, was composed mostly of foreign-born people, many of them new-comers and not citizens of the United States.

Their leader was one Paul Grottkau, editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, who came to Milwaukee a few days before from Chicago, where he had also been engaged in the publication of a socialistic sheet. Grottkau, through his paper, was bidding for the leadership of the masses in their grand move for less hours and more pay, which aroused Robert Schilling, state organizer of the Knights of Labor and editor of the *Volksblatt*, who was believed by some to be the only authorized leader of labor.

The animosity of these would-be leaders of two rival factions became exceedingly heated and demonstrative, so that toward the last the principal arguments heard in favor of eight hours were their criminations and recriminations, and angry denunciation of each other.

With the approach of May and the constantly increasing agitation, bordering on the enthusiasm of people just previous to a presidential election, it was but natural that the general attention and anxiety should be directed to the larger manufacturing establishments of the city. Foremost in this line stands the Reliance Works of Edw. P. Allis & Co. No less than 1,000 skilled mechanics, and from 300 to 400 unskilled laborers find employment in its numerous shops.

An assembly of K. of L., composed exclusively of men employed in these works, had been organized. It was named "Reliance Assembly" and numbered no less than 1,600 members on April 1.

It was decided that the question of "eight hours' work at ten hours' pay" in this establishment should be settled before May 1, if possible.

To do so was deemed necessary as a matter of propagandism. "This point gained, all smaller concerns will have to follow," reasoned the leaders, who had received no signs of encouragement since the passage of the eight-hour ordi-

nance and the adoption of the plan in the three tobacco factories.

On April 1, in accordance with the plan mentioned, the employes of Edw. P. Allis & Co. petitioned for the adoption of the eight-hour day, and a general increase of 25 per cent. in wages.

On April 3, the firm returned an exhaustive reply, touching upon all the points involved in the petition, declaring themselves ready to adopt the eight-hour plan but reserving the right to work two gangs of men whenever business required it; but declined to grant the demanded increase in wages. The reasons for the firm's action were fully set forth in a four-page circular printed under the individual authority of Mr. Allis, as head of the firm, a copy of which was handed to each employe.

The circular after treating upon the general conditions of the works as well as of its employes, contains a direct reply to the petition in the following language :

If I have made myself clear in this communication, it is that I am ready to adopt the eight-hour rule, either now, or at any other time that is desired by our employes, supplementing the individual shortening of hours by the employment of another set of men, and running sixteen hours whenever the state of trade would permit.

On the subject of wages, I am compelled to decline your request for a fixed and general advance until there comes some change, now unforeseen, in the state of our trade to warrant it, and when that comes it will be readily granted. It is due to yourselves and myself, however, to say that there are some minor changes and adjustments of wages which are contemplated, especially with the lower-priced, or common laborers, whose pay we think is proportionately less than others, and to whom a small advance will be made when the pending questions are settled.

Should your request be imperative at this time, it could have but one result in the present state of trade, and that would be the early closing of our works; for they can not run at the loss such advance would entail, and I shall enter into no contest with you. Should there be any feeling on your part that this advance should be made, irrespective of the general condition of the trade and country, it would be well for you to be seeking other places and occupations, for our works would be certainly closed as soon as the few existing and low-priced contracts could be completed, until the times and conditions would justify their re-opening.

The circular acted like a thunderbolt in the ranks of the more radical. Even at the meeting immediately following it was found that nearly two-thirds of the employes regarded the reasonings of the circular as unanswerable.

A committee of employes was appointed at that meeting, consisting of Thos. Lowe, H. N. Tucker, Jos. J. Haskins, Jas. Carmody, John Monroe, F. X. Savoie, Henry Claymier, and L. Lemke, Jr., to come to terms with Mr. Allis.

This committee on April 13, held a conference with Edward P. Allis and the general superintendent, Edwin Reynolds. At this conference the firm conceded an advance of 10 cents per day to the common laborers, who up to that date had been receiving \$1.25 per day. This advance, however, had been promised some time before, voluntarily.

The following settlement was agreed upon in reference to the skilled employes, signed by the committee for the employes and by Edward P. Allis and Edwin Reynolds for the firm, and the committee reported the same at the next meeting:

MILWAUKEE, April 13, 1886.— *To the Employes of Edw. P. Allis & Co.*— We, the undersigned, a committee of your number appointed at a general meeting of all the employes, held on Sunday, the 10th inst., to meet our employer and finally settle the question of wages and hours of labor, beg leave to report that we, this afternoon, met Mr. Edward P. Allis and the superintendent of the works, Mr. Edwin Reynolds, and after a general and lengthy discussion of the whole subject in all its bearings, unanimously adopted the following resolution as a final settlement of the whole matter:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this committee, duly appointed by a meeting of the employes of Edw. P. Allis & Co. to settle the question of wages and hours of labor, that the best interest of the Reliance Works, both for employes and for employer, is to accept the adjustment of wages outlined by Mr. Allis, viz.: a small advance to the common laborer and an equalization to some few men, who, in the opinion of our superintendent, Mr. Reynolds, are not now paid proportionately to others, and also that we continue until the 1st of November upon the ten-hour plan, unless the eight-hour plan shall be earlier generally adopted, with the option at that time of adopting the eight-hour plan and eight-hour pay at the rate of wages then prevailing, and that we continue under this arrangement till at least the 1st of May, 1887, with the assurance in the meantime that the rate of wages paid us shall be equal to that paid by other establishments of the same kind and competitors of these works, and we hereby adopt

the above plan for the employees of these works as a settlement of the question.

The report of the committee was the signal for a volley of abuse from the more radical faction. They accused the committee of double-dealing, of having compromised their comrades, and of having assumed an authority which had not been delegated to them.

The duties of the committee, it appears, had not been minutely defined, one faction holding that they constituted merely a conference committee, the other faction, including the committee, holding that the circular of the firm was a direct answer, that there was no occasion for a mere conference and that the final settlement of the matter had been left with them. The supporters of the committee carried the day, and seem to have been in the right.

Meanwhile, the dissatisfied portion, aided by outside influences, especially the Central Labor Union and certain members of the District Assembly K. of L., succeeded in working up a sufficient number of active dissenters to be entitled to call another meeting on Sunday, April 18.

At this meeting, at which only about 600 employees were present, and where the conservative employees were far in the minority, an address was read refuting the arguments contained in the Allis circular, as the out-come of a "damnable cut-throat policy" of employers generally. After the address was read, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the employees of Edw. P. Allis & Co. nullify the action of the committee appointed Sunday, April 11, in their agreement with Edw. P. Allis & Co.

This action created an intense feeling between the two factions throughout the shop, especially when it was reported that the "address" was written by a stranger in Milwaukee, a person not employed in the Allis shops nor engaged in that trade.

Henry Claymier, the chairman of the Eight-hour League, and at the same time a member of the committee signing the agreement, was made the especial object of the ill-will of the radical factions, not only in the shop, but throughout

the city. He wisely concluded to keep aloof from all further meetings, as well as from the works, until everything should be settled.

Mr. Claymier, a man of experience, sense and ability, claimed that he had been consistent in all his actions and unequivocal in his demands. His position in the matter had always been to strive for eight hours' work and eight hours' pay. Said he, to an officer of the Bureau: "I have grown gray as a union moulder, and now, at this late day, I have to learn that no matter how honest a man may be in his actions, he receives naught but blame."

The firm, not to be out done by this flank movement of the leaders of the meeting of April 18, resorted to strategy. A confidential letter was given to each employe, asking him to signify in writing whether he was willing to abide by the action of the committee. The result was satisfactory to the firm, and it was generally known that the works would not shut down on May 1.

This had a marked effect in determining the course of other employers and in settling the final result; for up to this time proprietors had said and done nothing—simply watched the movement with mute but austere interest.

All the excitement was with employes—on one side. Thinking men knew this foreboded defeat.

With great apprehension the people waited further developments, skirmishing, the while, going on along the line in the shape of strikes, demands and boycotts.

At last when May 1 dawned, with its hopes and fears, almost the only ones to really demand eight hours were those in the building trades, some socialists and anarchists and rude laborers.

That day, however, found about 7,000 people out of work in Milwaukee, classified as follows: shop tailors, 350; employes of shop tailors, 2,100; German journeymen bakers, 125; carpenters, joiners, cabinet makers and planing mill hands, 1,400; clothing cutters, 85; cigarmakers, 500; broom-makers, 100; slaughter house hands, 200; laborers, 1,500; brewers, 1,200.

Comparatively few of these, however, had struck for the

eight-hour day. The 1st of May falling on Saturday the strike was generally deferred until evening. The shop tailors had already been on a strike for three weeks for an increased scale of prices; the cutters were the first to demand the eight-hour day with ten-hours' wages; the 500 cigar makers had been locked out because the members of the International Union could not agree with the K. of L. assembly of cigarmakers; the bakers had struck for reasons described elsewhere; the 200 slaughter house men had been laid off in anticipation of difficulties, but had demanded shorter hours.

Thus analyzed, it appears that the demand for eight hours was not so general as had been expected. Subsequent events, however, increased the number of idle people in Milwaukee to about 16,000 during the first week of May, but of these, several thousand were forced to quit work by threats of violence on the part of others.

The further troubles, tumults, depredations and riot which followed, may in some measure be traced to the "demonstration" of the Central Labor Union, on Sunday, May 2. On the morning of that day a procession of about 2,500 men and six busses containing shop tailors, headed by red flags and numerous bands of music and drum corps, paraded the principal streets of Milwaukee, and marched to Milwaukee Garden, where a picnic was held. The participants imagined they were inaugurating the new eight-hour era, and all people in sympathy with the eight-hour movement were invited to fall into line.

The Central Labor Union is a body composed of sixty-four delegates of the following trades: Bookbinders, tailors and tailoresses, metal workers, bakers, custom shoemakers, custom tailors, plasterers, butchers, cigarmakers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, painters, hod-carriers, coal-shovelers, lumber-carriers and brick-yard laborers.

The men in line, sprinkled with socialists and anarchists, gave expression to their sentiments by displaying the following mottoes, some of them in the German language:

- "Right and law often differ materially from each other."
- "The idolators of the Golden Calf must be downed."
- "We ask for justice, not compassion."
- "The workingman does not beg, he demands."
- "Help yourself, then helps you God. Comprehend it, man, and end your suffering."
- "Where is the Eight-hour League? She works still for ten hours."
- "One cause of bad times: Stock gambling and speculation in general."
- "*Far better fight and die than live and be conquered.*"
- "The boycott is an American institution. One hundred years ago it was called embargo. Only the name is changed."
- "The fact that a wrong has been in use for centuries does not justify it."
- "The Republic shall have no ruler, not even King Mammon."
- "Co-operation must take the place of wage slavery."
- "The relation of the wageworkers to the employer is degrading. The wage system must go."
- "They used to call it over-production; now we shall consume some more."
- "Capital must come down from its high horse."
- "Eight hours! Our password¹ and battle-cry."
- "Humbug, your name is Robert." [Robert Schilling.]
- "The people consist of workmen; not of idling bondholders."
- "Work on day-time; guests at night.—Goethe. [*Tages Arbeit, Abends Gaste.*] The workmen are of the same opinion."
- "Where is Fritz, the father of the eight-hour ordinance? He reads *Der Herold*."
- "Political without economical freedom is a lie."
- "We have come to cross-roads. Honest workmen will follow the way. Mark the rats. Eight hours."
- "What we are fighting for: For the right to work."
- "The products of the country belong to the producers."
- "H. Segnitz & Co. and Louis Kindling are boycotted for running union shops and using the blue label."
- "Boycott all bread without the union label."
- "Boycott all bread of Oswald Jaeger, and Adolf Fienhold's pretzeln."
- "Capital is the product of labor; not its master."

Many of these mottoes were thrusts at leaders in the Knights of Labor, notwithstanding the fact that at least one-half the number of men in the procession were members of that order.

The flimsyness of all such costly display is best proven by the fact that by the middle of May all agitation had died

¹ The password also at the time, of a certain labor organization.

out; and the very men so defiant on that day were eager as hungry tigers to return to work on the old terms.

Whatever the grievances of labor may be—and they are many—the second sober thought of the American people repudiates and despises demonstrations of this sort.

On Monday, the 3d of May, the agitation took quite a different aspect. In eight out of nine of the Milwaukee breweries, employing over 1,300 men, work had been deserted. This, again, was not a strike for the eight-hour day, but for a general increase of \$10 per month, and 50 per cent. additional for all over-work, and double pay for Sunday work, the employers refusing the demand.

Gambrinus Assembly, Knights of Labor, was composed exclusively of brewery employees. Only those belonging to the order were permitted to work in the breweries.

The following table shows the classification of brewery employees, and the wages they were receiving previous to the first of May:

Wash-house hands			\$40 00 per month.
Cellar and brew-house men.....	\$45 00	to	50 00 per month.
Malt-house hands	45 00	to	50 00 per month.
Firemen	40 00	to	50 00 per month.
Teamsters.....			40 00 per month.
Peddlers	55 00	to	65 00 per month.
Coopers.			2 00 per day.

Upon this scale the employees had demanded a general increase of \$10 per month. On April 27, the employers submitted a compromise scale, as follows:

Wash-house hands.....			\$45 00 per month.
Cellar and brew-house men.....	\$50 00	to	55 00 per month.
Malt-house hands.....	55 00	to	60 00 per month.
Firemen	50 00	to	60 00 per month.
Teamsters.....			45 00 per month.
Peddlers	60 00	to	70 00 per month.
Coopers.....			2 25 per day.

The scale stipulated that these wages were to include unavoidable Sunday work, and other labor which had not been included theretofore.

The assembly rejected the scale, and ordered a general strike. The employees of the Falk brewery being satisfied with the increased wages offered, refused to strike. The assembly thereupon ordered all strikers to report at head-

quarters at 7 o'clock on Monday morning, May 3, when it was decided to march to the Falk brewery for the purpose of persuading or compelling the men to quit work. About 1,000 men were in line.

This new phase of the labor agitation alarmed the authorities as well as the people. No violence was used by the strikers, however. A committee was admitted to Falk's grounds to argue with the men at work, who persistently refused to join in the strike unless ordered so to do by the District Assembly.

To obtain this order appeared to be a very easy matter, for about noon a committee returned with the order and the Falk men also left their work; but after long protest. This ended that matter, for on the following day the larger breweries acceded to the demands of the men, and the smaller ones were obliged to do the same.

While this affair was going on, matters became decidedly worse elsewhere. Strikes, large and small, were reported every moment. Hod-carriers, plasterers, and painters demanded eight hours, in some cases with nine hours' pay, in others without reduction of wages. On the evening of May 3, at least 14,000 people were out of work.

In the afternoon of that day the first riotous proceeding took place, and the alarm became more and more general. A crowd of strikers, several hundred strong, mostly Polish laborers, surrounded the West Milwaukee railway shops, situated in the Menominee Valley, and by threats of violence wished to force the 1,400 men employed there to quit work. The sheriff and his deputies, who soon appeared upon the scene, succeeded after a good deal of parleying in persuading the employes to quietly leave the premises. Otherwise there would have been a terrible conflict.

The mob, encouraged by success, now wended its way to the city, compelling everybody along the route to cease working. The Reliance Works of E. P. Allis & Co., on the corner of Clinton and Fowler streets, were selected as the next object of attack. Here the mob met with considerable resistance. They were repulsed by streams of water turned

against them by employes while attempting to enter the large main door.

Mr. Allis, after consultation with Mayor Wallber, decided to close his works until the labor troubles should be over. From a card issued to the public the same evening, it appears that the mayor had been unable to guarantee sufficient protection against the threatened mob violence. Following is a copy of Mr. Allis' card:

To the Public:—By the advice of your mayor I closed my works to-night. About the middle of this afternoon a band of Polish laborers marched from the West Milwaukee shops (which they had closed) to my works, and with brandishing clubs endeavored to force an entrance. Although this mob of men with clubs marched directly before the eyes of the police at the south side station, who had been notified of their coming and of their purpose, not a policeman moved to keep them from the attack. They were met at the door by my employes, and by them alone driven back into the street, where, after a little while, they were taken in charge by the police and finally dispersed. As threats reached my ears that they would return to-morrow, largely reinforced, I visited the mayor and asked protection, suggesting that a sufficient number of guards be stationed inside the works to keep intruders out, and thus save all injury to persons and damages to property. After fully considering the matter, the mayor decided that I ought to close the works, and advised me to do so. In accordance with that advice, and the want of assurance of proper protection, my men were dismissed.

EDWARD P. ALLIS.

Instead of being compelled to close his works, Mr. Allis was clearly entitled, under sections 938 and 939, R. S., to keep them open and running, and could have demanded that the authorities "take all legal means to protect the property threatened or attacked." As the city or county is liable for whatever damage the mob may inflict, Mr. Allis adopted a very conservative course in closing his works.

Up to this time lawlessness and riotous proceedings had been confined to a few hundred Polish laborers.

Mr. Allis also issued a card to his employes in the following language:

I desire in this public manner to express to those of my employes who requested me to keep my works running in accordance with the settlement made with their committee, my sincere regrets at being, temporari-

ly, at least, unable to do so from threats of violence. I also wish here to heartily thank each and every one who, at my call, left the work they were quietly pursuing, and bravely guarded the entrance, and unaided drove back that mob of misguided men, who, with clubs and shouts, were seeking entrance. I feel that to their prompt and energetic action is due the preservation of the property, and what is of greater account, the avoidance of the bloodshed that might have followed a collision inside the works. Assuring you of my esteem,

EDW. P. ALLIS.

The condition of affairs in the city became more and more critical. Groups of men on street corners everywhere angrily discussed the situation, especially where such congregations were mixed with men of anarchistic tendencies.

Meanwhile the city and county authorities had notified Governor Rusk of the situation, and asked for a conference. His Excellency arrived the same evening accompanied by Adjutant-General C. P. Chapman and Col. Lewis, of the First Regiment W. N. G., and immediately went into consultation with Mayor Wallber, Sheriff Paschen and Chief of Police Ries.

Thus closed the evening upon the 3d of May. The labor troubles had now become so general that any branch of industry which was not affected was considered an exception.

The mob, in its wanderings, had succeeded in forcing to strike or quit work no less than 5,000 persons. Ladders were thrown from under people found working on buildings, and terror had taken possession of all engaged in out-door work. A man at work on the street was the signal for shouts of derision and threats of violence from the frenzied mob:

As early as 7 o'clock in the morning, on Tuesday, May 4, the same mob which had been repulsed the evening before in their attack on the Reliance Works, commenced to gather in the vicinity of St. Stanislaus Polish church, evidently bent upon a repetition of the attack.

Upon being informed by new comers that the works were shut down, it was decided to go through the valley and move upon the North Chicago Rolling Mills, situated at Bay View. Again every man was forced to quit work on the way to the mills. "On to the mills!" "Eight hours! Eight

hours!" "Everybody must strike!" were shouted along the march.

Excitement ran high, and was still greatly increased when the alarm bells commenced tolling and members of militia companies rushed to their armories. The military force had been called out.

The mob had surrounded the office of the Rolling Mill Company, and sent a committee to make their demands. Confusion reigned supreme. Speeches counselling moderation and warnings against violence were answered by derisive shouts. The Master Workman of the Polish Assembly of Knights of Labor, Mr. Bonsell, attempted to quiet the turbulent crowd, but to no purpose. His voice was drowned.

In a few moments the managers of the company answered that they could not comply with the demand for eight hours' work at full pay.

By this time the crowd numbered nearly 3,000 men, of which about 500 belonged to the original mob.

The arrival of the three companies of militia was the signal for a mighty yell of derision and a shower of stones and other missiles. The anger of the mob was greatly increased when, fifteen minutes after the coming of the first detachment of militia, the Kosciusko Guards, composed exclusively of Poles, arrived. This company, especially, was subjected to severe ill-treatment. Capt. Borchert was hit on the head by a rock, and other members of the company were insulted, pushed, crowded and injured.

This was more than the soldiers could bear, who turning upon their assailants, fired a volley in the air, in order to scare them. Its effect was salutatory, for those who had believed that the guns were only loaded with blank cartridges found that they were mistaken, and the people who had gathered out of curiosity went home. The matter was more serious than they had supposed. The mob element remained in the vicinity all day insulting and shouting at the militia, but offering no violence to the mills.

About 350 militiamen and fifty deputy sheriffs were stationed within the enclosures of the mills during the night.

While all this was going on at Bay View, a great crowd had gathered in the city. A mass meeting of laboring men had been called at Milwaukee Garden, which was attended by about 1,500 men, mostly members of the Central Labor Union. Paul Grottkau made a speech. After the meeting a mob of about 1,000 men marched to Brand & Co.'s stove works, on Sixth street, about eight blocks from the garden, and compelled the men at work to quit, though all were Knights of Labor and members of the Moulders' Union. The firm employs only union men and had just granted all the demands the employees made.

The men obeyed the mandate of the mob reluctantly and because they were numerically too weak to resist. On the promise that they would meet at Milwaukee Garden the next day, the crowd moved on, again compelling every one on the way to stop work. Some of them shouted "Now for the bakeries!" These men, mostly Germans, were not armed. This occurred about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and an hour later all went to their respective homes, deferring the raid on the bakeries until the following day. Four days of excitement had now been passed through.

During the day Mayor Wallber issued a proclamation, "calling upon all unlawful, disorderly or riotous assemblages of persons of every kind, upon the streets or other public places in the city, immediately to disperse and peaceably to return to their homes."

He also requested "citizens not to gather in crowds upon the streets or other public places in the city, but, as far as possible, to remain in and about their homes and several places of business, in order that the authorities may be unimpeded in their determination to protect the lives and property of citizens in this city."

A few hours later the mayor issued another proclamation:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, MILWAUKEE, May 4, 1886.

Information has been received at this office that the operation of manufacturing, workshops and other places of business has been interfered with, and men willing to work have been forced to quit and leave, and business places compelled to close in consequence. Such interference and conduct is an infringement upon the rights of all persons interested, and an unlaw-

ful menace to the peace of the city, and can not and will not be tolerated by the authorities. While the right of men to refuse to work, unless they and their employers can agree upon the terms of service, is recognized, yet, on the other hand, every man willing to work and every employer of such man is entitled to full protection, and shall receive it.

To that end, notice is hereby given that all assemblages of persons in large bodies upon the public streets of this city for any such unlawful purpose will be promptly dispersed, and no person or body of men will be permitted to molest, interfere with or disturb the industrial establishments in this city or any employe therein. All owners of such establishments are requested to notify the authorities of any such interference, and full protection shall be accorded to them.

EMIL WALLBER, *Mayor*.

These proclamations had a wholesome influence. Confidence in the supremacy of law was partially restored, at least far enough to enable manufacturers and contractors, including the Brand Stove Works, to resume business at once, knowing that they could now look to the county for protection or for any damage done by the mob. The Reliance Works, which had been closed to prevent a repetition of the occurrences of Monday, were opened to all, Mr. Allis issuing the following card to his employes:

By the authority of the mayor of the city, endorsed by the governor of the state, I hereby announce that my works will open at 7 o'clock this morning [May 5] and run until stopped by other than violent and illegal causes. I hereby offer to every one of my employes the opportunity to work with perfect immunity from danger or harm, and ask every one of them wishing to work to take his place with perfect confidence of protection. I appeal to you all to remember that this is not a question of wages or of hours of labor, but of human rights and of manhood — of my right to run my works and your right to sell me your time and labor. Our whole civilization and independence hangs upon these, our individual rights; and our magnificent city, by her executive, and our great and noble state of Wisconsin, by her governor, have promptly and nobly placed around us their invincible power for the preservation of these, our inalienable rights. I appeal to you — one and all — not for me, but for yourselves, your city, your state, your civilization and your manhood, to show your appreciation of this great gift of our city and our state, to our common manhood, and every man take his place and do his work, until the question is settled, that he owns himself.

When we have vindicated our right to live at all, by the settlement of this question, then if you have any complaints of wages or hours of labor,

bring them to me, and they will be fairly considered and acquiesced in or declined, and if we cannot agree, we will part like men; and if our works must close, it would be in peace and harmony, and not with throwing of stones and brandishing of clubs.

With the firm belief, from my knowledge of your high characters, that you will prove yourselves equal to this great emergency, believe me your friend.

EDW. P. ALLIS.

Notwithstanding this earnest appeal, comparatively few men returned to work within the first week after the occurrence of the trouble. The moulders in these shops, who number above seventy, decided to hold out for the eight-hour day; but, they, too, returned to work about the 17th of the month.

Not until the latter part of the month were the Reliance works operated to their full capacity; and all this owing to nothing more than the move of an insignificant mob upon them! Without that occurrence these works would not have been idle for a single day, unless the moulders had gone out in a body, which is doubtful.

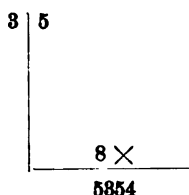
On the afternoon of May 5, the following, without signature of any kind, but purporting to be an order from the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, was issued:

Every Knight of Labor is hereby ordered by the executive board to keep away from all public meetings that are held at this time. Every member is ordered to wear a blue badge or ribbon as a token of peace and order. At the same time we request all Knights of Labor to remain at their work or at their homes, and in all cases assist the authorities in protecting life and property.

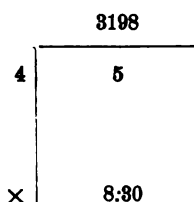
The order was mostly ignored. This fact does not mean that the Knights were not in favor of peace, but that the entire order can not or could not then be controlled.

More strikes and new troubles continued to be reported. Another mass meeting was called at Milwaukee Garden. Numerous groups of strikers were met on every street in the city. Fences, sidewalks and cellar-doors two weeks previous, and all through this time of excitement, bore chalk marks of a uniform design, which now became more numerous than ever. People wondered what they meant, feeling sure they conveyed intelligence of some kind concern-

ing the strike. This added materially to the universal alarm, many believing the mysterious characters to be the signal for inaugurating a general reign of butchery and destruction. These signs consisted of a horizontal and perpendicular line in this shape:



Occasionally a figure was met with reversed, and the numbers were often different, thus:



These figures had something to do with the question of the time, and were presumably written by the Knights of Labor; but they were not, as many suppose, appeals to disorder and riot, although drawn in the night.

On the day that Mr. Allis issued the foregoing card to his employes, the executive committee of the District Assembly, Knights of Labor, issued the following:

To the Milwaukee Assemblies, Knights of Labor:

The executive board earnestly requests all Knights of Labor to use their influence to support the authorities in the present crisis and to assist in every way in restoring peace and order in Milwaukee. The mayor's proclamation is earnestly endorsed and every good citizen should see that it is observed.

FRANK L. LUX,
D. A. SAUSE,
THEO. FRITZ,
BEN GARSIDE,
J. J. McNALLY,
Executive Board.

The Assembly of Knights of Labor at Bay View adopted the following resolutions on Tuesday evening, which were published on the following morning:

Resolved, That the Knights of Labor residing in Bay View and district, in special meeting assembled, hereby make the following proposition to the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company and the inhabitants of Bay View.

Resolved, That we hereby volunteer our services, should occasion arise, to act as special police for the protection of life and property.

Resolved, That we desire to place ourselves on record as Knights of Labor and citizens as determined by all means in our power, to support the authorities in vindication and defense of law and order; also,

Resolved, That as a condition of the foregoing promise the military be immediately withdrawn.

The Bay View Knights could have shown their sincerity very effectually by offering to co-operate with and assist the militia to preserve property and peace—for the soldiers were present for no other purpose. Policemen and soldiery are no menace or “insult” to order-loving and peaceable citizens.

On arrival of the militia on Tuesday, the mob doggedly left Bay View in little groups, but again gathered in the vicinity of St. Stanislaus church, on Wednesday morning, and wended their way back to Bay View, armed with sticks, knives, pistols and stones. This time they were about 1,000 strong.

An unearthly yell arose as the extensive works hove in sight. They expected the soldiers would again shoot high, in which case it would be an easy matter, perhaps, to rush in and disarm them.

Major Geo. P. Traeumer, who was in command of the militia, as soon as the mob had advanced to within about 1,000 yards, warned them by waving his hand not to approach. The warning was not heeded. Again the major motioned them to return and commandnd them for the third time to halt. Still they pressed on, and a moment later the command to fire was given.

Two companies discharged one volley each with terrible effect.

The mob now dispersed in hot haste and never returned

to destroy the rolling mills or any other property, or to utter threats that they would do so. The shooting, therefore, proved to be the tragic beginning of the speedy end of the Milwaukee riots.

Considerable disorderly demonstrations were indulged in during the afternoon by the participants at the mass meeting called at Milwaukee Garden, on the corner of Fourteenth and State streets, and it was necessary for the police and militia to disperse the crowd; but no fatalities marked the occasion.

In accordance with the previous day's threat, a crowd attempted to raid the bakeries, beginning with that of George Thuering, opposite the garden where the meeting was held. This attack had been anticipated and a squad of police met the rioters at the door and dispersed them.

By dusk peace and quiet reigned throughout the city.

Even the next day after the Bay View affair the reaction set in. The movement to establish the eight-hour system by forcible means was clearly a failure. A few employers, to prevent possible trouble, or by a complication of circumstances, temporarily established the new idea, only to return to the ten-hour day within a few days, and in some cases in a single day.

By the end of the first week of May all public agitation had died out. But for the arrest of a number of ringleaders in the various disturbances, but few signs of the agitation remained. People returned to work, and the last company of militia was withdrawn on May 13.

By the middle of May quiet was entirely restored, and work resumed in general, except at the North Chicago Rolling Mills, which did not fully resume until May 24. In this case the common laborers gained a slight advance in wages.

The West Milwaukee Railway shops were in full operation on the 10th, just a week after the men were forced to quit. The employes of these shops had petitioned for the eight-hour day, but after the riots they returned to their places without even asking for an answer from the company.

The Knights of Labor, to offset the socialistic demonstration of May 2, arranged a parade and picnic for Sunday,

May 23. About 5,000 members were in line, marching to the music of ten bands. The American flag only was carried. The mottoes carried in the procession expressed sentiments quite different from those displayed by the Central Labor Union. Following were the mottoes:

Labor is the superior of capital.— Lincoln.

The public lands the heritage of the people.

Worth, not wealth, the true standard of greatness.

The product of labor belongs to the producers.

Bureaus of labor statistics.

Sanitary legislation for labor.

Equality before the law.

Weekly payments in lawful money.

Organization.

Incorporation of labor.

No contracts for public work.

Arbitration.

Man, not money, shall rule the world.

The government shall buy and own all telegraphs, telephones and railroads.

No imported foreign labor.

No contracts for convict labor.

No child labor.

A graduated income tax.

No interest-bearing bonds.

A national monetary system.

Educate the ignorant; do not abuse them.

All men are born equal.

Ill fares the land to hast'ning ills a prey,

Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

Our aim: Elevate mankind.

Labor creates all wealth.

E pluribus unum.

No land monopoly.

One for all and all for one.

We shoot ballots, not bullets.

To the toilers belongs the victory.

Liberty, equality, fraternity.

We want to build up, not tear down.

When bad men combine, the good must associate.

Ever the right comes uppermost, ever is justice done.

Equal pay for equal work for both sexes.

The stars and stripes forever.

We buy from friends, not foes.

Labor creates all wealth.
An injury to one, the concern of all.
We purchase that which our brothers produce.
Government savings banks.
Co-operation, not wages.
No imported foreign labor.

Speeches of a peaceful character, and denunciatory of all violence, were made by several speakers; but boycotting was emphatically recommended and endorsed as a just and effectual weapon in the hands of labor. This particular and public indorsement of boycotting was made in spite of the fact that a boycotter had just been sent to the house of correction by Judge Mallory.

RESULTS.

This portion of the subject is approached with sorrow, for it is not such a record as one at all interested in the welfare — especially the advancement — of the burden-bearers of Wisconsin would care to place on record before the world.

Further, any attempt to give the results just as they are must, in the very nature of things, be futile. To the public eye, however, the most conspicuous result is the list made by the militia at Bay View of killed and wounded, which is as follows:

Michael Ruchalski, a laborer, aged 37 years, shot through the breast; died shortly afterward. He was a married man, living on Garden street, near the city limits. Left no children.

Franz Kunkel, aged 69 years, shot through the heart while feeding chickens in his yard. He was a laborer, living in a shanty on South Bay street. He left a wife and five children.

Johann Maszk, laborer, aged 24 years; shot through the bowels. Died a few hours afterward, at his home No. 700 Fourth avenue. He left a wife and one child.

Martin Jankowiak, laborer, aged 24 years; shot through the chest. Died two days later at his home, No. 768 Eighth avenue.

Albert Erdman, aged 19 years; shot through the abdomen. Lived at No. 675 Windlake avenue.

Casimir Dudek, of Seymour, Wisconsin, laborer, aged 30 years; shot in the left cheek and arm; half of his lower jaw was carried away by two bullets. He was not a resident of Milwaukee, yet he was marching along-

side the man carrying the red flag when wounded, as stated by the color-bearer at the coroner's inquest over one of the victims.

Frank Nowarczyk, aged 18 years; shot sideways through the upper abdomen. Died two or three days afterwards at his home, No. 485 Maple street.

John Osinski, aged 28 years, shot in right shoulder, while stooping down behind an embankment. He lived at No. 700 Grove street.

Fred Golbeck, section hand; shot through both thighs. Lived at No 696 Railroad street.

The coroner's jury returned the following verdict on the deaths of Frank Kunkel and Michael Ruchalski:

That the said Frank Kunkel and Michael Ruchalski came to their deaths on May 5, 1886, as follows: Frank Kunkel was accidentally killed in his own yard by a ball fired by the troops guarding the rolling-mills; while Michael Ruchalski was killed in the same manner, although we believe from the evidence that he was engaged in an unlawful act, acting with a mob advancing upon the rolling mill with a dangerous intent. We believe the mayor, officers and men of the Fourth Battalion did an unpleasant duty in firing upon the mob, and that the officers in command acted in a humane manner in ordering the firing to cease as soon as it became apparent that the advance of the mob came to a halt, thus saving many lives and thereby checking the violence of a dangerous element.

The Central Labor Union, which had been most active in precipitating the strikes, hardly gives any signs of life. The leader of it, Paul Grottkau, and some of his lieutenants, were made the subjects of inquiry by the grand jury on a charge of inciting a riot.

Following is Judge James A. Mallory's charge to this grand jury:

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:—The recent riot in this city has, in my judgment, made it necessary to impanel a grand jury for the purpose of investigating the causes and results of the riotous proceedings, and, more particularly, for the purpose of bringing all persons who have been guilty of violating the law of the state to speedy justice. It will be your duty to investigate, in a spirit of strict impartiality, every case which may be brought before you, and to return bills of indictment against all persons who are shown, by competent testimony, to have been implicated in the commission of any crime or misdemeanor. No person should be indicted for the commission of any offense unless such person was in some way, by word or deed, connected with its commission. It is not necessary that the person should have actually participated in the commission of the unlawful or criminal act to make him responsible for it, but every person

who counsels, hires, procures or incites others to the commission of any unlawful or criminal act, is equally guilty with those who actually perpetrated the act, though such person may not have been present at the time of the commission of the offense.

A riot is the tumultuous disturbance of the public peace by an unlawful assembly of three or more persons with an intent mutually to assist each other against any who shall oppose them in the execution of some private object. To constitute a riot it must appear that the assembly was accompanied with some such circumstances, either of actual force or violence, or at least having an apparent tendency thereto, as were calculated to inspire people with terror, such as being armed, making threatening speeches, turbulent gestures or the like.

An agreement between two or more persons wrongfully to injure or prejudice a third person or any body of men, as, for instance, a combination to injure a man in his trade or profession, is a conspiracy, and as such is an indictable offense. If, therefore, two or more persons conspire together for the purpose of boycotting a man, with intent to injure or destroy his business, they may be indicted for a conspiracy. In view of the later troubles now so prevalent throughout the country, I think it will be well for the grand jury to investigate carefully and fully the nature and character of the labor organizations which exist in our midst, with a view of ascertaining whether anything in any of their constitutions, or in any oath which any officer or member is required to take, binds officers or members to resort to violence or other unlawful means for the purpose of accomplishing the objects sought to be obtained. Any organization whose officers or members are so bound is an unlawful organization and liable to indictment.

A conspiracy to prevent by means of threats or other unlawful means an operative from obtaining employment in his business is indictable. It is also indictable to conspire to molest and obstruct workmen, with a view to induce them to leave their employment, and any labor organization having for its object the accomplishment of such purposes by such means is unlawful. Section 4,390 of the Revised Statutes, provides in substance as follows:

Any person who shall either verbally or by any printed communication maliciously threaten to do any injury to the person or property of another with intent to extort money, etc., or with intent to compel the person so threatened to do any act against his will, shall be punished by imprisonment in the state prison, etc.

I have heard rumors of acts having been committed in violation of this section.

I believe a vast majority of the people who came to this country from foreign lands were attracted by our free institutions, and came here for the honest purpose of accepting and sustaining them, and are here for the purpose of making peaceable homes for their children. But unfortunately for the cause of good government and the peace of society, persons of

another class, comparatively few in numbers, but of turbulent impulses and vicious tempers, have settled in different states of our Union who commenced from the moment they landed upon our shores to cry out against our government, and to advocate anarchy. These men, by their pernicious doctrines, have poisoned the minds of large numbers of our once contented and prosperous laboring people to an alarming extent, to the extent of causing riot and bloodshed, as well as general derangement of the business of the country, causing honest laborers to suffer more than any other class of our people. The men who by incendiary speeches and wild harrangues caused breaches of the peace, must be held to strict accountability. Our constitution does not protect any such freedom of speech. Our people have tolerated the reckless and criminal conduct of anarchists and demagogues quite too long. It is high time that courts and juries impartially but fearlessly use every lawful means to enforce obedience to law and punish offenders. Every citizen must be protected in the independent exercise of his rights, or we must admit that we have no government. Mob law should be tolerated no longer.

In response to the foregoing charge the jury brought in indictments against the following persons, charged with the offenses written after each name, the result of the trials or present status of the case being also indicated:

Frank Hirth.....	Riot and conspiracy.....	Nine months' hard labor.
Carl Simon.....	Riot and conspiracy.....	Nine months' hard labor.
Anton Palm.....	Riot and conspiracy.....	Nine months' hard labor.
Charles Bauer.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	\$150 and costs.
Henry Dampf....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Six months' hard labor,
Paul Grottkau....	Riot and conspiracy.....	Case pending.
Albert Moessinger	Riot and conspiracy.....	Case pending.
Karl Hussfeldt...	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
John Gabrielski..	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Jos. Woiczehowski	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Albert Hofer.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Wm. Strehlow....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Henry Gastell....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
John Runge.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Ferdin'd Luppnow	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Anton Heiber....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Albert Piepenberg	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
August Gertz....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Frank Datar.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Ludwig Kroeger..	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Stephen Rozga....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
John Dolnig.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Jos. Andrzejewski.	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
John Ady.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
Jno. Skrzypczinski	Riot and unlawful assembly	Case pending.
John Protzmann..	Riot and unlawful assembly	Six months' hard labor.
Herman Lampel..	Riot and unlawful assembly	Acquitted.
Robert Schilling..	Threatening communication	Jury disagreed.
Robert Schilling..	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
John Thomas.....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.

Fred Tschientschy	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Frank Lux.....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Gustav Richter...	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Fred W. Bock....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
John Seeger.....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Henry Vogt.....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Wm. F. Schroeder.	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Benj. Garside....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Charles Kuhn....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Jas. J. McNally...	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Aug. W. Baumbach	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
John Goudek.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Not tried.
Jacob Datka.....	Riot and unlawful assembly	Not tried.
Andrew Boncel...	Riot and unlawful assembly	Not tried.
Henry Vogt.....	Intimidating witness and conspiracy	Not tried.
Moritz Herling...	Intimidating witness and conspiracy	Not tried,
Gustav Richter...	Intimidating witness and conspiracy	Not tried.
Julius Kretschmer	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Henry Wiese.....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.
Wm. Teichert....	Conspiracy (boycotting)...	Not tried.

In passing sentence, July 19, Judge Sloan¹ said:

The question of the punishment of these men has worried me a great deal. I have had some doubts whether they are really anarchists or cranks who think it cunning to talk. I was sorry to see one thing — that some threats had been made by friends against Judge Mallory, jurors, attorneys and others, since these men were convicted. I don't believe officers can be intimidated by threats of violence. I don't know that any of these defendants are responsible for these threats. The moral effect of these trials will do good. The amount of punishment is of little consequence. These men must learn that the laws of the country will be enforced. Whatever is wrong in society must be remedied in peaceful ways. These men have but little idea of the intense feeling in the rural districts against their doctrines of the division of property, etc. They have an idea that the police are particularly hostile to them. The laboring man who can go to a home of his own is a capitalist; and this idea that the financial wrongs in society can be remedied by violence is ridiculous.

The extreme penalty for the offense is one year at hard labor. The judge, taking into consideration that the prisoners had already spent over two months in the county jail, and the fact that the jury had recommended them to the mercy of the court, sentenced each of them to nine months.

¹Although the cases began under Judge Mallory, affidavits of prejudice were filed which resulted in calling A. Scott Sloan, of Beaver Dam, to Milwaukee to try them.

Summing up all the facts, it may be safely stated that no benefits whatever have been derived from the agitation by any class of workingmen.

Business to-day is conducted upon the old plan of ten-hours' work, although in a very few instances employers, through force of temporary circumstances, were obliged to compromise on ten hours' pay for nine hours' work.

Even the common council of Milwaukee has repealed the eight-hour ordinance, so auspiciously adopted on March 15, and which had so much influence in promoting the general agitation.

The bricklayers and masons, the only trades that were successful in enforcing their demands, had, since May 1, been working at the rate of 37½ cents per hour; but on July 1, contractors demanded a return to the ten-hour system without reduction in the rate per hour of wages, and the men struck. [See chapter on Strikes.] After holding out for a time many strikers left the city and found employment elsewhere under the ten-hour system and that too, frequently, at lesser wages.

The workingmen, that is, those who took part in the movement, paid the expenses of this costly agitation.

Should not the cost of organization of assemblies and unions, the holding of mass meetings in expensive hired halls, the traveling expenses of speakers, the printing and stationery, the music and displays for demonstrations and picnics be counted in the cost?

If it be true, as officers and speakers publicly stated, that 13,000 persons were enrolled in the movement in Milwaukee alone, and taking the individual expenses of each member at only \$5 since the inauguration of the movement in January, 1886, we have up to date the sum total of \$65,000, taken directly from the pockets of a class of people who can least afford it. \$65,000 would pay for an imposing edifice, where the people could congregate for amusements and hold meetings; and money enough left to establish an interesting library! The \$65,000 thus carelessly thrown away would furnish sufficient capital to start a co-operative factory or store of good proportions.

What has become of this sum of money? Nothing whatever to show for it. The American workingmen, and especially those in the larger cities, have yet to learn not to throw good money after bad money.

Young men in the interior of the state, remote from the agitation in the larger cities, can see no crime or offense in taking any opportunity which may be offered to move to these manufacturing points, where they expect to find a better chance to learn their trade more thoroughly, besides receiving better wages.

So with married people who do not get along very well with their trades in the country. They see nothing wrong in accepting work which others have refused, if thereby they can improve their own conditions.

Another source of supply of skilled "unorganized" labor is from the number of mechanics who attempt farming, but find the undertaking a failure. The latter are very numerous, more so than is generally believed.

It may be safely stated that no less than 1,500 people, from other states as well as from the interior of Wisconsin, went to Milwaukee during the week of the labor disturbances and availed themselves of the opportunity offered to find steady employment. They found it, too, and still hold their places. This is proven by the fact that many who were foremost in strikes, were refused work after the troubles had been settled.

Even to-day, months after the strike, many of the latter find it difficult or impossible to gain employment.

Under ordinary circumstances such discrimination is prevented by refusal of shopmates to work unless all are reinstated; but after such a general failure as the great May strikes proved to be, employers can inaugurate this plan of "blacklisting" with impunity.

Who are the sufferers in such cases, but the poor wives and children?

Who will undertake to figure up the loss of wages and the loss of business occasioned by these strikes?

Estimating that 15,000 people were idle for eight days during the first part of May, 8,000 during three days of the

second week, besides about 1,500 during the last two weeks of April, and estimating the average wages of each person at \$1.75 per day, which estimate is very low, as the strike involved so many mechanics whose wages are double the amount, we have a direct loss of 162,000 days of labor, representing \$283,500.

The effect of such a loss, especially to the retail trade of a city, can better be imagined than described. If the effect ended here, the loss to business might in the end be recovered; but the wages are irrevocably lost, except to the very few who profited by the strike in increased wages.

Besides the direct loss of \$285,500 in wages and \$65,000 in demonstrations, labor must have suffered other incidental losses, making the total in Milwaukee alone not less than \$400,000.

To this sum must be added the extra expense entailed upon the executive and adjutant general's offices, and special expenditures on the part of the police and sheriff's departments in Milwaukee, aggregating in all, probably, \$125,000.

The business losses estimated from the pay rolls, agents' reports and 2,000 official returns to the Bureau, to say nothing of decreased railway earnings, could not have been under \$1,500,000; so that the eight-hour movement in Milwaukee cost the people of Wisconsin not less than \$2,000,000.

Other results of the strike are visible on every hand. Houses remain unpainted and fences unrepaired; last year's suit of clothes is made to answer for the present season; the sewing machine bought on the installment plan is taken away; pawn-shops have been doing a thriving business; interest payments have lapsed, insurance policies have been forfeited; wife and children are without new dresses; furniture has gone to the second-hand store; lot-sales to working-men ceased for weeks and months; chattle mortgages increased to an unusual number and domestic hard times that the public can never see or know prevailed in many quarters with painful severity, while a sullen and morose spirit is discernable at home, in the shop, on the street, and even in the saloon when discussing the things that have

happened, the present phase of the labor question or the programme for the future.

EFFECTS ON GENERAL BUSINESS.

Although the eight-hour agitation was confined to Milwaukee, its effects on general business reached the remotest parts of the state, as the waves that rise when a stone is cast into the water always spread from shore to shore. The subjoined table, compiled from returns of employers, is an index to the widespread industrial depression that followed the many demonstrations; but it represents results that can not be expressed in figures:

BUSINESS.	Number of firms.	DETRIMENTAL TO —						No answer.	Indefinite.
		General business.		Own business.		Wages.			
		Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.		
Agricultural imp'ts.	16	9	.....	9	.....	1	5	1	4
Bakers	4	2	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Baking powder	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Barb wire	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Basket makers	3	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Blank books	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	.....
Blacksmiths.	4	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Boilermakers	7	3	.....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	3
Boiler and pipe covering	1	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Bookbinders	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boots and shoes	12	5	1	5	1	1	4	1	5
Bottlers	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
Boxes	4	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	1	1
Brass founders	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Brewers	42	5	6	5	6	.....	5	4	25
Brick	19	6	2	6	2	.....	5	3	7
Bridge and iron works.	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brooms	4	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2
Broom handle	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Brushes	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Carpet weavers	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Carriages and wagons..	15	6	.....	5	2	.....	1	2	7
Cement	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Chairs	4	2	1	2	1	.....	3	.....	.....
Cigars	38	15	1	13	6	2	6	.....	16
Clothing	6	3	.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	1
Clothes racks	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Coffee and spices	3	3	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Coffins	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Confectioners	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Contractors and builders	2	2	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Coppers	14	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	6

BUSINESS.	No of firms.	DETRIMENTAL TO —							
		General business.		Own business.		Wages.		No answer.	Indefinite.
		Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.		
Cordage.....	1			1					
Crackers.....	1							1	
Curriers' stuffing.....	1							1	
Distillers.....	2			1			1		1
Dyeing and cleaning.....	1	1			1				
Flavoring extracts.....	1	1			1				
Farmers.....	3							1	2
Flax tow.....	2	1		1					1
Flouring mills.....	67	18		12	2	2	7	18	33
Founders and mach'sts.	18	7	2	4	6	1	8	1	8
Furniture.....	14	4		6	1		6	2	3
Gas.....	7	4		2	2		1		2
Glass.....	1					1			
Granite quarries.....	1		1						
Gun powder.....	1							1	
Hammered iron forg'gs.	1		1				1		
Horse nails.....	1	1							
Hubs and spokes.....	4				1		1	1	1
Ink, etc.....	1	1		1					
Iron and steel.....	1								1
Jewelry.....	1				1				
Knit goods.....	8	2		2	2		1	2	2
Leather.....	3	1		1			1	1	
Lime.....	6	2	1	2	1		3	1	
Linseed oil.....	2	1		1			1	1	
Locksmith.....	1	1		1					
Lithographing.....	1	1		1					
Lumber.....	221	82	18	78	80	9	40	15	84
Lye.....	1	1		1					
Machine shops.....	6	3	1	3	1		3		1
Matches.....	2	1		1					
Matrass.....	1								1
Millwrights.....	2	1		1					1
Oat meal.....	1								1
Paper and pulp.....	11	5		5			1	1	5
Pearl barley mills.....	1	1		1			1		
Planing mills.....	1	1		1					1
Pork and beef packers..	4	3		2	1			1	
Printing and publishing.	3	1	1		2				
Rectifiers.....	1	1		1					
Refrigerators.....	1	1		1					
Saddlery and harness...	2		2				2		
Sash, doors and blinds..	10	7		7		3	2		3
Sausage.....	2						1		1
Scales.....	1			1					
Sewer pipe.....	2	1		1			1		
Shade rollers.....	1							1	
Sheet iron goods.....	1	1		1		1			
Sheeting.....	1	1		1					
Ship builders.....	3	2		2			1		
Snuff ..	1							1	
Soap.....	6	4		4		1	1	1	2

BUSINESS.	No. of firms.	DETRIMENTAL TO—						No answer.	Indefinite.
		General business.		Own business.		Wages.			
		Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.		
Soda water.....	3	1		1					2
Spring beds.....	1	1			1				
Staves and heading.....	9	2	3	2	2		3		3
Stove founders.....	2	2		2			1		
Straw goods.....	1	1		1					
Suspenders.....	1	1		1					
Tacks.....	2	2		2					
Tanners.....	15	7		7	2		7	2	1
Tile.....	3	2		2				1	
Tinware.....	2	2		2				1	
Tobacco.....	1								1
Transformed fruits.....	1	1		1					
Trunks.....	5	4		4		1	2		1
Twine, bags and batts.....	1								1
Type founder.....	1	1		1					
Type (wood).....	1								1
Vinegar and pickle.....	3	1		1				1	1
Wagons.....	13	5	2	5	2		2	2	3
Wagon wood stock.....	2								2
Washing machines.....	1		1		1				
Willow ware.....	1							1	
Windmills, pumps, etc.....	3	2		2				1	1
Wire works.....	2								2
Wooden ware.....	5	1	1	1	1				3
Woodworking machin'y.....	1								1
Woolen mills.....	16	6		6		1	1	3	7
Total.....	756	276	44	260	84	27	132	79	266

VIEWS OF EMPLOYERS ON THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Although the forcible adoption of the eight-hour day was defeated in Milwaukee in May, 1886, "eight hours" is still a part of the platform of the K. of L. and several other labor organizations. It is therefore deemed advisable to insert the more characteristic views of employers on this subject.

Agricultural implements.—No. It would raise prices and be a detriment to both employer and employed, for the time would be spent in dissipation in dram shops and other immoral places, by the greater number, resulting in loss to the employed and lead to general demoralization.

It would lead to anarchy; it is simply forcing capital to surrender.

No, it is nonsense. Hours of labor are a subject for mutual agreement between employer and employe.

No; but run as many hours as will pay, and pay employees for all hours worked and no more. Some classes of business can be run on eight hours and others can not. A discrimination should be made, so as to let those who want to work ten hours do so, and pay accordingly.

We do not believe in an eight-hour day. Whether it can be brought about in the future is a question; it certainly can extend to only limited fields of labor, and if it is brought about and eight hours' labor shall receive ten hours' pay, it is virtually an advance of 25 per cent. in wages, hence must increase cost of production to that extent, and consumers will have to pay for it.

Yes, it ought, provided the profits on capital was sufficient to support the laborer on eight hours' work. Don't think it will become practically universal, because the demand for labor is not sufficient to support them on an eight-hour workday. The value of gold is based upon the amount of labor it requires to produce it.

Yes, if men can be forced to work but eight hours per day, but not to favor cranks, who demand ten hours' pay for eight hours work. Do not believe it will be established in the near future, not with our present tendency of civilization. Man must work, and work all he can, to secure what our civilization requires as a requisite to be a man.

We do not object. Wages will decrease in proportion to decrease of time, and business will not be affected materially.

Yes. If it is possible to do so without disturbing business too much. It will not become practically universal unless the workingmen have better leaders than they had in the last strike.

Blacksmiths.—No. Would be good were men to employ their time in educating themselves; but as it is, they spend their evenings in saloons. Wages would slightly decrease.

Boiler manufacturers.—If agitation continues, eight hours will be the rule. Wages will remain about as they are, as increase of labor-saving machinery decreases cost of production. Prices will virtually average as they do now.

Boiler coverers.—No. I see nothing to be gained. If it becomes general, the cost of production being thereby increased, the first reaction would cause a disproportionate rise in value and the consumer, (i.e. the workman) would suffer more. In the end, and after readjustment, he would be worse off than now.

Bottlers.—I don't think it will, but if it did, think that wages, prices and business would be good, a great deal steadier, and better for all classes. On account of the steadiness every thing would take.

Box manufacturers.—It is coming sometime. Wages and prices will be balanced relatively the same as now, and 25 per cent. higher. Volume of business may be the same.

Any person able to work eight hours can work ten, and as business does

not allow of 25 per cent. increase of wages, the workingman can not, it appears, work for 20 per cent. less.

Brewers.—I hope and believe not, but if it should, I believe it will be about as short-lived as new styles in ladies' hats and bonnets usually are.

It would be productive of laziness, strategy and crime. Idleness begets mischief, so far as the laborer is concerned, and the employer loses as well as the employe. Wages must conform to prices.

No; we do not think that it will become practically universal, and if so, it will cause the cost of living in general to be one-fifth—or 20 per cent.—more expensive than at present. It will cause more idleness among the laboring classes and they will gain nothing by it financially, and, on the other hand, it will prevent fair competition with other countries where more than eight hours constitute a day's work.

No; if universal, it would decrease the commodities of life.

I think it will not, and its forcible introduction will send prices, wages and business reeling like debris on the vortex.

Brick.—No; but should favor a half-holiday on Saturday. Let public opinion regulate this.

No; it would increase the cost of manufacture so that we would be shut out from the markets of the world.

With a surplus of labor, it would make a more equal division of it, but it can not become universal. It would have no effect upon wages or business. Supply and demand govern.

It would be desirable, but climatic and other difficulties, short seasons, etc., make it impossible in many cases.

Bridge builders.—Yes; the world will go just the same.

Broom manufacturers.—Yes; I think it will come soon. Wages will not be higher, but manufactured articles will be.

Broom handles.—It ought not. If it should, it would most assuredly lessen wages. I am in favor of paying labor by the hour.

Carriages and wagons.—No. I work twelve to fifteen hours. If it should become universal, the laborer would be exactly where he is now.

Not at once. It will be in the course of years. If adopted at once, it would be detrimental to the interest of employes as well as employers. Prices would be higher for everything, and wages would have to be higher for eight hours than for ten to leave the workman in his present condition.

I believe ten hours is best for all concerned.

If a man wants to work only eight hours, pay him for eight hours. If it became universal, it would raise the price of manufactured articles, which is a hard thing to do under so much competition.

It would perhaps be better, but I don't think it will become universal soon. If it did, it would perhaps be detrimental to business, because of the advance in prices which would naturally have to follow.

Cement.—I would like to have it so. Prices must of necessity rise but not wages.

No man should be denied the right to work longer and earn more, if he desires. It is his right by nature. Probably eight hours is enough for most people's bodily and mental health. We have no reason to anticipate any great change in the nature of man in the near future. Some will work more and some less, according to capacity, disposition and necessity, and rewards of labor will be apportioned according to earnings, by Providence.

Chairs.—Not through compulsory legislation. If it is to the advantage of society it will be adopted without harm; but any attempt of any one class to enforce it would work great harm to all.

Think it would not be beneficial. It will not become universal until emigration ceases.

Cigar manufacturers.—Certainly; if you can make it so.

All the same to me. Think it will be adopted; if so, it will increase wages and give employment to the unemployed.

In general it would cause great disturbance. The result of such a movement was very plainly shown in Milwaukee.

No. If adopted the world over it might, in a measure, be both practicable and profitable to employer and employee; yet, we believe there are industries that could not exist under it.

Yes; it would increase wages and employ more men, and thereby enrich us all.

We think eight hours of work is enough for any man.

Yes; it would give more men work and better pay; for then there would be no over-production.

No. Every healthy man can and should work ten hours. The professional man, such as lawyers, physicians, etc., in fact, all that work with their brain, work much longer, as theirs is incessant labor, and much more exhausting than physical labor. It will not become practical and universal, as its introduction would so enhance prices of all products that a proportionate increase of wages of the laborer would in no measure equalize. Capital invested in large manufacturing plants would materially suffer by such reduction of hours of labor.

No. It will utterly ruin everything, because the foundations of all our prosperity will crumble, namely, the farmer.

No. Might just as well reduce the time to six, or even four hours. If it should ever be adopted, it would affect everything disastrously, and the heaviest sufferer would undoubtedly be the workman himself.

Yes; but gradually. If employers and employees generally would unite and agree to accept a reduction of 15 minutes of the workday every two years, the eight-hour day would in a gentle and easy manner become a reality, and wages, prices and business would regulate themselves without any disturbance. Even unwilling employers would have to fall in line

with the popular current. A sudden adoption of the eight-hour day would be a loss and detriment to both employers and employees. It will never be accomplished suddenly.

Clothes reels.—Yes. It is the "open sesame." Less would be produced; more would be consumed; prices would have to advance, making lively times.

Coffee and spice mills.—No. We consider it impracticable, unless the manufacturers of this country are protected against foreign competition.

Coopers.—Yes; we think the labor of this country could be easily done in eight hours, but there are many branches of industry that would suffer by its speedy effect. Don't think it would materially change the price of labor or products, but would look to an advance in both rather than a decline.

Don't think that at present eight hours of labor can support the country, unless everybody should work that is able to. Make everybody work eight hours per day, and we will get along well enough.

If the system will employ all the surplus labor of the country, it might enhance prices and make more business.

No. Don't think it will. If it would it would benefit the industrious, and be a curse to the intemperate.

No. Lower wages enhance prices, and make our business strictly domestic, necessitating a high protective tariff to save us from bankruptcy.

The laboring class is not yet far enough advanced to use the two hours profitably. Saloons would be more patronized under the system.

No. The demand for equal or greater pay for less hours is most unreasonable, and would ruin many manufacturers if enforced.

No, the cost of living will increase one-fifth, while labor gains only time.

No. Would enhance cost of manufactured articles so that United States could not compete with other countries.

Yes. Wages will be higher; more appreciated; will have a better chance against capital. Everything will be more valuable except capital.

No. No one can afford to pay ten hours' wages for eight hours' work, and laborers can not stand eight-hour prices.

Iron foundries.—Yes; it will advance wages by increasing the demand for laborers; it will check production, and enhance the value of all product of labor.

Yes; we are coming to a lower standard of value for everything; the effect would be to retard this process, and probably be beneficial.

Yes; it will have no effect upon wage and prices; but business will not be forced as strong; the middlemen will suffer a little.

No. It may so become in the same way and with like effect as the present ten-hour system did, and with no greater disaster to business, and all will be unrest, turmoil and disturbance until it does.

Furniture.—No, for I think it would draw more workingmen from the

country into the cities and so in a very short time make it worse than it is now.

No. No legislation can be otherwise than violent, a question that must be delegated to each individual and concern. Believing that ten hours constitute but a fair day's work in a majority of cases, and that the times must change largely before they will admit of any arbitrary legislation without violence to the laws governing the business of civilized countries, and consequent widespread disaster, we do not think it will become universal. The man who wants comforts must be willing to work for them.

No. It will enhance the cost of all production proportionally and the employe must pay correspondingly more for all he buys; besides it invites foreign manufactures to the detriment of home production.

Hammered iron forgings.—No. It is thought many branches of business could not be successfully operated on the eight-hour plan because the purchasing power of money would be reduced, and hence revert back upon labor; also result probably in manufacturers contracting labor by the hour and running as many hours as their demands required.

Ink.—No. An eight-hour law will not amount to anything. Practically labor is paid by the hour and always will be. One set of men working ten hours and another only eight hours could not be paid equally.

Leather.—Yes. The tendency of the age is towards shorter hours, but it will come gradually.

Lime.—No. Labor must always receive pay for what it produces. It is a question of what it accomplishes, not of time consumed.

Lithographing.—Yes. We would all be benefited by the change, physically and mentally, and also in a business way.

Lumber.—No. I think very few people can live as they would like to on what they can earn in eight hours. Prices would have to advance 25 per cent. or wages be reduced accordingly, as machinery would have to be idle more or work a double crew longer in summer season, and that would make more idleness for winter.

No. I work my men eleven hours and forty minutes. It would ruin the country.

No. It sentences capital to idleness sixteen hours a day.

Yes; for lazy folks. It would give the man that works at piece-work a great advantage over day laborers.

No. It would kill the export trade and defraud farmers. My employes are not in favor of it according to their talk.

Not by statute. The hours of labor have been shortening for the past twenty years, and will continue to shorten.

No. But all laborers should be employed, and if the demand will not cover all at ten hours per day, make it eight or even less.

Yes, when possible; a six-hour day is better, a four-hour day is still better, but all utopian for our day.

No. It is all nonsense; you might as well try to establish by law the price of corn or wheat.

No, emphatically; we do not think the world can "hold its own" on it, and if it could, the ambitious portion would be sure to put in 25 per cent. more work at the higher wages and outstrip the rest.

No. It can't become general. It costs too much to start and stop machinery. If successful, either wages must decline or goods advance. Foreign competition may prevent the latter.

No. I think it is twenty years too soon for an eight-hour day.

No. A saw-mill could not live.

No. Less hours of labor means more money to saloons.

No. I do not think that law has anything to do with work, rest or sleep. Guard the right of life and liberty and the minor things will adjust themselves. Man can tell when he is sleepy, hungry or thirsty, and duty to himself and family will set him to work; if not, there are laws enough to take care of such fellows.

No. I work sixteen hours per day because I *wish* to do so. America's boast has always been the opportunities she offers to her humblest citizens; but they only come to the tireless workers.

No. It would be a death-blow to the farming interests of our country. They work from ten to sixteen hours per day. Mechanics are no better than the farmers.

No. It would raise the cost of production so that the United States could not compete with foreign countries and necessitate a reduction of wages to a lower level than they now are, and make the cost of living much higher.

Yes. It would have a good effect in general; the men would feel better in the evening to spend their earnings.

Yes. I think with our improved machinery we will be obliged to restrict the hours of labor to eight. It will have to come gradually.

Can hardly make it practicable. If it could be made universal, it would tend to elevate the laboring classes, otherwise the effect would be bad.

No. The laborer would not ask for an eight-hour day if he was well paid for working ten hours.

Yes, in its proper time. It would have no effect upon business, but simply increase wages and prices, provided it be universal in all countries.

No. Some expensive machinery must be run longer to make it pay, and if run sixteen hours its product would soon become too cheap to make it pay.

We have no objections if it be possible. It would have a tendency to increase prices more than labor, as capital can not lay idle in the shape of machinery without expense.

Not necessarily. I don't believe it will ever be universal, because ambitious men will not be restricted in that direction.

Yes. It would bring prosperity to almost the entire laboring commu-

ity by giving labor to one-fifth more men; the consumption would also increase one-fifth more.

No. The laborer working eight hours per day leaves him sixteen for rest. Too much rest leads to idleness, which means going down hill.

Machinery.—Not at present. It may, however, become so in time. It will have no effect because it will be so gradual. The resumption of specie payment proves that.

Millwrights.—No. Because the more hours we work the more pay we get. A bad effect. It would make more saloon loafers than any act which could be passed for labor, and will make matters worse, especially for the families of poor workingmen.

Oatmeal.—No. Our men are satisfied with twelve hours rather than be idle. Farmers, business men and employers generally, especially if working on a small basis, would not be able to pay taxes on eight hours' work.

Paper mill.—Yes. It would have little or no effect. The laborer should have some of the advantages from improved machinery.

Sash and doors.—No. It would increase the price of all manufactured goods and then react upon the workingman by putting many conveniences he can now buy out of his reach under the new system, for it would reduce wages and thereby bring about the same disastrous results.

Soap.—Not for the next five or ten years. It would not hurt business nor the capitalists, but it would hurt the poorer and middle classes.

Tanners.—Yes, but later on if the nation gets settled down to eight hours, it will have no more effect than the ten-hour system. Wages and business will have ups and downs, anyway.

Not unless it is adopted in Europe also.

Thrashing machines.—The question whether the eight-hour day ought to become general will have to be answered by experience. So far as we are concerned, we do not believe the majority of our men desire it. If it comes into successful use at all it must be general, otherwise producers are put upon an unequal footing. In some employments ten hours' work is too much for the physical powers of the worker, in others it manifestly is not, but uniformity among the same class of producers is both desirable and necessary. If eight hours' work with ten hours' pay becomes the rule, it needs no arithmetic to show that it will increase prices. It is said upon good authority that 90 per cent. of all production is labor, and that 10 per cent. only represents material. Therefore, the cost of raw material in a state of nature remaining the same, the increase of the cost of production would be about 19 per cent., on the basis of eight hours' work for present wages paid for ten hours. This would fall most heavily upon the laborer whose expense of living would be enhanced without any increase in his income. Admitting what is claimed by the advocates of labor reform, and what is probably true, that the present pay of unskilled labor is barely sufficient for the actual necessities of life, given an increase of 18 per cent., or even 10 per cent. in cost of living, the wages of the laborer

would fall below the limit of actual necessity! So that the question seems to be one that must be settled from the standpoint of the laborer, and not the employer, to whom, if it became general, the change would signify comparatively little.

Trunks.—I don't see any use for it; when the crop is ripe you must take care of it. It is useless to say how long a man should work or how long he should sleep. It is a humbug. In winter, when business is dull, days are short and cold and most shops work eight hours only; when days are long and business fair they work ten hours or longer.

No; but it should be general if in vogue at all, so that manufacturing in the same line would be on the same basis. The effect would not be beneficial to the laboring man. Ten hours is not too long for the mechanic to work, it is not for the average employer. Wages would be the same for eight hours as for ten hours if it ever becomes the rule. Prices of goods would be higher, enough so to cover the increased cost of goods and the increased cost of living to the employer.

I myself would like to have it. I work from 7 A. M. to 8:30 or 9 P. M.; but I fear it would make hard times, and I don't want to see that. I had enough of it in '57, '58 and '59.

Twine, bags and batts.—No. The country would grow poorer. Less wealth would be produced.

Type founder.—No. Amount paid as wages would be the same though it would be divided among a greater number.

Vinegar.—No. I think if this country can not give its inhabitants ten hours of labor per day, then I say, most emphatically, prohibit immigration at once.

Yes; but it can not be enforced by law. I believe the workmen could earn more by working overtime, if necessary. It would do no harm to business, and benefit the poor.

Wagons.—We doubt if it would have a beneficial effect upon the so-called working classes. Think it would so enhance the cost of living that the laboring classes would require twelve hours' pay to enable them to live as comfortably as they now do, and believe such a state of things would necessarily have a very depressing influence upon business. Should the time ever come for an eight-hour day we think the whole world should adopt it at the same time, as eight hours can not successfully compete against ten hours or more.

I don't think it can be done. The workmen themselves will be the greatest objectors to the eight-hour system, as they know they can earn more in ten hours than in eight.

Willow ware.—Yes, for men over forty years of age. Our main products are sold abroad, and as railroads and steamboats make trade more equal throughout the world, our hours of toil and wages will have to adjust themselves with those of the other world.

Woolen mills.—It can not in our line of manufacture, as we have to

compete against the twelve and thirteen hour labor of Germany, and pay three times as much in wages. It will not become universal, because too many manufacturing industries, like our own, could not compete with foreign goods, and would have to shut down.

Not at present. Our purchasers of supplies will buy in the cheapest market, and if our producers will not furnish as cheap as others they may lie idle; and when the purchasing power of the individual or nation is exhausted, he will work for what he can get or starve.

SUMMARY OF EIGHT HOUR VIEWS.

Following is a table summarizing the views on the eight-hour day of the employers reporting to the Bureau:

BUSINESS.	Total No. firms.	YES.		NO.		NO ANSWER.		INDEFINITE.	
		No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.
Agricultural implem'ts.	16	3	41	9	875	4	365		
Bakers	4			1	4	3	128		
Baking powder	1					1			
Barbed wire	1					1	4		
Basket makers	3					3	88		
Blacksmiths	4			4	10				
Blank books	3			1	13	2	57		
Boiler makers	7			2	11	2	10	3	55
Boiler and pipe covering	1			1	11				
Book binders	1					1	7		
Boots and shoes	12			6	550	6	747		
Bottlers	4	1	5	2	199	1	3		
Boxes	4	1	40	3	33				
Brass founders	2	1	13	1	4				
Brewers	42	3	79	27	690	12	260		
Brick	19	2	125	10	267	7	154		
Bridge and iron works	1	1	43						
Brooms	4	1	3	1	1	2	14		
Broom handles	2			2	5				
Brushes	2					2	7		
Carpet weavers	1					1	1		
Carriages	16	1	10	9	155	5	65	1	10
Cement	2	1	5	1	110				
Chairs	4			4	696				
Cigars	38	8	305	12	217	15	130	3	7
Clothing	6	1	44	4	1,054	1	37		
Clothes reels	1	1	2						
Coffee and spice mills	3			3	42				
Confectioners	1					1	81		
Coffins	1					1	85		
Contractors	2					2	72		
Coopers	14	3	20	10	201	1	8		
Cordage	1					1	11		
Crackers	1					1	27		
Currier and stuffing	1					1	1		
Distillers	2			1	14	1	14		
Dyeing	1			1	2				
Flavoring extracts	1					1	5		
Farm ing	8			3	8				
Flax tow	2			1		1	13		
Flouring mills	67	5	76	45	314	20	113		
Founders	13	5	158	7	138	6	1,124		
Furniture	14	1	8	8	735	4	151	1	90
Gas	7			5	34	2	10		
Glass	1								
Granite	1	1	260						
Gunpowder	1					1	235		
Hammer'd iron forgings	1			1	2				
Horse-shoe nails	1					1	30		

BUSINESS.	Total No. firms.	Yes.		No.		No Answer.		INDEFINITE.	
		No. firms.	No. employes	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.
Hubs and spokes	4			3	143	1	20		
Ink	1			1	6				
Iron and steel	1					1	1,200		
Jewelers	1			1	11				
Knit goods	8	1	160	4	625	3	505		
Leather goods	3	1	65			2	32		
Line	6	1	48	4	106	1	21		
Linseed oil	2			2	33				
Lithographers	1	1	65			1	14		
Locksmith, bell-hanger	1								
Lumber, lath, shingles	231	9	588	152	9,635	56	3,343	4	274
Lye	1			1	26				
Machine shops	6	2	12	1	3	3	25		
Mattresses	1					1	49		
Matches	2			1	168	1	125		
Millwrights	2	1	20	1	5				
Oat meal mills	1			1	10				
Paper mills	11	2	118	5	330	4	150		
Pearl barley mills	1			1	12				
Planing mills	1	1	14						
Pork and beef packers	4			1	800	3	28		
Printing	3	1	9	1	17	1	10		
Rectifiers	1			1	5				
Refrigerators	1			1	25				
Saddlery and harness	2			2	37				
Sash, doors and blinds	10			7	495	3	144		
Sausage	2			1	1	1	3		
Scales	1			1	10				
Sewer pipe	2			2	39				
Shade rollers	1					1	23		
Sheetings (cotton)	1			1	272				
Sheet iron goods	1			1	19				
Ship builders	3			2	98	1	104		
Snuff	1					1	1		
Soap	6	1	30	2	6	3	41		
Soda water	3			3	21				
Spring beds	1							1	4
Staves and heading	9			6	140			3	92
Stove foundries	2			1	46			1	63
Straw goods	1					1	27		
Suspenders	1							1	11
Tacks	2					2	48		
Tanners	15	1	100	5	334	9	684		
Tile	3	1	2	2	15				
Tinware	2	1	13			1	63		
Tobacco	1	1	125						
Transformed fruit	1							1	4
Trunks	5			4	335	1	62		
Twine, bags and batts	1			1	12				
Type foundries	1			1	15	1	37		
Type (wood)	1								
Vinagar	3	1	10	1	25	1	2		
Wagons	13			7	679	6	98		
Wagon wood stock	2			2	40				
Washing machines	1			1	8				
Wholesale liquor	1					1	5		
Willow ware	1							1	199
Wind mills	3			2	26	1	46		
Wire works	2			2	77				
Wooden ware	5	1	40	3	733	1	354		
Wood w'king machinery	1			1	33				
Woolen mills	16	1	40	8	443	7	147		
Totals	756	63	2,698	437	22,646	233	11,400	20	789

VIEWS OF EMPLOYEES ON THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Book agent, Milwaukee.—I think eight hours' work per day is enough, and would like to see a law in favor of it, if a man gets the same wages for eight as for ten.

Carpenter, Neillsville.—I think that the eight-hour system of labor is good; not that I don't like to work ten hours, but there are so many dependent on their day's work who are weak or sickly, that could work eight hours nicely, but can not stand ten hours of work.

Elevator man, Racine.—I am in favor of a universal eight-hour labor system, even with eight hours' pay, as I believe that over-production is one of the present evils to be remedied.

Foreman, Oshkosh.—I would like to see the eight-hour law strictly enforced.

Heater, Bay View.—On the subject of labor, I would say that I consider the demand for "eight hours' work and ten hours' pay" as an ill-considered demand. There are a great many manufacturers that could not afford that, if they were well inclined. Still, I consider eight hours would be long enough, and should constitute a day's work for any workingman. But I am of the opinion there should be a corresponding reduction in wages in every case, except unskilled labor. I am of the opinion a reduction in the hours of labor would have a tendency to elevate the moral character of the workingman, as he would have more time to devote to study, and thereby improve himself mentally. This subject admits of a great many arguments, pro and con; still there should be a mutual understanding between employer and employe, before this move will work satisfactorily.

Laborer, Marinette.—The subject of labor, as discussed at the present by the people in general, is something new to me; for ever since I have been able to work I have been employed in manufacturing lumber, and worked, until very recently, eleven and eleven and one-half hours per day, and have had no time to get posted on any subject. I think that if the laboring people of this noble country only had to toil eight hours a day, it would give them time to read and learn, and therefore be able to vote intelligently, and consequently we would have better laws and less use for lawyers, and no cause for disagreement between the employed and employer.

Machinist, Marinette.—I think, since so many men are out of work, that skilled workers ought to work only eight hours per day.

Moulder, Milwaukee.—In my business less than ten hours would, in my opinion, be a failure. Foundry work is different from other work. How it would do in other places, I am not prepared to say.

Paper ruler, Milwaukee.—Eight hours' work per day should be a law throughout the country. Every laborer would have more rest and more time for himself; more men would find employment; wages would in-

crease; and although every article would rise in price, still the wages of a laborer would be in a more favorable proportion to his needs than they now are.

Paper-maker, Marinette.—I like the eight-hour law, and would like to see it enforced.

Steamboat master, La Crosse.—Want an enforcement of eight-hour system.

Stone-dresser, Berlin.—I can not yet favor the eight-hour movement, although it works well both in New Zealand and Australia, but I would give my support to the nine-hour plan.

RIOT, UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY AND MILITIA LAWS.

Comment has been pretty free among some socialists, agitators, anarchists and demagogue politicians concerning the use of the militia during the Milwaukee riots.

A few misinformed men may be sincere in believing that a riot is no offense, and that Governor Rusk had no right to call out military forces before life and property had been destroyed.

Taking advantage of this, certain editors and politicians have attempted to instill into the minds of laborers that because the militia took life in quelling a mob before the mob had taken life, Governor Rusk himself, as commander-in-chief of the military forces, thereby became a murderer, as they put it.

These charges, made for political effect and nothing else, have been uttered in no roundabout or indirect manner, one very wealthy demagogue declaring that "Rusk may yet be indicted for murder," and another that "Rusk was guilty of murder and ought to be indicted." The Central Labor Union, backed by several thousand members, resolved that the action of the governor and his militia was "unjustifiable and damnable."

In the political convention of Knights of Labor at La Crosse, on July 13, 1886, J. J. McNally presented a resolution, which was "greeted with cheers," "condemning the action of the public authorities of Milwaukee, and especially of Governor Rusk, in firing upon unarmed and defenseless cit-

izens without any notice of the intention so to do," etc., "as unlawful and inhuman."

The editor of the Milwaukee *Volksblatt*, Robert Schilling, said:

The firing was unjustified and cruel, and to say it in plain German, it was cowardly, premeditated murder. The most guilty man is the Old Knownothing Jerry Rusk, by the grace of the ignorant people, Governor of Wisconsin.

In order, therefore, that incitors of riots, as well as rioters, may know in future where they stand and how far their responsibility reaches, some quotations from the law will be recorded.

Section 4, article 5, of the constitution declares:

The Governor shall be commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the State, * * * *and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.*

In addition to this plain mandate of the constitution, section 641, Revised Statutes, prescribes:

In case of war, insurrection, rebellion, riot or invasion, or of resistance to the execution of the laws of the state, * * * or upon application of any marshal of the United States, or of any mayor of a city or of a sheriff, the governor may call into active service all or any portion of the organized militia.

Before calling out the militia, Governor Rusk received appeals from both Mayor Wallber and Sheriff Paschen. He had, therefore, no alternative; the soldiers must come together.

The other theory, that the military "fired upon poor, defenseless workingmen, who were unarmed and doing no harm," is also untenable in law.

The mob was *not* unarmed, nor were many of the leaders, who kept in the background, unarmed. The former carried sticks, stones, sledges, knives and revolvers; the latter carried one and sometimes two revolvers each.

Even had they not been armed, their crime is thus defined by law:

Section 4,511. Any three or more persons who shall assemble in a violent or tumultuous manner to do an unlawful act, or, *being together shall make any attempt, or motion toward doing any lawful or unlawful act in a vio-*

lent, unlawful or tumultuous manner, to the terror or disturbance of others shall be deemed an unlawful assembly; and if they commit such acts in the manner and with the effect aforesaid, they shall be deemed guilty of a riot, and shall be punished in either case by imprisonment in the county jail not more than one year, or by fine not exceeding five hundred dollars.

Section 4,512. Any person engaged in any unlawful assembly, or riot, may be prosecuted and convicted therefor alone, if it be alleged in the indictment and information and proved at the trial, that three or more persons were engaged therein, and if known, they must be named, but if unknown, that fact must be alleged.

Section 4,513. If any persons to the number of twelve or more, any of whom being armed with a dangerous weapon, or if any persons to the number of thirty or more, *whether armed or not, shall be unlawfully, riotously or tumultuously assembled* in any city, village or town, it shall be the duty of the mayor and each of the aldermen of such city, and of the president and each of the trustees of such village, and of the supervisors of such town, and of every justice of the peace, constable, and coroner living in such city, village or town, and of the sheriff of the county and his deputies, to go among the persons so assembled, or as near them as may be with safety, and in the name of the State of Wisconsin, to command all the persons so assembled, immediately and peaceably to disperse, and if the persons so assembled shall not thereupon immediately and peaceably disperse, it shall be the duty of each of such magistrates and officers, to command the assistance of all persons there present, in seizing, arresting and securing in custody, the persons so unlawfully assembled, so that they may be proceeded against according to law.

Section 4,514. If any person present being commanded by any of the magistrates or officers mentioned in the preceding section, to aid or assist in seizing and securing such rioters, or persons so unlawfully assembled, or in suppressing such riot and unlawful assembly, shall refuse or neglect to obey such command, he shall be deemed to be one of the rioters or persons unlawfully assembled, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail not more than one year, or by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars.

Had the mob been unarmed those composing it had clearly put themselves outside of the law, and had become liable to attack by the militia.

Another theory of those who wish to inflame the working population for political purposes, is that of a wealthy politician who said that the use of the militia was "outrageous and the killing of the old man in his garden downright murder."

The law concerning spectators or others killed is thus:

Section 4,518. If by reason of any of the efforts made by any of the said magistrates or officers, or by their directions, to disperse such unlawful, riotous or tumultuous assembly, or to seize and secure the persons composing the same who have refused to disperse, though the number remaining may be less than twelve, any such person or other persons then present as spectators or otherwise, shall be killed or wounded, the said magistrate and officers, and all persons acting by their order or under their direction, *shall be held guiltless and fully justified in law*; and if any of the said magistrates or officers, or any persons acting by their order or under their directions, shall be killed or wounded, *all the persons* so unlawfully, riotously or tumultuously assembled, *shall be held answerable therefor*.

It will be seen by the laws quoted, that there were many unlawful assemblies in Milwaukee during the first week in May, and that the authorities of that city had reason to appeal to Gov. Rusk for military aid.

It will also be seen that there is opportunity yet to bring to justice a large number of violent persons who have not been apprehended.

For the further enlightenment of rioters and peace-disturbers, another quotation from the statutes will be made:

Section 649. If any person shall intercept, molest, or insult by abusive words or behavior, any officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, while in the performance of his military duty, he shall immediately be put under guard, and kept at the discretion of the commanding officer of the forces engaged in the performance of such military duty, until the setting of the sun on the same day that the offense shall have been committed, and shall be subject to arrest and punishment by any court of competent jurisdiction for a breach of peace.

Hundreds of persons violated this section, Capt. Borchert, of the Kosciusko Guards, being struck on the head with a stone, and various privates were also injured more or less seriously, while all the militia companies were greeted with such epithets as "rats," "scabs," "butchers," and "bloodhounds," and others equally offensive.

Nearly a wagon-load of rocks and bricks and pieces of coal were hurled at the Kosciusko Guards before any firing was done, the mob gathering the second time with the avowed purpose of "driving the militia into the lake."

There were numerous violations of section 4,513, also, but the acts and doings of Theo. Rudzinski, an alderman from the Twelfth ward, alone received attention.

A committee of the common council charged that Rudzinski "did, at various times between April 15 and May 10, particularly on or about May 4 or 5, wilfully utter and make use of seditious and inflammatory words and speeches intended and calculated to incite certain persons to commit acts of riot, disturbance, disorder and breach of the peace; and that he did publicly advise and counsel certain persons to commit riotous and disorderly acts, and to disregard the advice of certain well-disposed persons who sought to quiet the popular tumult and excitement by justifying to the rioters the actions of the authorities."

After a somewhat protracted investigation Rudzinski was censured by the council and his commission as notary public was revoked by Gov. Rusk; but no proceedings were taken against him under section 4,515.

Officers of this Bureau heard Rudzinski make exciting and denunciatory remarks, and after the militia fired upon the mob at Bay View he called on Gov. Rusk in a very threatening manner and said that suits would be commenced against him and the state for all the life lost and damages done.

As fully related elsewhere, E. P. Allis and others were compelled to close their works, and several thousand men were thereby prevented from following their usual, peaceful occupations, because the authorities of Milwaukee city and county could not afford the protection asked for and guaranteed by the revised statutes.

The liability of the city and county, of their officers, and finally of those engaging in the riot, is thus defined:

Section 988. Whenever any property, real or personal (except houses of ill-fame, when the owner has notice that the same are used as such), shall be destroyed or injured by or in consequence of any mob or riot, the city, or if not in a city, then the county in which such property is situated, shall be liable to the owner thereof for the damages so sustained by him: provided, that within six months after such destruction or injury, an action shall be commenced therefor, or the claim be presented to the proper authorities of such city or county, in the manner prescribed by law.

Section 989. No person shall be entitled to recover under the provisions of the preceding section, when such destruction or injury to his property was occasioned, or in any manner aided, sanctioned or permitted by him,

or caused by his negligence, nor unless he shall have used all reasonable diligence to prevent the same, and shall have immediately notified the mayor of the city, or sheriff of the county, after being apprised of any threat or attempt to destroy or injure his property by any such mob or riot. Every mayor and sheriff receiving such notice shall take all legal means to protect the property threatened or attacked; and every such officer who shall refuse or neglect so to do shall be liable to the party aggrieved for the damages sustained to his property by reason of such mob or riot, if such party shall elect to bring his action against such officer instead of against such city or county.

Section 940. Any city or county may settle with and pay the owner of any such property the damages so sustained; and any city or county which shall have paid any sum under the provisions of the two preceding sections, or upon such settlement, may recover the same, with all costs paid by it, from any or all the persons engaged in such destruction or injury.

RESPONSIBILITY.

We have seen that the first step toward securing the adoption of the eight-hour day was by the Federation of Trades, but they proposed nothing violent, nothing revolutionary. They were willing to accept a reduction in wages corresponding to the reduction in time, and agree to bind themselves to ask for no increase in the rate per hour until an improved condition of trade should warrant it.

Honorable and conservative as this course appeared to be on the part of Federation of Trades, and notwithstanding they had no lot or part in the attempt to bring about by force the eight-hour day on the revolutionary basis of either an increase in the rate per hour or an absolute increase over previous ten-hour earnings, they must be held responsible for kindling the fire which led to a general conflagration.

But in Milwaukee the Federation of Trades, as such, attempted and accomplished absolutely nothing. The Knights of Labor took the case out of their hands and were in the lead from the start, organizing new assemblies on the eight-hour platform, and using it everywhere as a watchword and shibboleth.

Next to them ranked the Central Labor Union in influence and activity, and next to that organization stood the Eight-Hour League, an offspring of these two and several socialistic societies.

Nevertheless, a very few persons conceived the campaign, set the machinery in motion, and urged forward and led on the rank and file. There had been no demand by the masses for the eight-hour day, and there would have been no strike or violent demonstration in that behalf had it not been for the activity of these few. They fanned and fed the flames, contributed to the general frenzy, and planned and directed the line of attack.

Must we not, then, hold them responsible for the consequences? If not, where shall the responsibility rest?

Who were these leaders? Were they workingmen? No. Did they suffer oppression at the hands of the manufacturers? No. Did they for themselves believe in the supreme efficacy of the eight-hour system, or take any steps to put it into practice? No. Were they earnest in their professions? No.

The very alderman who introduced the eight-hour ordinance in the Common Council of Milwaukee employed clerks who commenced their day's labor at 5 o'clock in the morning and closed at 7 or half-past 7 in the evening.

Another conspicuous leader, also an employer, whose fierce denunciation of capital, laws, executives, officers, law-makers and judges, and whose lurid descriptions of the wrongs and sufferings of the workingman, contributed materially to the final uprising, left the city as the agitation began to wax hot, and did not return until after the whole scheme had ended in disaster. Nor do his employes enjoy the eight-hour day, though he kindly informed them that he would reduce their wages if they desired shorter hours.

The most conspicuous leader is the one brought to Wisconsin a few years ago to propagate fiat-money doctrines. He has made agitation his study and chosen profession for some time, and has thus secured large sums of money from the workingman.

A revival of the Knights of Labor in Wisconsin brought him into notoriety and comparative prosperity. The new assemblies organized here and there all required by-laws, letter-heads, envelopes and many other things belonging to an outfit, and he secured their patronage. He agitated and

promoted strife because he was making money out of it, as he had done before.

The chief of the outspoken teachers of violence and bloodshed as a means of securing the eight-hour day and reforming everything not endorsed by them and their followers, was a little band of anarchists who made it a point to disturb the proceedings of mass meetings by interrupting the speakers. They were under the leadership of a cigar-maker who, in the face of business ruin and actual poverty, taught and practiced anarchy to such an extent that it resulted in his imprisonment at hard labor for nine months.

At the time of his incarceration collections were actually taken up in the sheriff's office and among other officials for the support of his family.

The fallacy of the husband and father made his poor wife and children the real sufferers; for the daily fare he now enjoys in prison is no doubt better than he provided for himself and family while at large.

Another no less prominent leader in the movement is an individual who came to Milwaukee about the middle of February, 1886.

He fled his native country with Johann Most as a professional agitator and revolutionist. Not having been in the state at all before he began operations here, he could know nothing of the wage-slavery, iniquities, oppression and general rascality of capital of which he and others said so much.

By anarchistic teachings in his paper, and by denouncing Powderly and other leading Knights, he succeeded in dividing the eight-hour sympathizers into two factions, one of which became the Central Labor Union, hereinbefore mentioned and described.

He continues to publish his paper and to denounce capital, capitalists, officials and laws in the most furious and rancorous fashion, though an indictment is hanging over his head for inciting riot.

Another prominent figure in the councils of the eight-hour leaders is a printer who had been in the United States but a few months when the agitation began.

Although a stranger and an alien, he had no sooner set foot in Milwaukee than he discovered that everything was going wrong in labor and politics, and that American laws and society are nothing but wicked inventions to rob, oppress and degrade wage-earners. His extraordinary ability to denounce capital and tell workingmen how degraded they were made him a popular and influential leader.

There were, of course, several lesser captains and lieutenants, especially among the anarchists and more radical socialists; but they were the natural and necessary outgrowth of a spreading agitation for the beginning of which they were in no wise responsible.

Not one of the responsible leaders went with the mob they had excited to the Brand Stove Works, the Reliance Works, the West Milwaukee Railway shops or to Bay View.

Those who went were rude or common laborers who had never known the blessings of education and who, though sincere and right-hearted, had been rendered half-frantic by false pictures of the laborer's condition and still more false statements concerning capital, courts and laws.

It is necessary to have heard the speeches of these self-constituted leaders made previous to the 1st of May, and to have formed, by personal contact with them, an intelligent judgment of their motives, to dare to assert that *they*, and not the persons composing the mob or the masses, are responsible for every evil consequence.

Statistics and census reports were perverted; capitalists and capital denounced in a general manner; the politics of the country described as the most iniquitous system of rascality and robbery on the globe; the condition of the American laborer pictured as far more wretched than that of any other civilized nation and little above slavery; the government declared to be a sham and its executive officers the corrupt tools of still more corrupt monopolists.

All these things, according to the leaders, could be remedied in the short space of a few months by inaugurating the eight-hour system; while lying anarchists taught that the next step would be the rifling of banks and stores and a general division of property. Some believed this;

two Polish women who went to borrow food and flour during the riots promising to repay next week after everything in the banks and rich folks' houses had been divided, of which they claimed their share would be \$1,000 each.

Such were the men — either aliens or scheming politicians — who brought the May riots upon Milwaukee, always before so peaceable, so thrifty, so contented. And in speaking of these riots, *they*, and not the honest laboring population, should be condemned and held responsible.

PART VII.

BOYCOTTING IN WISCONSIN.

IT IS RECOGNIZED BY COURTS AND PUNISHED.

In the first report of the Bureau workingmen were warned that boycotting was an unjust and an un-American method of controlling or attempting to control the affairs of others against their will, and that in some of its forms it was nothing less than a conspiracy. Also that it would soon be so recognized by the courts and that severe enactments and penalties would follow in short order.

Without going into details, it may be stated that in New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Illinois, Wisconsin, Kansas, Texas and elsewhere this prophecy has come true, numerous persons having been fined or sent to prison for long terms for carrying on the more radical and piratical forms of boycotting.

In many instances the crime of blackmail has been added to that of boycotting and has been punished as such.

The federal courts, too, in Missouri, Texas and Illinois have recognized boycotting, and either punished the perpetrators or issued injunctions restraining their further activity in that direction.

In Wisconsin the boycott has been an active instrument either of revenge or of attempting to compel a given person to do something against his will.

The first case in this state was that of the Printers' Union of Milwaukee, in 1880, against the *Republican* newspaper, whose compositors were on a strike. But that was not as emphatic as a boycott growing out of this strike.

Adam Roth, proprietor of "The Quiet House," was a subscriber of the *Republican*. The strikers ordered Mr. Roth to cease taking the paper and he refused to heed the order.

As "The Quiet House" was near "printers' row," it was the principal resort of printers for their midnight lunch. The proprietor had a large patronage from them; and to disobey their order meant a sharp decrease in income.

In order to make the boycott effective the union adopted a resolution fining any member \$5 who should visit or patronize Mr. Roth's place.

The boycott was a failure, Mr. Roth holding out until the strike was settled by the consolidation of the *Republican* and the *Sentinel*. It is cheering to see strikers boycott even one saloon; shall we ever see them boycott *all* saloons?

The next boycott was directed against the *Evening Wisconsin* newspaper of Milwaukee, beginning on February 2, 1884, because the proprietors refused to pay a few female compositors the same wages as the union male compositors were receiving. The union issued a paper called the *Printers' Bulletin*, and continued the boycott for more than a year, demanding organized labor to boycott any person who subscribed for the *Evening Wisconsin*, or who advertised in it. The publication of the *Bulletin* was continued for thirty-five weeks, and strange to say, was well patronized by business men for advertising purposes.

In obedience to the wishes of the *Bulletin*, the then flourishing Trades Assembly, the machinery and stove moulders, the bricklayers and masons, the cigarmakers, the seamen, the blacksmiths and machinists, the plasterers, the boiler-makers, the upholsterers, and the broommakers, in their unions, all adopted boycott resolutions against the *Evening Wisconsin* and its patrons. A so-called "black-list," giving the names of *Evening Wisconsin* advertisers was published in the *Bulletin* for some weeks with an invitation to secretaries of unions to read the same at all meetings. The firms so boycotted were:

The Fair, dry goods and notions; T. L. Kelly & Co., dry goods and notions; James Morgan, dry goods and notions; T. A. Chapman & Co., dry goods and notions; Wise & Dottenheim, dry goods and notions; Savage & Sons, cash grocers; H. M. Benjamin, wood and coal; Hadfield & Co., wood and coal; Coxe Bros. & Co., wood and coal; Golden Eagle Store, clothing; Zimmerman Bros., clothing; P. Frattinger, merchant tailor; Chadbourne,

photographer; Jas. Petley, shirts; Geo. C. Staff, children's carriages; Gilmour & Woodworth, dentists; Jas. Davidson, magnetic appliances; C. E. Adams, boots and shoes; Philip Gross, hardware.

Not one of this list of business men, however, withdrew his patronage, and the union not only lost all the money it cost to issue the *Bulletin*, but saw itself forced to permit some of its members to work in the *Evening Wisconsin* office.

The boycott was only recently formally "lifted" when all the men employed in the *Evening Wisconsin* office joined the union.

The next case of boycotting of which the Bureau has information was directed by the Knights of Labor against the Menasha Wooden Ware Co., in connection with the strike related on page 298. It was mostly confined to the northern part of the State, and was lifted in less than a week.

The *Marinette Eagle* was boycotted by the Knights of Labor and the Menominee River Laborers' Union, for the position taken by it at the time of the strike in the saw mills in September, 1885. The *Laborer*, a weekly paper started under the auspices of said union, inserted boycott phrases in English, Norwegian and French, and only omitted them recently, the publisher and editor of the *Eagle* having himself become a leader of organized labor.

In the early part of 1886 a move was made by the Barbers' Union of Milwaukee to abolish Sunday labor. The "bosses" submitted to the new idea pretty generally for about two weeks. Three or four, however, obstinately held out, whereupon a vigorous boycott and picket was put upon their shops. After two weeks the whole movement proved a failure, and the barbers returned to the old system.

The National Nailers' Union pronounced a universal boycott against the product of all mills running with non-union men during the strike, which began on June 1, 1885, and is still in progress. In Wisconsin this boycott has little or no effect.

The Dueber Watch Company, of Newport, Ky., had been under the ban and boycott of trades unions and the Knights

of Labor for more than a year in Milwaukee and elsewhere. In the spring of 1886 an auction store was opened in Milwaukee, in which the product of this company was one of the attractions. The local Knights, on one occasion, packed the store, and made things so disagreeable for the auctioneer that he decided formally and publicly to announce that he would abstain from selling the Dueber watches.

A somewhat ludicrous boycott grew out of the eight-hour agitation in Milwaukee. Four Aldermen—Fred Heiden, W. W. Watkins, James S. Harvey and Tilly Lynde—when the eight-hour ordinance was brought up in the common council, interposed objections to the provision that one and one-half time should be paid for all work over eight hours per day. These gentlemen, therefore, at a subsequent eight-hour mass meeting, were “politically boycotted” by a resolution offered by B. W. Doyle, in the following terms:

Resolved, That we will boycott Aldermen Harvey, Watkins, Heiden and Lynde, should they ever present themselves for our suffrage, because they voted against the time-and-a-half amendment to the eight-hour ordinance.

The boycott, however, was soon lifted, in consideration of the fact that all, except Alderman Lynde, had voted for the ordinance upon its final passage.

The more severe and extensive boycotts growing out of the eight-hour agitation, were upon the products of the sash, door and blind factory of Sanger, Rockwell & Co. [see page 254] and the cigars manufactured by Herman Segnitz & Co. and Louis Kindling [see page 256] as well as the boycott upon *Der Herold*, by the Carpenters’ and Joiners’ Union, are described in detail under the chapter on strikes.

Among the firms in the interior of the state, who report to the Bureau that they have been boycotted lately are Mertz & Smolt, cigars, Fond du Lac, for refusing to use the K. of L. label; Wisconsin Shoe Company, Janesville, by K. of L. for two months, at the time of a strike during February and March, 1886, for more wages; M. M. Secor, trunk manufacturer, Racine, by K. of L. for discharging a Knight; H. H. Cook & Son’s flour, Darlington, by saloon-keepers, because of radical temperance opinions entertained by the proprietor.

H. Berthelet & Co., manufacturers of sewer pipe, Milwaukee, were boycotted by the Master Plumbers' Association, for refusing to agree not to sell goods to the plumbers who had started the co-operative shops. Jas. J. Lynch, cigar manufacturer, Milwaukee, is boycotted by the K. of L. for refusing to use their labels, instead of the regular union label.

The Hilgen Manufacturing Co., manufacturers of sash, doors and blinds at Cedarburg, with a warehouse and branch factory at Milwaukee, suffered a boycott at the hands of the Central Labor Union for refusing to adopt the eight-hour plan. Paul Grottkau was especially active in behalf of this boycott, going to Cedarburg, nineteen miles from Milwaukee, to make speeches against the firm. The collapse of the eight-hour movement destroyed the effect of the boycott very effectually.

The Kosciusko Guards, one of the first militia companies appearing upon the scene at Bay View on May 4, and composed exclusively of Poles, was made the especial object of the boycott for many weeks after the occurrence of the troubles, its members including several business men. Captain Francis Borchert, a lawyer, reported that his practice was almost ruined. The business of Alderman Hanizjewski and Supervisor Schubert, both members of the guard, was also boycotted, as was that of Mr. Kubal's undertaking establishment and Thomas Jasiek's grocery store, although some appreciative ladies from other parts of the city for a short time went out of their way to patronize the latter. Alexander Gilinski was even expelled from the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union for the part he took as a member of the guard—for fulfilling his sworn duties. How long this boycott will continue it will be difficult to determine from its very nature and exclusiveness. It is, however, far less severe than at first.

A recent active boycott was by the Bakers' Union against the goods of Oswald Jaeger and Adolph Fienhold, who refused to accede to the demands of the union for less hours, more pay and the abolition of the "boarding system," as explained on page 281. Out of this grew the first arrest, trial

and conviction in Wisconsin of such an offender as a boycotter. On May 12, 1886, August Seidel was tried by Judge Mallory for violating an ordinance of the city of Milwaukee. According to the testimony, the defendant stationed himself in front of Fienhold's bakery and gave boycotting circulars, printed in German and English, to all comers.

The proprietor, much excited, rushed out, seized Seidel by the coat-collar, and after taking the boycotting circulars, caused him to be arrested.

The defendant's attorney moved for the discharge of his client on the ground that there was no ordinance against boycotting, and earnestly argued that the testimony did not show a case of disorderly conduct under the ordinance. Seidel, however, was found guilty and the highest penalty imposed.

The reasons given for the conviction were, that the ordinance was "intended to prevent any unlawful action which would tend to cause a breach of the peace" and that "such an attempt to break up a man's business tended most strongly to provoke a breach of the peace."

In passing judgment, Judge Mallory said:

The practice of boycotting is an outrage upon the rights of citizens, the avowed object being to break up a man's business if he does not accede to the boycotters' terms. Boycotting is nothing less than mob law and must be stopped. I am surprised that business men have submitted to such persecutions so long, while the law is ample for their protection. Any person or number of persons who threaten or attempt to unlawfully break up the business of another, or in any way to injure him in person or property, can be held to bail to keep the peace.

And further, where two or more persons combine together for the purpose of boycotting another as a means of compelling him to do any act against his will, they are guilty of a misdemeanor and can be punished as for a conspiracy at common law.

I believe that the so-called labor unions and like organizations may be of practical utility to laboring people if kept within the pale of the law; but when controlled, as most such organizations appear to be, by scheming demagogues, who are only seeking personal notoriety, and have no regard for the welfare of the laboring classes, they injure laborers more than any other portion of our population, and become a curse to society.

From that day boycotting circulars disappeared from Wisconsin.

The next case in court was that of Robert Schilling, state organizer of the Knights of Labor, who was indicted by the grand jury, as stated in the narrative of the eight-hour movement, on two charges. The trial now spoken of was on the charge of "threatening," really boycotting.

After hearing the testimony and arguments of attorneys, Judge A. Scott Sloan, who occupied the bench for Judge Mallory, charged the jury in a manner that should be forgotten by no one, as follows:

Gentlemen of the Jury.—For several years past the firm of H. Segnitz & Co. have been manufacturers and dealers in cigars in the city of Milwaukee, and were such in March and April last, at which time the said firm were employing 500 or 600 persons in their said business, and were doing a large and extensive trade during said month.

The defendant, Robert Schilling, was a member of an organization known as the Knights of Labor, and was an organizer of such societies in the city of Milwaukee and throughout the state, deriving his authority from the grand master of the organization in the United States, and was then actively employed in the duties of said office of organizing throughout the state, said organization having a membership of many thousands.

Our statute provides that "any person who shall either verbally or by any written or printed communication maliciously threaten to accuse another of any crime or offense, or to do any injury to the person or the property of another with intent thereby to extort money or any pecuniary advantage whatever, or with intent to compel the person so threatened to do any act against his will, shall be punished," etc., as the statute provides.

This defendant, Robert Schilling, was indicted and is now on trial under that provision of our statute. It is claimed on the part of the state that on or about the 25th day of March last this defendant, Schilling, threatened said firm of Segnitz & Co., to injure their property, business and income; that he, defendant, had great influence in the said organization known as the Knights of Labor, and was able and would injure the business of said firm and deprive them of the trade, patronage, profit and income of said business and occupation; that he, defendant, had already commenced to put said threats into execution, and had instituted a little private boycott of his own in a speech he had lately made in the city of La Crosse; that he had there advised the people at that meeting to stop buying, using or dealing in cigars made or dealt in by the firm of H. Segnitz & Co., and that he, defendant, would see to it that the boycott began by him should be extended throughout the state, and they be prevented from doing any business in the United States or in Canada, until said firm should come to reason and do certain acts against their will. That is, as is claimed on the part of the state, to make their shop a Knights

of Labor shop, discharge certain persons employed by said firm, refuse to teach certain persons the trade, and to use the white label on their goods.

On the part of the defendant it is claimed that at the time the alleged threats were made the said firm of Segnitz & Co. had made an agreement for one year with the Cigarmakers' International Union; that said agreement had been made in violation of a promise of said firm to said defendant that the committee should confer with said firm upon all matters of differences between said firm and the labor organizations, and that this was an act of bad faith on the part of them, Segnitz & Co., and an insult to the said defendant; that defendant told Segnitz this, and that "he had made his grave and must lie in it;" and that everything said by defendant was with no intent to compel or induce Segnitz & Co. to do any act of any kind, or with reference to any future action by the said firm; that defendant had no power to enforce or direct the Knights of Labor as to what they should do, and has not attempted to, but only referred to what he would do personally in advising people not to trade with or patronize said firm, or use cigars of their manufacture, and that everything said or done by the said defendant was not in violation of any law of this state.

Before calling your attention particularly to the statute and the rules of law governing you, so far as the construction of that statute is concerned, so much has been said during the argument of this case, and so much evidence has been given either directly or remotely connected with labor organizations and labor troubles, and the relation of labor to capital and employers, that I think it a duty of the court to call your attention to certain things in that regard, although they have no direct bearing on the case, but only an incidental one. As I understand the law of the country to be, it is this:

Every man has the right to work, and with this right is the right not to work if for any reason he can afford to be idle. He has the right to quit work, and the same right not to quit work. He who exercises the right to quit work is bound by every consideration of right and of law to allow those who desire to work without interference or hindrance.

Advice or persuasion may be rightfully used to induce a man to quit work or to join a labor organization, but intimidation, threats, violence, must not be used. The use of such is unjust and wrong, both as to the employer and to the laboring man, destructive to the interests of the laborer, injurious to the business of the man who desires to employ labor, an oppression and tyranny forbidden by the law, and punishable as a criminal offense.

And so with the kindred matter of what is denominated now-a-days as the boycott. It has no place in our business or social or industrial life; it is an enormity not to be tolerated in a civilized community.

It will do to say a man may patronize whom he pleases, or advise his friends whom to trade with, or whom to refuse to trade with; all this is well enough and is lawful, but when it is proposed to manage the business

of the country, and run and control all its manufactories and industries by such means and combinations as adopting rules and penalties, that a manufacturer may not discharge or employ whom he pleases; that no one but members of a certain organization shall work in a given shop or manufactory; that girls shall not be employed to learn trades or a business for which they are fitted; that man and wife shall not be employed, or, where they are, the wife shall be discharged, that labels prescribed by a secret society only shall be put upon goods made by the manufacturers, and these rules and penalties are to be enforced by the influence and machinery of an extensive and wide-spread organization working by secret and sometimes by unauthorized means and appliances, sometimes by threats, intimidation and violence, deranging business and disturbing the peace of society, the act is unlawful, and it is time that the man who believes in practicing such things should be taught by the courts of the country that the law will put its strong hand upon all that offend in that respect.

The worst enemies of the laboring man are those who advise or incite him to use the strike or boycott in the way indicated. The events of the last year show this; the immense amount lost in the way of wages to the laboring men, the privation, poverty and suffering resulting to them and to their families, the injury to all the commercial and industrial pursuits of our people, the fines and imprisonments already inflicted by the courts upon so many misguided men; these things show most clearly the wrong and wickedness of those who aid in bringing about such deplorable results. On the other hand, all organizations and efforts for the improvement of the laboring men, for protection, for mutual benefit, for everything for their good, is lawful and commendable, and will be recognized by the law and protected by the courts of the country.

In view of these rules of law, as the court understands them, we come to an examination of the precise offense under this section of the statute. I will call your attention to it again, leaving out, however, some portions of it which do not apply to this case: "Any person who shall verbally threaten to do any injury to the property of another, with intent to compel the person so threatened to do any act against his will, shall be punished," etc. Now, it is necessary, under this section of the statute, for the state to prove first that the threats were malicious—that is, made with evil intent—not for a good purpose, not for a lawful purpose, but with some intent to accomplish the personal end, or the private malice, or the revenge of the defendant. This intent is sometimes inferred by the law from all of the several circumstances surrounding the case. It is very seldom proved by positive evidence. It must be a threat to do an injury to the property of another, and so far as this case is concerned, the court holds and charges the law to be that a threat to injure the business, the profits, the income of a business, is just as much within the provisions of this statute as a threat to burn a building or to destroy the machinery in the building. The reason for the court coming to that conclusion it is

hardly necessary to state. It is enough for the purposes of this trial that the court so construes the law. Then it must be proved, in addition, that these threats were made with intent to injure the property, to compel the person so threatened to do an act against his will.

It is claimed on the part of the defendant that whatever threats may have been made, whatever may have been said to the firm of Segnitz & Co., was not with any intention to compel them to do anything, but a punishment, so to speak, for some breach of faith they had already done. Now that is a question of fact for you to determine from all this evidence. As bearing upon the question of malice, and as bearing upon the intent with which the alleged threats were made, and also as bearing upon the meaning of the words used in the conversation with Mr. Segnitz, testimony has been allowed to be introduced of a conversation with three witnesses, Mr. Benedict, Mr. Adler and Mr. Friedberg, as to what he said with regard to this boycott.

This testimony was not received for the purpose of showing that he had made these threats mentioned by these witnesses to Mr. Segnitz, because Mr. Segnitz was not present. Nor is there any evidence to show they were communicated to Mr. Segnitz. This testimony was received for the purpose of throwing light upon what the defendant meant in what he said to Mr. Segnitz when he spoke of bringing them to reason and of the other things in that connection, and also as bearing upon the question of intent. And so with the circulars, printed documents, that have been received. They were not received for the purpose of proving that the boycott had been in fact established, carried on or instituted, but as bearing upon the same question, and as explaining the meaning to some extent by the acts of the defendant of the alleged threats. And so you are to take the testimony of these witnesses, circulars, and the other evidence bearing upon that point in connecting with the testimony of the defendant, and his denial that he had any such intent in the speaking of the words, or any such meaning, in considering the question whether this defendant is guilty of this provision of the statute.

Segnitz & Co. are not on trial; the other manufacturers of the city are not on trial. The Knights of Labor are not on trial. The district assembly is not on trial, nor the Cigarmakers' union. The merits of any controversy about labor are not to be determined by you; it is not a question as to whether the rules provided for or the scale of prices are right or wrong, just or unjust, but they come in as showing, or to aid you in determining what the purpose was in making these alleged threats, what the defendant meant in making them, and the other questions involved in the case.

This defendant comes into court as all defendants come in criminal cases, presumed to be not guilty. and it is incumbent upon you, before you can pronounce him guilty, to be satisfied from all the proof in the case, beyond a reasonable doubt, that he is guilty before you can so pro-

nounce him. This doubt must be a reasonable doubt, not a vague, imaginary, possible doubt, but a doubt fully arising from the testimony.

And if, after you have fairly considered all this evidence, giving it the consideration and scrutiny which you would give to the most important concerns of life, there remains in your minds a reasonable doubt upon any of the material points involved in this case, then it is your duty to acquit him. But if, on a consideration of all the evidence in the case and all the surroundings as developed by the evidence, you find the state has made its case beyond a reasonable doubt, it is your duty to convict him.

In weighing this evidence, in judging this case, you are to apply your own observation and experience in the affairs of life; you are to judge of these witnesses by their apparent candor or want of it; whether the story they tell is probable or improbable; to apply to the whole case your common sense, your knowledge of men and affairs, and determine what the evidence in this case proves.

I hardly need tell you, gentlemen, that you are to decide it upon the evidence, and upon the evidence alone. Your own pre-conceived opinion in regard to any of the matters that have been discussed somewhat in the progress of this case have nothing to do with your judgment. You must divest yourself of all prejudice, of all partiality, and judge of this case as you would of any other case between the citizens of the state.

If you have any prejudice on the subjects connected with the labor organizations or labor troubles, discard them. Put them out of the jury box and determine this case upon the evidence.

Do not allow yourself to be influenced in favor of this defendant because he is a poor man, and perhaps I ought to say, in view of certain phases of this discussion, that it is not true in this country that a poor man has no chance in the courts of justice. There is no man so rich, no man so powerful as to be above the restraint of the law. There is no man so poor, no man so feeble as to be beneath the protection of the law; and you are to take this case, so far as you can, disregarding the opinion and the statements of counsel. It matters but little what counsel may think; it matters but little that the district attorney may think the defendant is guilty, or counsel for the defense may think he is innocent. You are to determine from the facts, from the evidence, from all the surrounding circumstances developed by the evidence, and come to such conclusion on this important case as your consciences and your judgment will approve.

In this case the jury disagreed; the second trial has not yet taken place.

Early in August, 1886, Gambrinus Assembly, Knights of Labor, decided to boycott the beer of certain brewers, and issued a placard thus:

GAMBRINUS ASSEMBLY. 5978. K——L UNION BEER.
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As the employes of all the breweries in Milwaukee belong either to the Knights of Labor or Teamsters' Union, the foregoing order was perplexing. The reason for it is explained by the Best Brewing Company, thus:

At the time of the strike last May, *our men did not all "go out,"* some thirty hands in the brewery and about forty of our teamsters not joining the strikers. The majority of the men who did not strike at that time have been in our employ all the way from five to fifteen years— one of them, in fact, for the past eighteen years. When we made arrangements with the committee of Gambrinus Assembly for the return of the strikers to their work, the agreement was that all the strikers were to return, we to pay the scale of wages established by the assembly, *and all those who did not strike were to remain.*

In the meantime most of the thirty men in the brewery who did not strike had joined the Gambrinus Assembly, and everything was running along smoothly until about two weeks ago, when the committee of the Gambrinus Assembly called on us and requested us to say to all our men *that none would be kept in our employ unless they were in possession of a certain "card" issued by the Gambrinus Assembly.*

This we respectfully but firmly refused to do, at the same time stating to the committee that we had no objections to any of our men joining their assembly if they chose to do so, but that we would not, under any circumstances, *force them to join;* that they had stood by us when in trouble and we were in duty bound to stand by them.

The aim of this committee in making the demand seemed to be directed particularly against our teamsters (some of them being members of the Teamsters' Union), whom the Gambrinus Assembly has been trying to induce to join their assembly, and which object, it seems, they have not been able to accomplish. Hence they applied to us, as before stated, to force these men to do so.

As we have lived up to the agreement made with the committee in every

particular, and in some instances are paying more wages than their scale calls for, we failed to see the justice of, and refused to accede to, their demands. We consider those teamers belonging to the Teamsters' Union just as much union men as if they were members of Gambrinus Assembly.

The aim of this Gambrinus Assembly seems to be to force *all* laborers in the employ of brewers, no matter in which branch of the brewing business employed, to join their assembly.

This boycott affects, besides our company, the breweries of Fred Miller, A. Gettelman and the Franz Falk Brewing Company, who are similarly situated as ourselves. Many of their employes are Knights of Labor, but not members of the Gambrinus Assembly, and this boycott method is resorted to by Gambrinus Assembly to force us, as well as the other brewers named, to discharge all employes who refuse to join their assembly; and, in case of a brewer refusing to do so, to boycott that brewer's beer by inciting the laboring classes to discriminate against it, and to boycott the manufactures of other brewers who do not employ, *exclusively*, members of their association.

At a conference of the Executive Board of the State Assembly, Knights of Labor, with the Phillip Best Brewing Co., held on August 27, the action of Gambrinus Assembly was declared to be wrong, and the boycott, by their order, was officially removed.

The exact terms on which the boycott was withdrawn, and to which both sides agreed, are thus stated by the Best Brewing Company:

First. While we decline to accede to the demands of the Gambrinus Assembly, that all our employes be forced to join their Assembly, we consent and recommend that such of our workmen as are not already members of some labor organization, may, in their discretion join any assembly of the Knights of Labor, or form a new assembly if they deem best, such new assembly, however, to be composed only of brewery employes, in accordance with the laws of the District Assembly of Knights of Labor of the district in which the new assembly shall be situated.

Second. That a membership card of any assembly of Knights of Labor (the choice of the employe) shall be required as a qualification of employment, ability to perform the duties of the position being equal.

Third. It is mutually agreed between the Ph. Best Brewing Co. and the State Executive Board of Knights of Labor that the action of the Gambrinus Assembly, demanding that an employe shall not have the right to join any other assembly, was wrong and contrary to the laws of the organization of the Knights of Labor.

Fourth. That the membership cards and placards issued by the Gam-

brinus Assembly should be immediately recalled and new membership cards issued by the organization of the Knights of Labor.

Fifth. That the scale of wages established May 1, 1886, as well as accompanying agreement, should remain in force.

The chairman of the state executive board informs us that if the Gambrinus Assembly should not submit to this settlement they would be expelled from the organization of the Knights of Labor.

The Gambrinus Assembly have since published an order to withdraw the placards before issued, which order was signed by Fred. Wilkins, chairman of the State Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, and John Adams, Master Workman of the Gambrinus Assembly.

As Chairman Wilkins says, this was not a victory for the manufacturers, but a victory of right over wrong. A subordinate assembly having taken an untenable position, the superior authority stepped in and placed them in the right. Such acts add strength to any order.

There are other instances of boycotting, especially those started outside of the state and brought here by national and international unions and the Knights of Labor.

There are also numerous cases of personal boycotting, *i. e.*, where unions and assemblies boycott and ostracize persons who refuse to strike, or where they take the places abandoned by strikers, or refuse to join this or that organization.

This is more reprehensible and tyrannical than any other form of this most tyrannical, reprehensible and un-American proceeding.

It may be noticed that the more recent cases of boycotting have been under the auspices of the Knights of Labor. In this the Knights go contrary to the views and instructions of Grand Master Powderly, who said, in his circular of March, 1886, "I hate the word boycott," and ordered local executive boards and secretaries to simply tear or burn up the flood of boycott notices and circulars that were then pouring in. "It is," he said, "a bad practice."

Notwithstanding Powderly, this bad practice was continued in Wisconsin until the courts began to punish its perpetrators, the Knights being led on by their state organizer, who declared that a man was "either a knave or a fool" who opposed boycotting for certain purposes.

VIEWS OF EMPLOYERS ON THE BOYCOTT.

Agricultural implements.— In most of the states there are existing laws against the crime of boycotting, and if we have none such here, we ought to have. We think a non-union man, or one who is not a Knight of Labor, ought to be protected when he wishes to work. No strike is successful unless violence and intimidation are used, and this is violating the rights of American citizens.

Think there are laws enough now to take care of boycotters if properly enforced.

I think boycotting should be stamped out and considered one of the worst of crimes.

We do not believe that any legislation is required or that any legislation would result in settlement of "labor problems" any more than in settlement of any other private difficulties. You can not stop lawsuits or prevent grievances by legislation beyond prohibiting the commission of offenses and opening the courts for redress of grievances; nor can you prescribe by law how parties shall settle individual differences. In regard to "boycotting," etc., we understand that offenses against the liberty of individuals in pursuit of lawful business are punishable both by the common law and under existing statutes. As we are not lawyers, we only say in regard to this question, that if such offenses are not presently punishable they ought to be made so for the future.

Baking powder.— Would make boycotting conspiracy. Would compel employe to give due notice to employer of intention to quit work. Would prohibit the manufacture and sale of whisky, and we think all would be lovely.

The less legislation the better. If the whole matter can be left without legislation it will be like my large beer-tubs, work itself out and settle the matter for the greatest good of the greatest number.

Boycotting either *firms, goods or workmen* should be made a criminal offense.

If a law that all men should do as they wish to be done by, could be enforced, it would be worth while to enact it; any other law on either of these points would prove a dead letter with all egotists.

Brick.— Let present laws be enforced and let every man do as he pleases so long as he does not infringe upon the rights of his neighbor.

The legislature should protect all men and boys that wish to become apprentices to any trade, and boycotting should be prohibited.

Carriages.— That all agitators should be arrested and dealt with according to law, if we have such. Corporations and individuals should pay reasonably for ten hours' work per day.

Chairs.— Boycotting is clearly malicious and should be punished, and every workman that desires to work should be protected in his right so to do.

Cigars.— Boycotting of all kinds should be punishable; children should

be kept in school until at least 14 years of age, but don't think legislation should interfere with the other subjects.

Clothing.—Laws ought to be such as to guarantee each individual a perfect, free exercise of his faculties and abilities. Boycotting of either goods or workmen should not be permitted, and strict laws should be enforced to prohibit boycotting. This being a free country, no man should be permitted to interfere with or injure his neighbors' business by combining with others, in an unlawful manner, be he employer or employee.

A laborer should be free to sell his labor, as we do our goods. We do business because "*we compete.*" Boycotting sternly suppressed. Very little can be done by legislation with that which can not better be settled by private understanding between employer and employee. We certainly need laws concerning boycotting and interference by laborers with their employers' business, and for the protection of those not participating in a strike.

A special law prohibiting boycotting ought to be passed; also a law, or some provision, vouchsafing the liberty "to work or to employ" to every American citizen.

Coopers.—If the laws of our land were enforced a great deal of this labor trouble would never have been known. The system of boycotting we consider unnecessary and very odious to civilization. The proper place to strike or boycott is at the ballot-box. We regard the foundation of the greater part of the trouble between labor and capital is built out of unprincipled class legislation, fostering such monopolies as the Standard Oil Company, giving them the privilege of swallowing up the products of labor and traffic, grinding human beings to degradation and serfdom.

Cordage.—Think we need laws to protect business men from being boycotted, and employers should by law be held to pay their employees at least every two weeks.

Farmer.—Let the laws protect those who need it—capital does not need it. Give us general laws, and as few special ones as possible, as each man, whether capitalist or laborer, has his just and natural, and should have his legal rights. Capital and labor, under equal laws for the people, will be ruled by the people.

Flax tow.—Boycotting workmen who wish to work should be sat down upon. The laborer should have the right to quit work, but not to interfere with others who wish to work.

Flouring mills.—Boycotting should be classed with dynamite, and treated accordingly.

I think the most stringent laws should be passed against strikers and boycotts.

Think none. Judge Mallory says boycotting is now illegal. If fellows who never did an honest day's work could be stopped from keeping honest laborers from work the country would be well off.

Let them alone, they will come out all right; they are experimenting now, and if any damage results it falls on the strikers mostly.

Legislate to make the boycott a misdemeanor, and to make it a crime to interfere with the peaceful intercourse between employer and employe, whether they belong to trade organizations or not; in short, legislate to protect *every man* in the peaceful enjoyment of all his rights.

Furniture.—A well brought-up young man will learn his trade well and will take care of his own affairs himself. We regard boycotting as a crime, and a law punishing it should be passed.

Only such as will prevent any interference with the transactions of business by discontented workmen — who, having a right to work or not as they please, should be restrained from intimidating others or from preventing shipment and sale of goods by combinations or threats.

Gas.—The hours constituting a day's labor in any business might be established by law, so with the regulation of apprenticeships if further regulation be necessary. The public have nothing to do with trades organizations unless they interfere with public rights and then they might be subjected to control. Do not think arbitration practicable. Laws providing for the co-operative system would not be possible, if valid. Boycotting should be prohibited.

Hubs and spokes.—A stringent law preventing discharged or dissatisfied workmen interfering with manufacturers or men in their employ.

Knitting works.—Boycotting firms, goods or workmen can not be dealt with too severely.

Linseed oil.—Laws to facilitate the prompt conviction and imprisonment of persons engaged in any form of boycotting, intimidation or action to prevent men from working who wish to, should be passed. Any organization having rules limiting the number of apprentices to be employed, should at once be dissolved and disbanded by officers of the law, as being inhuman and against all public policy.

Apprentices should be protected and not driven out by trades unions.

Lumber.—Laws for protecting laborers who wish to work and are not strikers.

Think boycotting should be prohibited because it will in the end work greater hardships to the employe than to the employer.

A law should be made to protect such honest labor as wants to work and does not belong to any union, against all strikers and illers, and a law to protect the property of the employer where they employ non-union labor against the union's wishes. All employers should have the right to hire and discharge their help and not be governed by any law or union so that they can not discharge an offensive man.

Boycotting of all forms, especially of workmen who do not belong to unions, should be punished.

None, unless it may be some law that will better protect men who want to work against those who don't want to.

A change in the jury system that will guarantee offenders against present laws a speedy trial by law-abiding, intelligent citizens *with an opinion*.

No legislation respecting labor necessary. The employer should be left free to determine the wages and hours of labor necessary for the transaction of his business, and if the employe don't like it, he should make room for some one who does. Those who agitate and won't work, and apply the boycott, etc., should be severely punished for interfering with those who are satisfied with the hours and wages, and willing to work.

That the most stringent laws should be enacted for the purpose of suppressing all organizations who uphold boycotting and all arbitrary measures for securing concessions to their demands.

Lye.—Strikers preventing those inclined to work and boycotting should be punishable by law.

Sheet iron goods.—The boycotting of firms, goods or workmen being un-American and against the principles our government is founded on, should be made a criminal offense.

Stove founders.—Boycotting is barbarous and should be made a criminal offense, by law so plain and emphatic that there can be no doubt.

Trunks.—The right to engage in legitimate traffic or labor should be protected by laws — and rigid laws — made to protect every man's unmolested enjoyment of that right, be he employer or employe. The practice of organizations preventing a non-labor-union man from working, or that of manufacturers' unions boycotting the labor of any labor unions, is as unjust and unsafe as that of labor organizations boycotting the product of labor. A war between labor and capital under this mode of procedure should be prevented by law.

Of those discussing the boycott, 155 think we should have new laws defining the practice as a crime, and providing severe penalties for those who engage in it. On the other hand, 149 believe that our present statutes, together with the common law jurisdiction of courts, are sufficiently comprehensive to properly deal with the subject.

PART VIII.

ARBITRATION TRIBUNALS.

EIGHTY YEARS OF AMICABLE ADJUSTMENT.

The oldest boards of arbitration are the *Conseils des Prud'hommes*, of France; and they are also the most successful. Their establishment dates back eighty years. A sufficient description of them for the present purpose is given in a note to an article by Rev. Heber Newton on arbitration, as follows:

These councils are judicial tribunals constituted under authority of the Minister of Commerce through the chambers of commerce, which are established at important trade centers of that country. They are composed of an equal number of employers and workingmen members, each class electing its own representatives, with a president and vice president named by the government.

The authority of these councils extends to every conceivable question that can arise in the workshop, not only between the workman and his employer, but between the workman and his apprentice or his foreman. There is but one question they can not settle — future rates of wages; but even this can be done by mutual agreement. Arbitration is compulsory upon the application of either, and the decisions of the court can be enforced the same as those of any other court of law.

The workings of the court have been beneficial to France's industry, especially in conciliation, by which more than 90 per cent. of all cases before the tribunals are settled.

In 1850, out of 28,000 cases, 26,000 were settled by conciliation. There were, in 1880, about 135 councils in France. Out of every hundred cases brought before the court of conciliation, fifty-nine related to wages, thirteen to dismissals, ten to misbehavior, five to disputes about apprenticeship, and thirteen to various other points.

ARBITRATION IN ENGLAND.

In England legal arbitration is almost as old as it is in France. There are three statutes in force in that country

relating to arbitration. The first is the act of 1824 giving power to justices of the peace to act as arbitrators in case of disputes between employer and employe, on application of either of them, and he can enforce his decision. The act only applies to "subsisting contracts." The second act was passed in 1867, known as Lord St. Leonard's act, entitled "An act to establish equitable councils of conciliation to adjust differences between masters and men." This act gives to the Home Secretary the power to license permanent councils of conciliation, but the power of such council was limited to the existing contracts. This statute has never been operated.

The third statute is the joint work of the two great preachers of arbitration, Messrs. Mundella and Kettle, and gives all the powers that can be given for the establishment of permanent boards of arbitration consistent with the English idea of freedom of contract. It was enacted in 1872, and in brief has three principal functions:

1. To provide the most simple machinery for a binding submission to arbitration, and for the proceedings therein.
2. To extend facilities of arbitration to questions of wages, hours, and other conditions of labor, and also to all the numerous and important matters which may otherwise have to be determined by justices under the provisions of the "Master and Servant Act," of 1867.
3. To provide for submission to arbitration of future disputes by anticipation, without waiting till the time when a dispute has actually arisen, and the parties are too much excited to agree upon arbitrators.

Complete as the act of 1872 is, it is not generally appealed to for the settlement or prevention of strikes. Both sides, and especially employers, fear the rigid enforcement of decisions that might be unsatisfactory and perhaps burdensome.

PENNSYLVANIA TRADE TRIBUNAL BILL.

In Pennsylvania an act to authorize the creation and to provide for the regulation of voluntary tribunals to adjust disputes between employer and employed in the iron, steel, glass, textile fabrics and coal trade, has been on the books since April, 1883.

It is very elaborate, minutely describing the method of

choosing arbitrators and umpire, submitting and recording testimony, paying the cost of rooms, fuel and light, forms of oath, license, application, award, etc.

Joel P. McCamant, chief of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics, says:

The state of Pennsylvania has an arbitration law known technically as the "Wallace Voluntary Trade Tribunal Bill." It has not been successful owing to the opposition of the employers.

The workingmen were and are in favor of arbitration, but the employers will not submit their accounts to any tribunal, and of course this leaves the workingmen just where they were before the law was passed.

It has been tried three times. In the first instance the decision was against the workingmen; they submitted to the award and went back to work. The second time the decision was against the employers. Some of them would not submit. The third trial resulted in a compromise which was unsatisfactory to all concerned.

A SECOND ACT FOR NEW JERSEY.

In New Jersey an arbitration law was passed in 1880, "but" Commissioner James Bishop says, "it is not considered of much value. I have not known of any action taken under it."

The law is rather indefinite, but simply permits employer and employes to choose arbitrators, and pay the expense of the arbitration themselves, just what they could always do without an act of the legislature.

In 1886 a more definite law was enacted, providing for tribunals of five — two to be chosen by each of the contending parties and the fifth by these four so chosen.

The judgement of the court may be recorded, witnesses sworn by the chairman; books, papers and accounts examined, and the inquiry conducted in an orderly manner. But, as before, all the expenses must be defrayed by voluntary subscriptions.

Other courts are supported by public taxation, wholly or in part, but in New Jersey labor must pay for its own tribunals though they be established by law. If there shall ever be an arbitration law in Wisconsin, let the expense of tribunals acting under it be on the same footing as the cost of circuit courts.

A FAIR LAW IN KANSAS.

Kansas, at an extra session of her legislature in 1886, enacted a very good voluntary arbitration law, parts of which are as follows:

Section 1. That the district court of each county, or a judge thereof, in vacation, shall have the power, and upon the presentation of a petition, as hereinafter provided, it shall be the duty of said court, or judge, to issue a license, or authority, for the establishment, within and for any county within the jurisdiction of said court, of a tribunal for voluntary arbitration and settlement of disputes between employers and employed, in the manufacturing, mechanical, mining and other industries.

Section 3. The judge shall forthwith cause to be issued a license, authorizing the existence of such a tribunal and containing the names of four persons to compose the tribunal, two of whom shall be workmen and two employers, all residents of said county, and fixing the time and place of the first meeting thereof; and an entry of the House so granted shall be made upon the journal of the district court of the county in which the petition originated.

Section 4. Said tribunal shall continue in existence for one year from the date of the license creating it, and may take jurisdiction of any dispute between employers and workmen in any mechanical, manufacturing, mining or other industry, who may submit their disputes in writing to such tribunal for decision. Disputes occurring in one county may be referred to a tribunal already existing in an adjoining county. And the award of said tribunal shall be final and conclusive upon the questions so submitted to it: *Provided*, That said award may be impeached for fraud, accident or mistake.

Section 6. The members of the tribunal and the umpire shall receive as compensation for their services, out of the treasury of the county in which said dispute shall arise, two dollars for each day of actual service. The sessions of said tribunal shall be held at the county seat of the county where the petition for the same was presented, and a suitable room for the use of such tribunal shall be provided by the county commissioners.

Section 9. If the award is for a specific sum of money, said award of money, or the award of the tribunal when it shall be for a specific sum, may be made a matter of record by filing a copy thereof in the district court of the county wherein the tribunal is in session. When so entered of record it shall be final and conclusive, and the proper court may, on motion of any one interested, enter judgment thereon; and when the award is for a specific sum of money, may issue final and other process to enforce the same: *Provided*, That any such award may be impeached for fraud accident or mistake.

The Kansas law seems to be exceedingly fair, although there have been no cases to establish for it a reputation either way. However, there would seem to be a fatal weakness in this, as in many other arbitration laws.

If Brown bring suit against Jones in any court of competent jurisdiction for the value of a cow, a knife or a farm, or for damages, or to enforce a contract, or to collect a debt, Jones must come in and defend or have judgment entered up against him with costs. He can not defeat justice by simply refusing to take notice of the suit.

But in arbitration, even under the Kansas law, either party can defeat the other by refusing to come into court.

NEW YORK STATE BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

New York, at the recent session of her legislature, enacted a law providing a state board of arbitration and permitting the appointment of lesser boards for every county. The local boards may be thus organized:

Said board shall consist of five persons: When the employees concerned are members in good standing of any labor organization, which is represented by one or more delegates in a central body, the said body shall have power to designate two of said arbitrators; and the employer shall have power to designate two others of said arbitrators, and the said four arbitrators shall designate a fifth person, as arbitrator, who shall be the chairman of the board. In case the employees concerned in any grievance or dispute are members in good standing of any labor organization which is not represented in a central body, then the organization of which they are members shall have the power to select and designate two arbitrators for said board, and said board shall be organized as hereinbefore provided. And in case the employees concerned in any grievance or dispute are not members of any labor organization, then a majority of said employees, at a meeting duly held for that purpose, shall designate two arbitrators for said board, and the said board shall be organized as hereinbefore provided.

On application the county judge may issue a license to any board so chosen and formally refer the matter in dispute to them for decision. The chairman shall have power to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books and papers and the board may fully examine wit-

nesses. A decision shall be rendered, written ten days after the matter has been fully heard; but an appeal may be taken from such decision to the state board of arbitration.

This state board is appointed by the governor, one from the Democratic and one from the Republican party; the other from some recognized labor organization. These arbitrators hold office during one year and receive a salary of \$3,000 each. They also have a secretary at a salary of \$2,000.

The first board, chosen by Gov. Hill, consists of Wm. Purcell, Democrat, Gilbert Robertson, Republican, and F. F. Donovan, representing organized labor; Chas. J. Madden, secretary.

The law provides for witness fees but allows nothing for compensation of local boards.

LEGAL ARBITRATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

On June 2, 1886, the legislature of Massachusetts enacted an arbitration law as follows:

Section 1. The governor shall, on or before the first day of July in each year, appoint three competent persons to serve as a state board of arbitration and conciliation in the manner hereinafter provided. One of them shall be an employer, or selected from some association representing employers of labor, one of them shall be selected from some labor organization and not an employer of labor, the third shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the other two: *provided, however*, that if the two appointed do not agree on the third man at the expiration of thirty days, he shall then be appointed by the governor. They shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are appointed.

Section 8. Whenever any controversy or difference, not involving questions which may be the subject of a suit at law or bill in equity, exists between an employer, whether an individual, copartnership or corporation, and his employees, if at the time he employs not less than twenty-five persons in the same general line of business, in any city or town in this commonwealth, the board shall, upon application as hereinafter provided, and as soon as practicable thereafter, visit the locality of the dispute and make careful inquiry into the cause thereof, hear all persons interested therein who may come before them, advise the respective parties what, if anything, ought to be done or submitted to by either or both to adjust said dispute, and make a written decision thereof. This decision shall at once be made public, shall be recorded upon proper books of record to be kept

by the clerk of said board, and a short statement thereof published in the annual report hereinafter provided for, and the said board shall cause a copy thereof to be filed with the clerk of the city or town where said business is carried on.

Section 4. Said application shall be signed by said employer, or by a majority of his employees in the department of the business in which the controversy or difference exists, or their duly authorized agent, or by both parties, and shall contain a concise statement of the grievances complained of, and a promise to continue on in business or at work without any lock-out or strike until the decision of said board, if it shall be made within three weeks of the date of filing said application. Immediately upon the receipt of said application the clerk of said board shall cause public notice to be given of the time and place for hearing. Should the petitioner or petitioners fail to perform the promise made therein, the board shall proceed no further thereupon without the written consent of the adverse party.

Section 5. Upon the receipt of such application and after such notice the board shall proceed as before provided, and render a written decision, which shall be open to public inspection, shall be recorded upon the records of the board, and published at the discretion of the same, in an annual report to be made to the general court on or before the first day of February in each year.

Section 6. Said decision shall be binding upon the parties who join in said application, for six months, or until either party has given the other notice in writing of his intention not to be bound by the same at the expiration of sixty days therefrom. Said notice may be given to said employees by posting the same in three conspicuous places in the shop or factory where they work.

Section 7. The parties to any controversy or difference, as provided in section three of this act, may agree upon a board of arbitration and conciliation, who shall, in the matters referred to them, have and exercise all the powers which the state board might have and exercise; and their jurisdiction of the matters referred to them shall be exclusive, except that they may ask and receive the advice and assistance of the state board in the disposition of the matters submitted to them for their determination. The report of any board constituted under the provisions of this section shall at once be filed with the clerk of the city or town in which the controversy or difference arose, and a copy thereof shall be forwarded to the state board.

Section 8. The arbitrators hereby created shall be paid five dollars a day for each day of actual service, and their necessary traveling and other expenses, to be paid out of the treasury of the commonwealth.

There is one particularly excellent point in the foregoing—that requiring business to continue without interruption pending the investigation.

PRACTICAL AND LEGAL ARBITRATION IN OHIO.

Ohio has had some experience with arbitration. In 1882 a "Board of Arbitration and Conciliation for the Boot and Shoe Factories of Cincinnati" was organized, composed of sixteen members, to serve one year—employers and employes having eight representatives each.

Rigid rules were adopted to compel submission to decisions, with general satisfaction, expenses being borne equally by each side. Moreover, employers and employes were in better humor toward each other.

In 1885 the Ryan arbitration law was enacted, which provides:

That the court of common pleas of each county, or a judge thereof in vacation, shall have the power, and it shall be the duty of said court, or a judge thereof in vacation, to issue a license or authority for the establishment within and for each county of tribunals for voluntary arbitration and settlement of trade disputes between employers and employed in the manufacturing, mechanical or mining industries.

That the said petition or agreement shall be substantially in the form hereinafter given, and the petition shall be signed by at least forty persons employed as workmen and by four or more separate firms, individuals, or corporations within the county, or by at least four employers each of whom shall employ at least ten workmen, or by the representative of a firm, corporation, or individual employing not less than forty men in their trade or industry.

Said tribunal shall continue in existence for one year from the date of the license creating it, and may take jurisdiction of any dispute between employers and workmen in any mechanical, manufacturing, or mining industry or business, who shall have petitioned for the tribunal, or have been represented in the petition therefor, or who may submit their disputes in writing to such tribunal for decision.

The members of the tribunal shall receive no compensation for their services from the city or county, but the expenses of the tribunal, other than fuel, light and the use of the room and furniture, may be paid by voluntary subscription which the tribunal is authorized to receive and expend for such purposes. The sessions of said tribunal shall be held at the county seat of the county where the petition for the same was presented, and a room in the court house for the use of said tribunal shall be provided by the county commissioners.

If the award is of a specific sum of money, said award may be made a matter of record by filing a copy thereof in the court of common pleas of the county wherein the tribunal is in session. When so entered of record

it shall be final and conclusive, and the proper court may, on motion of any one interested, enter judgment thereon; and when the award is of a specific sum of money, may issue final and other process to enforce the same.

In commenting on the efficacy of this law, Commissioner McHugh says:

No effort has been made to put its provision into practical use, largely for the reason that compulsory arbitration is generally regarded as impracticable. It may be said of this law, that while its provisions are drawn with a view to voluntary action, its operations are compulsory in the matter of a moneyed award, and as employees are not usually regarded as responsible in a monetary sense, no employer will engage in a voluntary act where he can not enforce, as well as respond, to a decree for a specified amount of money. Again, it is admitted that arbitration, where individuals only are parties to the dispute, can not be forced to abide by the decisions of such a board, because, as one man forcibly expressed it, "No employe can be made to work against his will, and no manufacturer can be forced to run at a loss."

Last year the men in the great Hocking Valley coal mines demanded an increase of wages. The demand was refused and a strike was imminent. Arbitration, by a board of five from each side, was proposed and accepted, but after a protracted siege it ended in a dead-lock. The miners then proposed Allen G. Thurman for referee, and he was accepted.

After a thorough investigation Mr. Thurman decided in favor of the miners.

After that other disputes were submitted to arbitration, the result being that early in 1886 a national convention of miners and mine operators was held at Indianapolis, at which scales of prices for the several coal producing states were adopted, and also the following:

Resolved. That a board of arbitration and conciliation, consisting of five miners and five operators at large, and one miner and one operator from each of the coal producing states represented in the scale, be selected by this convention, and that all questions of an inter-state or national character be submitted to this board for adjustment, and that we would also recommend that the miners and mine operators of each of the several states proceed to elect similar boards of arbitration and conciliation, to whom all questions of state importance shall be referred for adjustment.

Immediately Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Iowa formed state boards, and a national

board was formed in accordance with the terms of the foregoing resolution.

The deplorable contests between employer and employed in the coal districts will compel every friend of humanity to pray for the success of this tribunal of conciliation and arbitration.

ARBITRATION IN WISCONSIN.

Arbitration in Wisconsin is recognized in the constitution — in fact the establishment of tribunals of conciliation by the legislature, is mandatory in that instrument, section 16 of Article VII declaring:

Section 16. The legislature shall pass laws for the regulation of tribunals of conciliation, defining their powers and duties. Such tribunals may be established in and for any township, and shall have power to render judgment to be obligatory on the parties, when they shall voluntarily submit their matter in difference to arbitration, and agree to abide the judgement, or assent thereto in writing.

Nothing has ever been done under this section, and perhaps until recently there has been little necessity for it, certainly no demand. We have general statutes on arbitration, but they do not contemplate adjusting disputes and strikes between employer and employed, though suits relative to contracts or wages may be referred to arbitrators, and judgment enforced by any court of record designated in the written instrument whereby the parties agree to arbitrate.

But this is not the arbitration, either in letter or spirit, demanded by labor and capital, nor does it in any sense comply with the mandate of the constitution above quoted.

In the report of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society for 1873 the Secretary says:

I observe that some of the farmers' clubs and granges of the state, are discussing the benefits to be derived by submitting differences which accumulate between individuals to arbitration, and I am of the opinion that some of the latter have even gone so far as to incorporate into their constitution a clause leading members to this mode of settlement, and he who fails to live up to his promises is supposed to have more regard for law than justice, and is a subject for discipline or even expulsion. This is a move in the right direction. I commend it highly.

As is well known, this effort was short-lived, and that now Wisconsin farmers resort to arbitration as little as any other class.

The only case of real arbitration in Wisconsin brought to the notice of the Bureau, is that of Cream City Typographical Union No. 23, of Milwaukee. Arbitration in its true meaning, is for two or more contending parties to choose a disinterested party to act as umpire and to accept the award of the referee.

The strike of the factory shoemakers of Milwaukee, as well as the strike in Miller's shoe-factory at Racine, in the spring of 1886, was settled by the intervention of the Executive Board of the District Assembly, Knights of Labor; yet they can not be considered more than cases of conciliation.

The union printers of Milwaukee, about the middle of April, 1886, decided to waive the demand for the adoption of the eight-hour system, as several employers had expressed the opinion that they could better afford to pay a higher scale of wages, than to have their machinery idle for two hours each day. In conformity with this expressed idea, the union decided to demand an increase of \$2 per week for work by the day, and an increase of five cents per 1,000 ems composition on piece-work.

The minimum scale of wages to the book and job printers working by the day had been \$14 per week since the summer of 1881—the time of the reorganization of the union. Previous to that time, and all through the panicky years from 1873 to 1878, the wages had ranged from \$9 to \$16 per week, and piece-work about 28 to 33 cents per 1,000 ems.

The employers of book and job printers offered to meet the union half-way, *i. e.*, make the scale \$15 per week. No offer was made on the part of news offices.

The acceptance of the offer of \$15 per week, would have brought the scale up to what it was previous to the panic of 1873. The union, however, at a subsequent meeting declined the offer; not so much because the book and job branch was sanguine of receiving the scale demanded, but in order to lend strength to the demand of the news or piece-hands.

It was then proposed that the case be submitted to arbitration, and agreed to by both employers and the union.

Wm. C. Gates, business manager of the *Sentinel*, on the part of the news printers; Wm. C. Swain, of the firm of Swain & Tate, on the part of the book and job printers, and William Waigli, a news hand, and Fred Treyser, job hand, were elected as members of the board of arbitration, to represent their respective interests. Horace Rublee acted as counsel for the newspaper interests; Wm. C. Swain, for employing book and job printers, and Robert M. Campbell president of the union, as counsel for the employees. The task of securing an umpire proved a difficult one. After much trouble, F. C. Winkler, counselor and attorney, and a man whose integrity and honesty of opinion has never been questioned, was agreed upon. A stenographer was employed, and voluminous testimony produced on all sides.

The union, on its part, produced a number of letters and telegrams from printers in other leading cities, stating that their wages averaged over \$16 per week for day hands, and about that amount for piece-workers. They also produced testimony to show that in a majority of such cities certain systems were in vogue which resulted in bonuses and financial advantages to printers in the matter of what they technically term "phat," whereas Milwaukee offices permit no such system.

The wives of some printers were introduced to show that the cost of living at present is higher than it was some years ago. It was also shown that the nature of work on morning papers is very exhausting, and that five nights per week is all the physical constitution of a compositor is able to bear.

The argument on the part of the union was to the effect that a competent compositor on daily newspapers ought to be able to make \$16 per week by seven hours of composition for five nights of the week. Upon this basis the wages of book and job hands, as well as compositors on afternoon papers should be the same.

The testimony introduced on the part of employing book and job printers tended to show that the condition of busi-

ness did not warrant the demanded increase. It was also shown on their part, that although the scale was but \$14 per week, the majority of the compositors were in reality receiving more than the scale. They also argued that the average compositor of to-day is not as efficient as those of earlier years, and that it is not difficult for a really efficient man to get \$16 and even more per week. It was also claimed that very few men are now able to set 7,000 ems per day, or 1,000 ems per hour, ready for the press.

On the part of the newspapers it was contended that the average wages in Milwaukee compared favorably with those of other cities of its size. The argument was based on the report of 113 typographical unions, who report 35½ cents per 1,000 ems for night work, and 31½ cents for day composition.

Several days after the hearing of testimony, General Winkler gave the following decision:

MILWAUKEE, June 2, 1886.—In 1882 a scale of prices for composition was adopted and agreed upon between the Cream City Typographical Union and the employers of its members. This scale has been the measure of compensation to the present time. It superseded a lower scale. The union now claims a uniform increase upon the existing scale. To this the employers do not agree. The question whether there shall be an increase was submitted to arbitration. The members of the board representing the union and the employers respectively are divided in opinion, and it devolves on me as umpire to decide the question.

There certainly has not been since 1882, such an increase in the cost of living or general advance of wages as to call for an increased scale on that ground. In fact the only increase in the necessities of life or general increase of wages claimed has occurred, if at all, within the last month, and is too recent as well as uncertain both as to extent and duration to be taken into consideration at this time. If then the scale is to be increased it must be because it is and has been during these four years lower than it ought to be in justice to the compositors. This question, I think, can only be decided by comparing it with the prices paid in other cities of the class to which Milwaukee may be fairly said to belong. The chief controversy relates to piece-work. The compensation for this is fixed by the rate per thousand ems. It is not claimed that the rate per thousand ems of the Milwaukee scale is not fully up to that of the cities with which comparisons may fairly be instituted. But the same rate per "em" does not always give the same result. It depends on the kind and size of the type and the closeness or solidity of the setting — upon what the

printers call "lean" or "phat". The claim is made that the Milwaukee papers are exceptionally "lean." This is insisted upon with special emphasis with reference to the morning paper. It seems that in Milwaukee the advertisements are set by men employed by the week, so that the piece-workers do not get the benefit of them. In very many places this work is done by the piece at regular rates, but this is by no means universal. Where this rule prevails it is to the advantage of the men, for the advertisements are more or less "phat." To what extent this and other advantages claimed for other papers would benefit the compositor of the Milwaukee morning paper I have no means to ascertain. Isolated instances from memory that a person has earned more by the same amount of work in other places can not be taken to establish a rule. I know of no other way by which this could be determined than a comparison of the pay rolls of Milwaukee with those of other cities. Any other test if practicable at all could only be applied by skilled and experienced printers and publishers. The pay-rolls of other cities, of course, I have not. Now if it be true that other newspapers give their compositors the advantage of more "phat," it is true on the other hand that the night rate per thousand ems is higher in Milwaukee than either in Detroit, Cleveland, Columbus, Buffalo or Indianapolis, as well as in many other cities. It is five cents higher than the day rate, which is a greater difference than most places make. I cannot therefore say from the evidence before me that the night work in Milwaukee is underpaid as compared with other cities. As to day-work by the piece, I think the evidence shows that its earnings average fully as well in Milwaukee as in other cities of similar character.

So far as labor by the week is concerned the scale only fixes a minimum. It is in proof that the majority of printers in the city receive more than this minimum. I fail to see any good reason why this minimum should be raised.

Criticising remarks have been made upon the course of other unions in compelling employers to pay a higher scale pending an arbitration. It is due to the Milwaukee union to say that no such reproach can be brought against them. They have urged their claim in good temper and with perfect fairness and decorum. Their demand for an increase of the scale was doubtless influenced, if not induced, by the prevailing impression that a general advance in wages would take place about this time. If this should be so, of course the printers are entitled to participate in it. But I think it is too early to determine that fact. As an arbitrator I must have something definite to guide me. I can only consider facts as they are furnished by the immediate past. I can not forecast the future, nor can I base a decision on my personal conjecture.

I must therefore decide against an advance of the scale at the present time.

F. C. WINKLER.

The decision of the umpire was not joyfully received by the union. The members had ably presented their points, and were sanguine of a favorable report for an increase.

The expenses connected with the arbitration, in the shape of services as committeemen, witnesses, stenographer and umpire, amounted to \$265.78 to the union, and about \$100 to the employers.

This seemed quite a large sum, but considering the fact that it effectually averted a strike, the saving in wages is palpable.

Some facts were elicited during the process of arbitration which should be mentioned in this report.

The competency of the average compositor is judged by his ability to set 1,000 ems per hour, or 7,000 for a day's work. This does not include the three hours required to distribute the necessary type to set this amount, and for which work the compositor receives no pay. "Distributing" is a technical word for separating the types after they have been printed from, and depositing them in their respective cells in the cases.

On ordinary news or book matter, few men fall below this average, and the standard of competency may be said to be universal.

On particular book work, where accurate "spacing" is required, and *italics* or SMALL CAPS frequently occur, 6,000 ems may be said to be a fair day's work.

With this latter fact in view, one of the proprietors testified that very few men were able to set 7,000 ems per day ready for the press.

Printers should be willing to acknowledge that the standard of workmanship in their trade is on the decline, as is the case with many other trades, owing to the unsystematic way of graduating apprentices. The time is past when a boy in a printing office is subjected to a rigid literary examination before being accepted as an apprentice or a chance given him to experiment on imaginary jobs.

Even the union, by its regulations, stands in the way of the boy's progress. For instance, it requires five years' apprenticeship, but in all this time the apprentice is not al-

lowed to set any table-work. Yet, when his five years are complete, the union demands that he receive full journeyman's wages!

One case was reported to the Bureau where an apprentice on one of the Milwaukee daily papers was set to work as a helper to the "ad." man. This would have given the youth a chance to learn something more than the mere mechanical work of setting type; but the men in the office claimed that the work belonged to them, and deprived the apprentice of a few practical lessons.

It was claimed on the part of the union, in the argument of the case under mention, that Milwaukee is one of the poorest cities in the way of printers' wages. This statement is not borne out by the facts; for a visit to the Milwaukee printing offices—news offices especially—will reveal the fact that at any time one-third of the compositors found therein are strangers. It is not likely that this would be the case if wages were far below the average.

Again it was stated in argument, on the part of the union, that all really efficient printers have "covered a good deal of territory," which is intended to convey the idea that a man who has not worked in all the principal cities of the land can not be a good printer.

This assertion again is entirely erroneous. Nearly all the leading employers in Milwaukee—Burdick & Armitage, W. C. Swain, Edward Keogh, M. H. and S. C. Yewdale, P. V. Deuster, J. M. Everly, Alonzo Fowle, Michael McCanany, Dreutzer & Shannon, of the Riverside Printing Company, John Tainch, and several others, are all men who learned their trade and have at some time worked as journeymen in Milwaukee, while Horace Rublee never worked outside of Wisconsin, either as printer, reporter, editor or employer.

On the other hand, the present journeymen and foremen in these offices who receive wages far above the minimum union scale, or hold responsible positions, have learned their trade in these offices, and have become permanent resident printers, among whom are George T. Eddy, William A. Hess, that remarkable family of six, Henry, Louis, Albert, Herman, Julius and Clarence Bleyer, John A. Strong, J. J.

Harvey, Edw. Bulfin, Jacob Dreher, Otto A. Sontag, W. B. Arnold, George Armitage and others. Milwaukee's reputation for producing first-class work is second to none in the country, and real artistic printers are always in demand. It is an easy matter for a man of good ability to secure a permanent situation at \$16 or \$18 per week.

Independent of these facts, which are better acknowledged than denied, there was undoubtedly a deal of merit in the demands of the union; but because they were defeated in what they regarded as a just demand should not cause them to be lukewarm toward arbitration.

The chief cause of dissatisfaction among printers, in Milwaukee, at least, is, that the composition of advertisements, the real "phat" of newspaper work, is paid for at day-rates, while in offices in other leading cities, non-union as well as union, it is paid for as piece-work, all over 10,000 ems being termed a bonus to be divided equally among all men working at regular cases. In 1882 this question came very near precipitating a strike.

There is yet another feature of this case that deserves some thought. The book and job printers had been offered, in response to their demands, an advance, and, as previously stated, were satisfied to accept; but in order to lend strength to the demands of the newspaper printers, joined with them in submitting to arbitration, and lost.

This fact will cause the query to rise: Is it always wise for a man or union to go outside of his own particular business in attempting to regulate the wages of others?

VIEWS OF WORKINGMEN ON ARBITRATION.

The blanks sent by the Bureau to employes contained a question intended to draw out their views on the various mooted forms of arbitration. Those who replied are quoted *verbatim*:

Printer, Bay View.—Strikes are the only means of enforcing a workman's rights, and arbitration is a farce, and when men strike they should stand firm for their points; but they should not strike unless they are capable of carrying their points.

Nailer, Bay View.—Arbitration can not help but favor one side or the other.

Printer, Milwaukee.—I believe arbitration impracticable. It will only be submitted to when there is something to be gained on both sides—another word for “compromise” merely.

Laborer, Peshtigo.—I believe in arbitration and the ballot box as the best means to settle all labor trouble.

Carpenter, Peshtigo.—Arbitration is what we want every time.

Laborer, Peshtigo.—Approve of arbitrating differences or disagreements between employer and employe.

Stationary engineer, Racine.—Arbitration first, always, if possible.

Carpenter, Superior.—I think the best class of workmen should try arbitration before going on a strike.

Machinist, Florence.—Arbitration all right if voluntary and acceptable to both parties. If compulsory it will most likely create dissatisfaction.

Carpenter, Marinette.—The true way to settle any difficulty that may arise in any manner is by arbitration.

Moulder, Marinette.—All labor trouble should be settled by arbitration, by any and all means, if possible.

Moulder, Marinette.—Arbitration is, in my opinion, the best way to settle any differences between men and their employers.

Lumber inspector, Menekaunee.—Arbitration seems to be the best way to settle disputes, but it seems to be hard to get two committees to come to satisfactory terms.

Currier, Milwaukee.—I do not believe in strikes. They involve a loss to both employer and employe. Whoever wins it will be a loss, and can not be made up any more. Arbitration would be better if there is good will on both sides. Laws on that subject could do no good.

Printer, Madison.—Think arbitration the proper way of settling differences.

Laborer, Marinette.—Arbitration is the only redemption, if it can be used, but sometimes it can't. Then follows strikes and black-listing.

Carpenter, Marinette.—I think arbitration the best means of securing justice.

Feeder in paper mill, Marinette.—I think all difficulties could be settled by arbitration.

Laborer, Marinette.—I do not like strikes. I think when trouble can be settled by arbitration, it is by far the best way, as it does not cause a stoppage in business or wages.

Machinist, Marinette.—I believe in stating grievances to my employer personally. If employer refuses an audience, I believe in combining and forcing arbitration.

Rougher, in nail plate mill, Bay View.—There ought to be a law to compel parties to settle such difficulties by arbitration.

Machinist, Bay View.—Arbitration I am in favor of, but you will require laws to make it binding.

Puddler, Bay View.—Arbitration is a good method, if it is not conducted too much in a one-sided manner.

Stone-dresser, Berlin.—Strikes are the worst means of redress. Arbitration for me.

Paving-block cutter, Berlin.—I am in favor of arbitration as a means of settling disputes between capital and labor.

Saw hammerer and filer, La Crosse.—I favor arbitration every time.

Steamer pilot, La Crosse.—I do not approve of strikes, but, on the contrary, favor arbitration in all cases of differences between capital and labor.

VIEWS OF EMPLOYERS ON ARBITRATION.

Nearly all labor organizations, either in their organic laws or their declarations of principles, demand the enactment of arbitration laws. Arbitration can never be successful unless favored by both parties. The Bureau, therefore, inquired of the employers of Wisconsin whether they favored the establishment of tribunals of arbitration and if so to state how they believed such tribunals should be constituted. Hundreds answered in almost the same language; so only a portion of the replies will be given:

Agricultural implements.—Any officer of the county, say the probate judge, be one; the governor appoint one for each county to hold two years; each of them to appoint one, and the four to appoint a fifth one to settle all disputes.

A national board, a state board and a local board. Cases to be carried up if need be — the highest decision to be final.

What is mine is my own and individuals or legislatures have no right to interfere with my manner of using it, provided that in so doing I work no injury to the life or property of others.

We see no reason why questions of wages should not be settled in the same way as all other business. No force ought to be used to compel employers to hire men or compel employees to work for wages they are dissatisfied with. Both sides ought to be perfectly free in the matter.

The best arbitration I know of is, if a man is not satisfied, let him peaceably get his money and look elsewhere for a better job; and if I don't like a man in my employ I want the privilege to pay him off and get one that will suit me better.

Employer only knows what he can afford to pay. Arbitrators do not. No arbitration to regulate wages will ever amount to anything. If wages are fixed higher than can be afforded production is curtailed or stopped entirely.

Boilers.—An arbitrating board should consist of three members at its sittings, but its membership ought to consist of one in each congressional

district, each member being allowed a fair compensation for time actually spent at its sittings. If a difference exists between employer and employe, application may be made, both parties agreeing, in writing to the member of the board nearest for a hearing. The member notified should have authority to summon two others nearest, to meet at some convenient place to hear and decide the grievance complained of, and when decided by a majority of the board in session, their decision shall be final. Public opinion would compel either party to abide by the decision of the board without any penalty attached. Compulsory arbitration would engender strife and make matters worse.

Bottlers.—Arbitrators chosen by employer and employes voluntarily, they to choose a third and their decision to be held as final at that time, and no kicking for at least one year.

Brewers.—Employes, Knights of Labor committee and a third party to be chosen by both.

Judges of the supreme court.

If a person will not work for me for my price, he can not work for me at all. If I can not give him his price, let him starve. It is only a matter between him and myself. I don't think any one has a right to say what I should pay to a workman. Some are worth \$10 and others 50 cents a day for me.

Brick.—This whole question is an attempt to regulate human nature by law. A most difficult task.

We give as high wages as we can afford to and make a living ourselves, and when we can not do that we shall shut down.

Carriages and wagons, etc.—Don't think any could be satisfactory. Kill off what socialists, anarchists, and agitators we now have, and prohibit any more from coming, and honest labor will take care of itself.

Chairs.—No manufacturer can succeed who does not control and manage his own business.

Wages must be regulated by the laws of supply and demand, and arbitration can not very well effect these laws.

Cigars.—We settle our differences through shop committees, and with us this has answered well so far.

Clothing.—Upon petitions of several citizens, in each case, a limited number of public arbitrators, without salary, etc., possessing the necessary qualifications, might be appointed all over the state by the governor—something after the manner of appointing notaries; the office to be looked upon as one of honor and trust. Employers and employes might each appoint one private arbitrator to represent them respectively, and the two so appointed might agree upon one of the public arbitrators as a third one. This it seems would form a basis for a board of arbitrators in each separate case.

Coopers.—Let each select a person, and the ones selected continue selecting until a body of five or more be selected—and their decisions,

after being made acquainted with the grievances, be final. To make the choice more clear, the last man selected each time should select the next, instead of the first men chosen making all the selections. The last two, in even numbers, should decide upon a last or odd man. Let the number be 5, 7 or 9 as desired by the parties.

Flouring mills.— Let every man stand on his own merits. Skilled labor will sell for its true value in the future as it has in the past.

Because control of business passes out of hands of the employer, whose money is invested in his enterprise, while the help can refuse to abide by decision of arbitration committee.

If an employe is dissatisfied, let him go peaceably. Give the employer the same right and protect both, otherwise this is not a free country.

I look upon labor as a commodity, which, at times is worth more than at other times, the same as any other commodity. The instances where labor does not get full value are few. My belief is that the condition of the honest, thrifty, industrious laboring man of this country is very good, better than in any other country on the face of the globe, and such a one gets along with his employer and needs no third person to help him.

Founders.— Each party choose one and they a third (but entirely out of trades unions). It would be one sided at the best, one party being responsible, the other not.

An arbitrating tribunal created by congress, from whose decisions there should be no appeal.

Furniture.— One under government control if any, that could judge intelligently as to who should make the concessions and what the concessions should be. We believe, however, that the men whose money is invested in their business, can judge as to what concessions they can afford to grant.

If a man can not secure justice from his employer as to compensation for labor, let him decline to work for him. This is an old rule that has worked well for centuries in this country, and my observation leads me to state, that a good workman who is faithful and willing, rarely has cause for complaint. The writer has, most of his business life, been an employe, and wants no better chance than his value to his employer gives him, and while employing men for the company he represents can say that *faithful* and *able* men in all departments of labor in this vicinity or section of country are always in demand and fully able to right their own grievances and secure the full value of their services.

Gas Works.— The difficulty all lays in trying to make *responsible* parties bind themselves with the irresponsible without surety of performance on the part of the latter.

Knit goods.— A tribunal could not compel an employer to pay *more* than his competitors were paying, but it could legally be authorized to force him to pay *as much*, and the same would follow concerning the number of hours worked per day. The employer must never be driven from

a basis of fair competition with manufacturers in the same line. A general advance in prices or shortening of a day's labor can do no injury to employes; but discriminating would be ruinous.

Lumber.— If the employer or employe is dissatisfied, let them separate. If under control of a tribunal they are equally slaves to each other. A law requiring at least ten days' notice before a man can quit or an employer could discharge without paying a forfeit of at least ten days either way, would guard against strikes and losses caused by such strikes.

The whole scheme is distasteful. It is an admission that the laboring man of to-day will always be a laboring man. I prefer to have men aspire to skill in their labor until they grow into better conditions.

The good, honest workman, who works for the benefit of his employer, will sooner or later be recognized and advanced in station according to his abilities. Pass a law prohibiting the paupers of Europe from coming into this country — Poles, Italians and Hungarians.

We believe an employe should be independent, and not compelled to submit to what he thinks is unjust by arbitration or any other way, and so far as employers are concerned, reputable ones will go out of business before they will hand it over to arbitrators or any one else every time disagreements occur. Employers believe they own the business and property they build up or pay for, and they will manage it or quit it as a rule, and no law can change that natural inclination.

By governor of state, secretary of state and state treasurer, as board for state; chairman, clerk and county treasurer to fix a board for the county; town boards of supervisors, and with a final appeal to state board. Costs to be paid by parties as follows: One-third by employes and two-thirds by employers.

Draw the arbitrators from the poll-list of any election precinct not interested in the question, and let their decision be final and binding.

I don't want any outsiders to come to me and say that I must pay this man so much, and that I must hire this man and discharge that one. Slavery has been abolished and I think it is folly to inaugurate it again. I don't see much difference between one selling another, and one man saying to another that this man shall work for you for so much per day of eight hours, and he must perform only so much work.

The state should appoint a committee of three members to examine the question and decide which side is right or wrong. The wrong party must be compelled to do what the committee says is right.

I am not willing to give up control of my business to some one, I don't know who, else.

Let the laborers appoint their arbitrator, and the arbitrator for employers be appointed by the county judge and the two agree upon the third.

How could arbitrators bind a man to work for less than some one else would pay him for same work, or how compel an employer to keep a dissatisfied man in a position where he did not earn his wages and could and

would not take a proper interest in business? As all know, this spirit of business helps, many times, as much as the actual manual labor, and one disaffected man can do more harm in a crew of fifty men than twenty good men can counteract; so no employer should be compelled to keep any man that is not satisfied, and no man should be compelled to stay and work when he can do better somewhere else.

By the State Labor Bureau, whose business it shall be to hear both sides and assist in forming an agreement between employers and employes. This would save expense and, in time bring into use the wide experience of the Labor Commissioner.

Let the governor appoint good men — the Labor Commissioner to be one. I don't believe in a committee of three or four played-out politicians being placed in that position to settle matters in every branch of business when they are not posted in anything, not even the cause of their own failure.

Machine shop.— A tribunal appointed by the circuit court in each county.

Printers.— Supreme court, or judges appointed for that purpose — not elected.

I believe the umpire should be a man somewhere above the people, a judge, for instance, who does not hold one office and look for another. I mean one whose position is not subject to vote of the people.

Soap.—Employer should try and let employe live, and live as he should; but think employer is most too blame. He makes more than his share. Employer tries to undersell and cuts the prices of labor. Boycotting should be exercised on monopolies only, as they are the curse that steal of the laboring class.

Staves and heading.—We believe in the old time way. Let everyone manage his own business, hire his help as he thinks best, and when his men become dissatisfied, pay them off to the last cent and wish them the best success in other fields.

Thrashing machines.— Arbitration ought to meet with favor in the settlement of all business differences; it is just as well and no better adapted to the settlement of labor disputes than any others. The advantages of arbitration are speed, directness, simplicity, cheapness, and disregard of technicalities. Its disadvantages are that it must be voluntary, is apt to be irregular in its methods and to be guided by the dictates of sentiment or prejudice, and the defeated party nearly always believes he has been overreached or defrauded. Compulsory arbitration, which is practically what is advocated for settlement of wage and labor issues, is a contradiction in terms, is unconstitutional, and utterly opposed to the spirit of democratic government. The very essence of arbitration lies in the fact of voluntary submission, and we have searched in vain for any scheme of a general nature which promises satisfactory results. When the employe decides that he can not or will not work for less than a given sum, and

the employer decides that he can not or will not pay it, what is there to arbitrate?

Trunks.—Let employer and employe settle it themselves. I had no trouble with my bosses when a jour., and have none with my men now. If worth more and they ask it, they will get it; if not they get the G. B. I learned my trade in Chicago, and never in my life saw any benefit to either party in unions.

Vinegar.—I believe the employer has the right to set the price to be paid for labor in his business, and that the workman has the right also to accept or reject, but not compel either to do more or less.

Don't think arbitration can be devised to work satisfactory. Believe that most of the labor agitation is kept up by demagogues and by mediocrity trying to elevate itself on the shoulders of ability. Skill, like water, will find its level, and should. No arbitration can settle this question. We will also add that we are not in favor of free labor being obliged to compete with convict labor.

There would be very little striking and little need of arbitration, provided that anarchists, agitators, demagogues and politicians could be severely dealt with by the law as they deserve to be, and be prevented from going among workman and causing them to strike and commit law-breaking.

A manufacturers' first responsibility is to his creditors. He must manage his business so that he will be able to meet his obligations. Arbitration might be detrimental to that; could not be beneficial, certainly.

Woodenware.—The only great enemies labor has are strong drinks and tobacco. Kill them and the country is safe. Prohibition is the only remedy.

Woolen goods.—Compulsory arbitration can only be applied between railroad companies and their employes, as the general public suffers from their failure to operate. The charter can be revoked in this case, if strike is even caused by the company paying too low wages. It must, however, be fully protected in hiring men at fair wages. Men can not be forced to work for stated wages, nor manufacturers to pay them, and therefore manufacturing firms must settle with their men personally. An arbitration tribunal might be advisory, however.

RECAPITULATION.

Following is a tabular record of those employers who expressed views for or against arbitration in their sworn reports to the Bureau, which shows the number of firms and kind of business, and number employed by each branch of industry:

BUSINESS.	YES.		NO.	
	No. of Firms.	Number of Employees.	No. of Firms.	Number of Employees.
Agricultural Implements.....	2	43	10	886
Baker.....	1	4		
Baking Powder.....			1	
Blacksmith.....	1	1	2	2
Blank Books.....			1	15
Boiler Makers.....	5	66		
Boiler and Pipe Covering.....	1	11		
Bookbinder.....	1	7		
Boots and Shoes.....	4	442	4	235
Bottlers.....	2	10		
Boxes.....	2	21	1	40
Brass Founders.....	2	17		
Brewers.....	13	366	16	524
Bridge and Iron Works.....	1	43		
Brick.....	3	108	10	307
Brooms.....	1	3		
Broom Handles, etc.....			2	6
Carriages, Wagons, etc.....	4	23	5	208
Cement and Sewer Pipe.....	1	110	1	5
Chairs.....			4	839
Cigars.....	14	475	5	40
Clothing.....	4	969	1	129
Coffee and Spices.....	1	6	2	86
Coopers.....	7	59	4	85
Farmers.....	2	8	1	
Flax Tow.....			1	
Flouring Mills.....	16	101	27	243
Founders.....	6	99	5	97
Furniture.....	3	104	6	605
Gas.....	2	9	2	21
Glass.....	1	260		
Hammered Iron Forgings.....	1	8		
Hubs and Spokes.....	1	30	2	113
Ink, Bluing, etc.....	1	6		
Jewelry.....	1	11		
Knit Goods.....	2	425	2	260
Leather.....	1	65		
Lime.....	3	104	1	102
Linseed Oil.....	1	12	1	26
Lithographing.....	1	65		
Lumber, Lath and Shingles.....	49	3,692	80	5,602
Machine Shop.....	2	128	1	10
Millwright.....			2	25
Paper Mills.....	2	128	3	221
Pork Packers.....	1	800		
Printing and Publishing.....	2	31	1	15
Rectifiers.....	1	14		
Refrigerators.....			1	25
Saddlery.....			1	3
Sash, Doors and Blinds.....	2	106	4	356
Sewer Pipes.....	2	42		
Ship Builders.....			2	96
Soap.....			3	25
Soda Water.....	1	4		

BUSINESS.	YES.		No.	
	No. of Firms.	Number of Employees.	No. of Firms.	Number of Employees.
Staves and Heading.....			6	312
Stoves.....			1	4
Suspenders.....	1	8		
Tanners.....	3	202	2	205
Tile.....			2	15
Trunks.....			3	260
Type Founders.....	1	26		
Vinegar, etc.....	1	25	1	10
Wagons.....			6	634
Washing Machines.....	1	8		
Wooden Ware.....			1	550
Woolen Goods.....	8	101	4	111
Totals.....	184	9,746	241	18,305

PART IX.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF ITS RESTRICTION.

One of the questions of this Bureau relative to the desirability of so restricting immigration as to keep out disturbers and undesirable characters, developed an overwhelming sentiment in that direction. Not only that, but the question was the means of discovering an unexpected sentiment in favor of cutting off immigration of all kinds forever, or for periods varying in length from two to twenty years.

A fact almost as noticeable as the unanimity in favor of restricting immigration, is that a very large percentage of even those demanding total prohibition for longer or shorter periods, are foreign born, and some mention this circumstance as a reason why they know better than others the necessity of taking the question thoroughly in hand.

Only one-fifth of the replies received are herein presented, so many of them being mere repetitions. As the Bureau merely asked whether any "restriction" of immigration would be deemed advisable, the fact that many went still further and advocated total prohibition, shows how practical the question is, and how much it has occupied the attention of employers of labor.

VIEWS OF EMPLOYERS ON IMMIGRATION.

Agricultural implements.—Yes. Keep them all out, except such as have means to subsist for, say two years, and continue the restriction for a period of five or ten years.

Yes. Require a rigid inspection of all immigrants, and send back to port of embarkment, all socialists, paupers, etc. Keep them out.

Yes. All should be required to prove their industrial habits, of self-

support, of good character, and be able to read the constitution of the United States.

Yes. Positively prohibit it, and criminals who have not become citizens to be returned. Compel every foreigner coming on our shores to show a certificate of deposit with the proper authorities, entitling him to a patent for 160 acres of land for himself and his heirs.

Bakers.—Yes. I think every one should be morally as well as physically sound, that applies for admission into this country for a permanent residence.

Baking powder manufacturers.—Yes. Ought to have been long ago. Would exclude all for the next ten years from all quarters, and then ten years longer if needed.

Blank book manufacturers.—No. Enforce the laws against all disturbers of the peace.

Yes. Suppress it indefinitely; i. e. until time shall show the restriction no longer necessary or advisable.

Yes. We think every immigrant ought to possess \$1,000.

Yes. To the extent of shutting out all that can be.

Yes. Admitting only honest, industrious people, with capital enough to make a start.

Beer bottlers.—Yes. By doing away with the Wisconsin State Commission to favor that object.

Brass foundry.—Yes. Willing laborers should be admitted without restriction.

Brewers.—Yes. It is time it stopped. A natural growth will keep all business healthier.

No. Let all people who have a clean record, *socialists and nihilists inclusive*, settle with us.

No. It would be unwise to restrict immigration, but any disturbances by anarchists, etc., should be met by the severest penalties of the law.

Yes. For a period of years, as the labor market demands, and every man, on landing, should take an oath to obey and respect the laws, and should be punished for perjury if he violates his oath.

No, to no extent. Laborers are an acquisition, and to stamp out evil-doers we have ample means.

Brick and tile.—Yes. Keep out all who can not read.

Yes. Stop immigration until we have Americanized the present alien stock.

Yes. Stop all but those who are sober and have means to buy a quarter section of government land.

Yes. Exclude all who do not come well recommended.

Carriages.—Keep away all impure blood from the American shores.

Make a limit and not flood the country with foreigners and anti-American people.

Chairs.— Yes. We fail to see why the Atlantic coast should be kept open and the Pacific closed. *Close both.*

Yes, to the extent of not allowing an ignorant foreigner the right to suffrage until twenty-one years have been spent in this country. This might keep a great many away.

Cigars.— Yes. Want no immigration at all now.

Yes. Restrict immigration to the fullest extent.

Yes. We do not want any more immigration for seven years.

Yes. Restrict their coming. If our laws are not adequate petition Congress to give us the remedy.

Yes. Totally for at least ten years, and longer if necessary.

No. We are in favor of immigration from all countries, except China.

Clothing.— Yes. There should be, by all means, not only restriction but a prevention. Especial care should be had that this country should not be made the dumping-ground for the refuse and criminal elements of the world at large.

Yes. We think it the *most necessary* legislation conceivable.

Coffee and spice mills.— Yes. To the exclusion of all who can not show that they were good citizens of the country they came from and capable of supporting themselves in this.

Coopers.— Yes, I think our government should demand letters of commendation from every man and woman.

Yes, totally for ten years, and thereafter those unable to give certificates of good moral character to our consuls abroad should be shut out.

No. Immigration should not be restricted; it furnishes this country with brains, physical power and morals.

Yes, that none but a reputable and enlightened class of immigrants be allowed to land, and they possessed of means to live for at least one year.

Yes, entirely, I think. We have more laborers now than we have labor.

Yes. I would close the doors to foreigners until those we have are made to obey the laws of the country which they voluntarily obligate themselves to do.

Flax tow.— Yes. Prohibit all immigration for five years. We have too many now.

Flouring mills.— Yes. I think it unwise to hold out inducements to immigrants, as we do in Wisconsin.

Yes. Compel the foreigner to be able to read the English language and to reside here ten years before voting.

No, but they ought to be made to behave themselves, and should not be allowed to vote till they have lived here five years.

Yes. Each immigrant should have property to the amount of at least \$300, and not be entitled to vote before having lived five years in this country.

Yes. Don't let any man land upon American shores without visible means of support.

Yes. Some means should be devised to prevent foreign countries from paying the fare of paupers, criminals, etc., to this country.

Yes, and we believe in hanging every socialist, nihilist, anarchist, loafer and agitator now here.

Linseed oil.—Yes. Immigration should be so restricted as to very nearly amount to prohibition.

Knitting works.—Yes. To the same extent that an employer should examine an applicant for a situation, or a respectable organization would scrutinize a candidate for admission.

Yes. I would suggest a total restriction for a few years as an experiment.

Hubs and spokes.—If we let in Europeans, let Asiatics come also; let the latter fight the former. In time, socialists, etc., will be too busy scratching for a living to raise hell.

Yes; until there is a demand for the surplus already in America.

Furniture.—Yes; require property qualifications.

Yes; keep all foreigners, except *bona fide* laborers, out.

Yes. By restricting the right of suffrage to native-born and those of foreign birth who have declared their intention to become citizens five years prior to voting, and have either a knowledge of our language or a taxable interest with others.

Lumber.—Yes. Let the newcomers serve a probation and become residents only upon proper test.

Yes. Pull in our latch-string totally until we Americanize what we have here.

We do most emphatically. Admit only able-bodied men and women of good moral character, with a capital of at least \$300 each.

Yes; to such extent that the state prisons would have rooms to let.

Yes. Foreign immigration should be stopped. We can produce enough loafers, as well as desirable people, ourselves.

Yes; by imposing a tax *per capita* of \$500 on every immigrant, and thereby enable us to procure a better class of laborers.

No efforts should be made by our state government to encourage immigration. Free trade agitation and surplus labor caused our present troubles.

Yes; to the full extent. Disband our immigration societies and return all the paupers sent here from Europe.

No. This land is not ours to the exclusion of all or any part of mankind, Chinese or any other. We hold it in trust only.

Yes. Unless American manufacturers can reach new markets, no more laborers are needed in this country.

No. The world is a combination of nations, and if labor is cheap in one place it will affect the other places. They may as well be here as anywhere.

Yes; immigration should be restricted one-half, at least.

Yes. Immigration ought to be discouraged altogether for a while, until there is need of more laborers; now there is a great surplus. Clean out our state immigration board.

Yes. Restrict to an educational and property qualification; say each family should bring \$1,000 to this country.

Yes. Stop it entirely for the present; we will call when we want more.

Yes; by a tax sufficient to make it equal to prohibition.

Yes; so that all those now here can get work.

Yes. I think all immigrants on arriving should pay a tax of at least \$5.

Yes. I think the surplus of labor here is largely owing to heavy immigration, and think it should be materially cut down.

No. I believe in giving everyone the right of immigration, and then if they break the laws punish him for whatever crime he may commit.

Yes; totally. No more foreigners of any stamp. We have now a good start and can populate our land fast enough.

Yes; totally for a term of years, in order that the laboring men now here may earn just and fair wages without competing with what almost might be termed slaves. Give the money spent by the State Board of Immigration to the Labor Bureau.

No. I do not think that honest labor should be prohibited from this country.

Yes; all without money enough to buy a homestead.

Yes; wholly, until such time as it may be advisable to make a change.

Yes. Make it unlawful for agents or others to solicit immigrants to come to this country; require certificate of character; cease supporting state immigration society.

Yes. Stop it entirely for a term, say three years, to see how it would work; after that every immigrant should be required to be in this country twenty-one years before being entitled to vote for any but town and county officers. Our native-born have to be here that long before they can vote for anything or anybody.

Yes; I think immigration ought to be discouraged, and our public lands not given away to foreigners.

Machine shops.— Yes. By all means. Admit no foreign laborers into the country except such as can support themselves one year without work.

Matches.— Yes. To an extent that will give our labor the desired protection.

Printing.— Yes. Passing a satisfactory examination as to skill in trade, or a capital of \$5,000.

Sash, doors and blinds.— Yes. The United States is now able to produce laborers sufficient for competition; immigration creates a surplus which depresses the price of labor.

Soap.— We believe God Almighty gave us the whole earth, and every human being should have the free use of it.

Tanner.— Keep out the Irish and Chinese; hang all the anarchists, nihilists and socialists. Send loafers to Waupun and agitators to Madison.

Tile.— Yes. Prohibit immigration for five years of all common laborers and those without means to buy homes.

Trunks.— Yes. I would require all immigrants to be able to read and write their own language. I am a foreigner but had a good education when I arrived here at the age of fifteen, and worked my way up with no help but my education and kind Providence.

Vinegar.— Yes. I think it would be well if immigration were prohibited entirely for a few years. I am foreign-born but see that the thing is overdone. Why should tax-payers be forced to support an immigration board to bring men we don't want?

Willow ware.— Yes. I would suggest a thorough inspection of each immigrant's passport, which is to be signed by American consul at place of departure, who makes it up from official papers signed by the authorities of the late residence of the immigrant. Prohibit all socialistic agitators, nihilists, professional loafers and paupers from landing. A strict police vigilance is needed to hunt up and expel from the country, foreign-born disturbers of the peace, who, to make a living, erroneously apply their doctrines against our free government and poison the minds of thousands of contented toilers.

Wooden ware.— Yes. Establish a foreign agency in each old country, and admit none but those possessed of good moral character, and then have a period of probation here.

Yes, except where the head of a family is already here. Then allow the balance of his family to come. Within two years from now I would exclude all immigrants who do not possess a capital of \$2,000.

Rev. F. S. Stein, Kenosha.— Indiscriminate labor immigration should be limited, if not prohibited. Not merely the number, but the character of immigrants should be taken into account. One-eighth of the population of the country, and one-third of the insane, are of foreign birth, making the number of insane of foreign birth three times as great as it should be. One-fourth of the population of New York state and two-thirds of the paupers are of foreign birth, making the proportion of paupers of foreign birth nearly three times as great as it should be. Truly, these are most suggestive figures, and call for active legislation, proving that Europe systematically exports her paupers and the scum of the country to our shores. Why should our legislators discriminate against a few helpful and industrious Chinese, while they make no effort to stay this polluting tide? I am myself of foreign birth, and I thank God who brought me to this land, yet I am none the less able to discern the dangerous tendencies of the wholesale influx of foreign laborers.

NATIONAL LABOR BUREAU ON IMMIGRATION.

Since preparing the foregoing, the first report of the Nation Bureau of Labor, by Carroll D. Wright, has come to hand. It treats elaborately of "Industrial Depressions," and among their causes mentions free immigration. He says that now "the doctrine that the United States offers an asylum to the world" is "somewhat dangerous," and that "the past and its precedents should not influence the future and its good." He says further:

The influence of foreign immigration is best exhibited by the following table, showing the foreign population ten years of age and over, and the percentage engaged in agriculture at the last two census periods:

FOREIGN-BORN ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

	1870.	1880.
Population ten years of age and over.....	39,928,945	36,761,607
Foreign-born ten years of age and over.....	5,307,887	6,491,301
Per cent. of foreign-born of total population (ten years and over)	18.80	17.65
Foreign-born engaged in agriculture.....	619,108	812,829
Foreign-born engaged in manufactures, mining, etc.	929,581	1,225,787
Total foreign-born engaged in agriculture, manufactures, etc.....	1,548,689	2,038,616
Per cent. of foreign-born engaged in agriculture of total foreign-born..	11.66	12.52
Per cent. of foreign-born engaged in manufactures of total foreign-born	17.51	18.88
Per cent. of foreign-born engaged in agriculture, manufactures, mining, etc., of total foreign-born.....	29.17	31.40

This table offers some points of interest and of value at the present time. For instance, it will be seen that there were 812,829 of the foreign-born population engaged in agriculture. By the census of 1890 the whole number of people engaged in agriculture in the United States was 7,670,493. Into the total number then engaged in agriculture there had been absorbed but 812,829 foreign-born; that is, the foreign-born constituted 10.6 per cent. of the whole number employed in agriculture. The total number employed in the country in manufacturers, mechanical and mining industries was 3,837,111. Into this number had been absorbed 1,225,787 of the foreign-born, or 32 per cent. of the whole number engaged in such industries. It will be seen at once that the tendency of immigrants is to assimilate with our mechanical industries. This increases the supply of labor in comparison to the demand, lowers wages, contributes to whatever over-production exists, and cripples temporarily the consuming power of the whole. The progress of immigration has been very rapid. This is best shown by the following table:

IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES.

Years.	Immi- grants.	Years.	Immi- grants.	Years.	Immi- grants.
1920.....	8,385	1844.....	78,615	<i>Fiscal year ending</i>	
1921.....	9,127	1845.....	114,371	<i>June 30—</i>	
1922.....	6,911	1846.....	134,416	1867.....	296,967
1923.....	6,351	1847.....	231,968	1868.....	262,189
1924.....	7,912	1848.....	236,227	1869.....	352,768
1925.....	10,199	1849.....	297,624	1870.....	387,208
1926.....	10,387	1850.....	369,060	1871.....	321,360
1927.....	18,875	1851.....	379,466	1872.....	404,806
1928.....	27,382	1852.....	371,608	1873.....	459,808
1929.....	22,520	1853.....	368,645	1874.....	313,339
1930.....	25,322	1854.....	427,888	1875.....	227,498
1931.....	22,333	1855.....	200,877	1876.....	169,986
1932.....	61,482	1856.....	195,857	1877.....	141,857
1933.....	58,640	1857.....	246,945	1878.....	138,469
1934.....	65,365	1858.....	119,401	1879.....	177,826
1935.....	45,374	1859.....	118,616	1880.....	457,257
1936.....	76,342	1860.....	150,237	1881.....	669,481
1937.....	79,340	1861.....	89,724	1882.....	784,922
1938.....	38,014	1862.....	89,007	1883.....	599,114
1939.....	68,009	1863.....	174,524	1884.....	518,592
1940.....	84,006	1864.....	193,195	1885.....	395,346
1941.....	80,289	1865.....	247,458	1886.....	334,200
1942.....	104,765	1866.....	167,757		
1943.....	52,496			Total.....	13,444,438

The foregoing table, furnished by Wm. F. Switzler, of the National Bureau of Statistics, to Mr. Wright and the Wisconsin Bureau, shows that during 65 years one-quarter of the entire number of people in the United States at this time came in from other countries. But it does not cover the thousands who have entered the country without being recorded by the government.

Are not the two foregoing tables significant? While the United States is pre-eminently a country of unoccupied land, we see that her immigrants force themselves largely into mechanical and trade pursuits, thus reducing the wages of labor and the power of the country to purchase—to consume.

IMPORTING LABOR UNDER CONTRACT.

During the winter of 1885-86 certain newspapers and one or two labor organizations charged that men were being brought into Wisconsin to work in the granite quarries under contract, contrary to the federal statutes.

There are quarries of granite at Waterloo, Utley, Marke-san, Manchester, Montello and Berlin, in operation, employ-

ing about 400 men. Wisconsin contains several other granite quarries, but as yet they are not extensively wrought.

At Utley the men work at getting out paving blocks, while at Berlin attention is divided about equally between paving blocks and building stone. These two are the principal quarries, giving employment heretofore to three-quarters of all the granite men in the state. It was therefore thought that an investigation by the Bureau confined to those two points would be sufficient.

After interviewing the managers and about 50 workmen (all foreigners) the Commissioner fully established that there had been no foundation whatever for the charge that granite cutters or other quarry workmen were imported under contract.

Wisconsin granite is said to be the hardest known, either in America or Europe, and only the most expert cutters can deal with it. They come from Wales, England and Scotland almost wholly, and are men considerably above the average in education and intelligence. Not one of them was brought here under contract or the semblance of a contract. William Bannerman, employing almost one-half of all the granite men in the state, said:

Sometimes men coming out from Great Britain write to us asking whether we can give them employment, but we have never brought a man here under contract or agreement contrary to the law of any country, or given him a cent of money previous to his earning it by employment at actual labor here.

But had it been otherwise there would have been no violation; for in the "act* to prohibit the importation and immigration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its territories and the District of Columbia," section 5 allows "persons, partnerships and corporations" to engage "skilled workmen in foreign countries, under contract or agreement, to perform labor in the United States in or upon any new industry not at present established in the United States, and where skilled labor for that purpose can not be otherwise obtained."

* See U. S. Statutes 1885, page 332.

The superintendents stated that they could get "Yankees" to perform common labor, but in some parts of granite cutting foreigners only are available. He was sorry for this, but could not help it.

In 1885 one or two car-loads of Italians were employed in railway work in Wisconsin, partially or wholly under the padrone system, but they did not remain long. While here they slept in box-cars, cooked in the open air and washed their clothing in adjacent lake or stream.

During 1886, however, Wisconsin was flooded with Italian railway workers. The first lot came early in the spring, from Moskoga, Canada, to work on the Milwaukee & Northern. The sub-contractors on this line had been using Italians elsewhere and preferred them to other laborers. The carload thus brought to Wisconsin was the means of bringing many more during the summer.

Italians are mostly brought over by the Italian banks of New York, who make considerable sums of money by the transaction. Once here the "dagoes," as they are called, fall into the hands of "heelers" or "commissaries." These are shrewd and educated men of their nationality who keep posted on railway and similar work, and hire out the laborers in gangs for one rate, but pay them another, lower rate. They also board the laborers and purchase food, supplies, clothing and transportation for them.

Each commissary controls from 25 to 150 men. He sells their labor at from \$1.25 to \$1.60 per day and pays the men from 70c to \$1.30 per day, though it is almost impossible to learn the exact financial relations between the slaves and their masters. He gets special railway rates and charges the men full regular fares; buys clothing and supplies at wholesale rates and charges the men double retail prices; he generally boards and otherwise fleeces the herd, frequently acting at the same time as foreman over them for the contractors, at good pay. The position of commissary, therefore, is very lucrative. It is also autocratic. He has complete control over the men, agreeing with the contractors at the outset that there shall be no strikes, no delays, no trouble.

The reigning ambition among the Italian masses is to save \$400, send it back to Italy and then follow it and become capitalists and big men. In order to accomplish their purpose they are silent under any insult or maltreatment; work where other nationalities will not; sleep in the open air, in a box or under a tree; live on anything and everything that is cheap, mostly macaroni, which is purchased in New York by the quantity and cooked by themselves in rude dishes, with picked-up fuel.

The Bureau looked into the matter of Italian labor in Wisconsin, but could find nothing unlawful. They are brought here from other states, under contract, but not from Italy. George Hiles employed nearly 300 of them on his railroad; the Chicago, Burlington & Northern had a very much larger number; the Sault Ste. Marie furnished employment to a large force; the Milwaukee & Northern employed several hundred; and last year the contractors on the Wisconsin Central hired many Italian graders. One agent brought 600 to this state — about one-fourth of the number employed here.

Mr. Hiles paid \$1.25 per day; the Sault Ste. Marie paid \$1.50 and furnished macaroni "at cost," while giving \$1.75 to Swedes and other nationalities. In one instance, where a road was to pass through a swamp infected with gnats and mosquitoes, Italians received \$1.60 per day.

Those working for Mr. Hiles were quite extravagant, their "supplies" costing 16 cents per day. Most of them, however, live on less — 10, 12½, and 15 cents each per day. They never put up at a boarding-house, but feed themselves in the manner indicated, or board with the commissary at rates that seem actually incredible.

Men intending to make America their home, to build up property and pay taxes, — men with families, can not compete with labor of this kind; and it is a shame and an outrage that they are compelled to do so.

In March, 1886, Wisconsin was well-flooded with circulars from the "Italian Labor and Construction Company," of New York, offering to let men for "tunneling, grading, mining, breaking stone, laying ties, repairing washouts, lay-

ing water and gas mains, street cleaning and shoveling snow," or to take such work as sub-contractors "at figures that will repay inquiry."

The objectionable feature to American laborers of the operations of this company is indicated in the paragraph of their circular which declares: "Contractors and employers will find that *the authority of this company over the men it furnishes* is of *special advantage* in all dealings which they may have with them."

It seems, from the face of their circular, that Italians imported and contracted out by this corporation, are in practical slavery.

A bill was recently presented in Congress to prevent the operation of corporations like this and passed the lower House; but, owing to the close proximity of final adjournment, it did not become a law.

It had, however, the Bureau is informed, some effect in reducing Italian immigration under contract and in making what we shall term Italian slave-drivers more circumspect than they heretofore have been.

Padronism, as it has been practiced recently in the United States, is vicious beyond expression, as well as depressing to free labor, and should therefore be annihilated.

SUMMARY OF VIEWS ON IMMIGRATION.

It is attempted in the following table to show, as nearly as mere figures can, the sentiment of those employers whose replies to the Bureau were complete enough on all matters to be generally used throughout this report. The various head-lines show the kind of persons these employers would exclude, and the qualifications they would require of those admitted:

SUMMARY ON IMMIGRATION.

BUSINESS.	No. of Firms.	YES.												No.			No ANSWER.						
		Unqualified restriction.			Socialists, an- archists, etc.			Paupers and criminals.			Total prohib- ition.							Property qualificat'ns.			Educational qualificat'ns.			Good character.
		No. em- firms.	No. employes.		No. em- firms.	No. employes.		No. em- firms.	No. employes.		No. em- firms.	No. employes.		No. em- firms.	No. employes.			No. em- firms.	No. employes.		No. em- firms.	No. employes.	
Agricult'ral Imp's saers.	10				4	72		2	120			3	73		1	15		4	70		5	941	
Baking powder	4				1														4		3	123	
Barbed wire	1																						
Basket makers	3																						
Blacksmiths	4	1	1		2	4															1	4	
Blank books.	2																						
Boiler makers.	8				4	2													1	6	1	15	
Boiler & pipe cov'g	1				11																2	6	
Book binders	1																						
Books and shoes	12							2	119	2	171	2	270								1	75	
Boots.	4	1	5		1																		
Bottlers.	4	1	40		2	21															1	67	
Brass founders	2																				2	197	
Brewers	42	2	400		11	262		6	100	3	40	1	2						13	10	1	12	
Brick	19	1	25		5	144		10	10	2	67	1	75		1	11		1	20	1	50		
Bridge and iron w'ks	1				1	43															2	14	
Brooms.	4																				1	8	
Broom handles	2																				2	7	
Brushes	2																				2	1	
Carpet weavers.	1																				1	1	
Carriages & wagon-	16	2	9		2	28															1	4	
Cement	2																				1	1	
Chairs	4	1	106					1	5	2	127										1	110	
Clears	3	3	54		8	50		310	1	23											73	13	
Clothing	6	1	300		2	251		6	751	8	79	1	129						2	1	44	1	
Clothes reel.	1																						
Coffee & spice mills.	3	1	26																1	6			
Coffins	1																				1		
Confectioners	1																				1	35	
Contractors and builders.	2																				1	81	
																					2	8	

Coopers.....	11	5	90	1	5	11	1	63	1	14	1	14	1	80	8	7	1	8
Cordage.....	1	1	1	1	11	1	1	1	1	27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Crackers.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carrier's stuffing.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Distillers.....	2	1	1	1	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dyeing.....	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Farm ing.....	3	1	2	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flavoring extracts.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flax tow.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flouring mills.....	67	5	43	24	139	5	47	1	13	30	1	2	2	8	8	21	23	13
Founders, machines.....	18	2	41	3	14	3	129	2	73	1	27	1	1	1	1	10	6	17
Furniture.....	14	3	10	3	155	3	448	1	1	23	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	1,121
Gas.....	7	1	1	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,181
Glass.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	263
Granite quarries.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	270
Gunpowder.....	1	1	1	1	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	283
Ham'd iron forg'ngs.....	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30
Horse shoe nails.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30
Hubs and spokes.....	4	2	113	1	30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,00
Inc.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Iron and steel.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jewelry.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Knit goods.....	8	1	1	1	250	1	1	1	173	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	8	101
Leather goods.....	1	1	1	1	63	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	32
Line.....	6	1	8	1	11	1	45	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Linseed oil.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lithographs.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Locksmiths.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lumber, lath, shin gles.....	271	45	2,838	51	2,990	6	456	25	2,638	9	1,041	1	1	559	19	491	72	4,235
Lye.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Machine shops.....	6	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mattresses.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Matches.....	2	1	168	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Millwrights.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Oat meal.....	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Paper.....	11	2	63	1	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	225	5	165
Pearl barley mills.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Planing mill.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pork & beef pack'rs.....	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Printing.....	3	1	1	1	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rectifiers.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Refrigerators.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saddlery and barn.....	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sash, doors & blinds.....	10	4	159	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sausage.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Scales.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sewer pipe.....	2	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19	1	1

SUMMARY ON IMMIGRATION.—Concluded.

Business.	No. of Firms.	Yes.												No.		No Answer.	
		Unqualified restriction.		Socialists, an-archists, etc.		Paupers and criminals, &c.		Total prohibition.		Property qualifications.		Educational qualifications.					Good character.
		No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.	No. firms.	No. employes.		No. firms.	No. employes.
Shade rollers.....	1															23	1
Sheetings.....	1															1	272
Sheet iron goods.....	1			1	19												104
Ship builders.....	3			1	83			1	15								1
Snuff.....	0			2	55					1						3	21
Soap.....	3			1	4											1	9
Soda water.....	1																171
Spring beds.....	1																27
Staves and heading	0			2	38			1	4							3	21
Stave foundries.....	2			1	46											1	9
Straw goods.....	1			62												23	6
Suspenders.....	1			11													1
Tacks.....	2																1
Tanners.....	13			17	5	201											2
Tile.....	3			1	7			1	8							642	2
Tinware.....	2															2	1
Tobacco.....	1			1	4											2	78
Transformed fruit.....	1			2	175											1	125
Trunks.....	5																1
Twine, bags and bat's	1																1
Type foundries.....	1			12				1	87								62
Type (wood).....	1			13													2
Vinegar and pickles.....	3			15	2	476		1	25								1
Wagons.....	13			1	35			2	74								5
Wagon wood stock.....	2			1	8												1
Washing machines.....	1			1													5
Wholesale liquor.....	1			1													1
Wind mills.....	3			10	1	18											1
Willow ware.....	1			2	67												1
Wire works.....	2																1
Wooden ware.....	5			560													1
Wood working ma- chinery.....	1			1	30			3	171								1
Woolen mills.....	10			138	4	240											6
Totals.....	766	104	5,748	170	6,816	46	2,028	70	4,059	31	1,908	9	210	68	2,967	272	14,561

PART X.

WISCONSIN WORKINGMEN.

SYMPOSIUM OF THEIR VIEWS AND WISHES.

The following views are extracts from correspondence of workingmen upon different phases of the labor problem, and furnish an interesting index to the general as well as local features of the trades the writers represent:

TRADE UNIONS.

Back tender, paper machine, Marinette.— I think trade unions are a very good thing.

Carpenter, Marinette.— I favor the Knights of Labor.

Carpenter, Neillsville.— My view in regard to trade or labor unions is, that they are good if not carried to excess.

Carpenter, Superior.— I do not believe much in trade unions as carried on at present.

Currier, Milwaukee.— Trade unions are good if properly organized and managed.

Foreman, Marinette.— I have had a long experience with moulders' unions and find where it sometimes benefits the moulders it has a tendency to make them dissolute and ready to strike on slight provocation. Have not had the experience in this state, but in New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan. I do not favor trade unions; think that the law of supply and personal skill will regulate matters. Think that strikes and boycotting should be made unlawful. My observation is that where anything has been gained by unions the saloons where liquor is sold have reaped the benefit. When I can see any good from trade unions, I will join.

Foreman, Marinette.— I am in favor of trade unions, but greatly opposed to strikes.

Joiner, La Crosse.— Trade unions, I think, are dangerous. Our laws are good enough as they are, if carried out to the letter.

Laborer, Marinette.— I don't believe in any unions; but I do believe in labor laws.

Laborer, Peshtigo.— Believe the Knights of Labor, in principle, are correct.

Laborer, Peshtigo.— The influence of the Knights of Labor has been most beneficial to the workingmen in this town and county. An increase of fifty cents per day on this spring's log drive is due to their influence, and the changing of a day's labor in the saw-mills from eleven and one-half hours to ten hours per day, is also due to their influence.

Lumbershaver, Peshtigo.— In regard to labor organizations, I believe in them if carried on in a conservative spirit, keeping out, for the present, at any rate, socialists and extremists of all kinds. Labor has a perfect right to organize for its own protection, as only in union there is strength.

Machinist, Bay View.— The influence of trade unions, where they are properly managed, I believe to be beneficial; but where used as a power to grind, hurtful. In my opinion, every rise in wages hurts someone and every fall also hurts. Thus, if wages in general were to be raised it would increase the cost of production, and as the producer will always have his profits, the results are that the workman has to pay more for his necessities, and it is then only a question of whether it is better to receive more and pay more, or less and pay less. I admit that high wages give you an opportunity to save the surplus, if there is any, but the fact remains that someone has to pay the piper.

Machinist, Janesville.— I think the Knights of Labor are all right if they live up to their declaration of principles.

Machinist, Marinette.— I never belonged to a trade union, and would not if I could get work without it.

Machinist, Marinette.— I believe in stating my individual grievances to my employer personally, when it can be done. If the employer should refuse an audience, then I believe in combining and accepting arbitration.

Machinist, Racine.— I think the various trade unions all good so far as they go, but regard the Knights of Labor as much the best owing to its large numbers, and believe, if rightly conducted, it will create a revolution in the present labor system.

Moulder, Marinette.— I don't believe in trade unions; they are invariably controlled by narrow-minded men, or what are usually termed public blood-suckers — men who do not care to work themselves, nor want others to work. I have been a moulder for twenty years and in that time have had a good chance to watch the effect of the union, as the moulders' union is one of the strongest in America. It encourages men to tramp; it compels employers to pay a poor workman the same wages as they do good men; hence they are doing the good workman an injury as well as the employer. In a shop where the union men are in the majority they dictate who shall and who shall not work there, no matter whether the foreman or proprietor may want them or not.

Moulder, Marinette.— I believe in trades unions all over the land.

Nailer, Bay View.— Trade unions would be an advantage if men were

sober, for one can influence another; but it takes too much money to keep and support the dissipated members.

Pattern maker, Florence.—I can not say anything from personal experience about trade unions, there being none in this place; but am in favor of workmen's organizations.

Printer, Bay View.—Trades unions are good. When properly conducted are the best for both employer and employe. Every employer should recognize the union.

Printer, Fond du Lac.—Trade unions to be beneficial should not be confined to the larger cities only. In this city with about twenty printers we have but five journeymen, the best of whom receive but \$15 per week. The greater part of the work is done by boys and girls at 18 to 22 cents per thousand ems.

Printer, Madison.—I think unions are a good thing.

Printer, Madison.—I have not much faith in trade unions, because the International Typographical Union, with all its boasted influence, has not been able to establish a union in this city. Although but eighty-five miles from Milwaukee, the rate of composition is five cents less per 1,000 ems, while the cost of living here is greater than in Milwaukee.

Printer, Milwaukee.—I believe in organized labor. A trade union carried on upon principles of equity is a benefit alike to employer and employe. It diminishes unfair competition, and secures better wages to the employe.

Puddler, Bay View.—The influence of trade unions is very beneficial to employer and employe, if they are conducted on good principles, and if the members are educated in these principles and obey the same.

Puddler, Bay View.—Our unions are beneficial in promoting harmony among workmen and their employers and giving honest work for pay received. They are especially good in preventing a tyrant boss from grinding men to the earth; it brings us closer to our employer and reasons with him for the benefit of both.

Roller, Bay View.—I think that trade unions are a necessity in the absence of education amongst the working classes. I find from observation that education commands respect. What banking firm or merchant would bully his teller or clerk? And yet, go through our work-shops with contractor, and see what hard knocks the workman gets; hence the necessity of organization. The fact is, we can not get anything without it, except reductions.

Rougher, Bay View.—Trades unions are just what we need, provided they are carried on upon good principles.

Ruler, Milwaukee.—Trade unions (I do not belong to any) are good in so far as they secure a good skilled workman a fair salary.

Saw-hammerer, La Crosse.—I approve of trade unions.

Sawyer, Superior.—I think trade unions are a good thing.

Ship carpenter, La Crosse.—As to trade unions, I have nothing to say

more than that I am in favor of anything to help the cause of labor, if it is just and right.

Stone-dresser, Berlin.—Trade unions have had some good influence at times; but not so much as to make me give them my support.

Tallyman, Menekaunee.—I believe unions are a benefit to the laboring man and also to the employer if properly governed. If not properly governed they are a detriment to both. Before there was a union here we worked eleven and one-half hours a day and had from twenty to twenty-five minutes for dinner. As soon as the union was started, we got an hour for dinner, and same pay. Now the work is ten hours; wages are higher than last summer, and if it were not for the influence of the union it would be eleven and one-half hours yet at the same pay.

Upholsterer, La Crosse.—Trade unions are a means of keeping up the wages, and strikes are a necessity wherever an employer fails to act justly toward his employes.

POLITICAL.

Laborer, Peshtigo.—I think the workingman should be very careful of his vote, never to give it to a candidate who does not believe that a laborer has any rights, or to a man who believes in the damnable doctrine that "Might is right," and I think there should be less lawyers in national congress and more representatives of the laboring class.

Laborer, Peshtigo.—I believe the ballot-box the only weapon, or means, which can be effectually used by the laboring class, whereby they may elect intellectual men from their own class to represent them in the state and United States capitals, and thereby obtain right and justice and prosperity.

CHILD LABOR.

Printer, Milwaukee.—I would abolish all labor of persons under fourteen, by law, with power vested in the Labor Bureau to decide about exceptions, on application by affidavit of two acquaintances of applicant, and citizens of same election precinct. Then give us a law which will abolish exclusive boy's labor. Put some of the responsibility of the boys' future upon the shoulders of parents and employers, instead of making the boy the mere victim of fate as he is now. Let the boy of the future have a chance to be a mechanic of his choice by providing industrial schools, and then regulate the number of apprentices in proportion to journeymen. "What to do with our boys" seems to me the most urgent question of the labor problem. That question settled, many of the other phases will vanish.

Tanner, Milwaukee.—A shopmate requested me to answer the letter you sent him in regard to child labor, as he can not write English.

According to his ideas he is not in favor of child labor for children under fourteen years of age. The schools are the place for all children

under that age; it is an injury to the working classes to bring up children in ignorance. The best schooled make the best mechanics.

Tanner, Milwaukee.—Nothing can be said in regard to apprentices; there are no apprentices proper in any trade in this country — in tanneries especially not. Boys enter these shops to learn one or more branches of the business, but never all. In regard to small children being at work in factories, it must be said that this is the fault more of the parents than of the officers; the parents wish to increase their income, and consequently send their children to work as soon as possible. No law can help this in the condition of workingmen. They must help themselves; if they don't do it a law certainly will not and can not.

APPRENTICESHIP.

Carpenter, Peshtigo.—An apprentice system is what we want here very bad, particularly in my trade. Here any man that can saw off a board calls himself a carpenter, and commands as much wages as a good mechanic. I think there should be a law to force young men to serve a regular apprenticeship, so that mechanics could get some protection. Now it matters not how good a workman a man may be, he gets no more wages than an inferior one. I served an apprenticeship of four years myself, and I think it unfair that I must compete with men that pick up tools and go to work without any experience whatever.

Foreman, Marinette.—I think a law should be passed binding apprentices for a specified term, in justice to both apprentice and employer.

Foreman, Marinette.—I would favor a strict indenture apprentice system, with less apprentices and more master workmen. Would favor more liberal labor laws; that is, more for the protection of the laborer. My case, though, is such that it can not be taken for much, as I am fairly and liberally dealt with.

Marine engineer, Superior.—Apprentices should serve three years at a trade before being allowed in unions.

Nailor, Bay View.—Laws should be passed to protect labor, not allowing capitalists to employ condemned criminals to compete with honest labor, nor to contract with pauper labor of foreign countries. But above all, until the people become temperate there will always be very poor and ignorant people, and they will be used to degrade labor, or rather keep them in miserable subjection.

Printer, Milwaukee.—Every trade should regulate its own apprentice system, as they know more about it than anybody else. As to laws for labor, it is a huge question, but the best thing that could be done in this state would be to amend the eight-hour law by attaching a penalty of \$5,000 for every violation and as large a penalty for the employment of children under the age prescribed by law. Further than this, the workman must cease sending lawyers and bankers and large moneyed men

to legislative halls, and then he will get the proper labor laws and not before.

Tailor, Bay View.—The apprentice system, allowing only one apprentice to a certain number of mechanics, will prevent trades from becoming overcrowded, which will be a great benefit to mechanics. At present only the sons of mechanics have a chance of learning a trade, and when a mechanic has five or six sons he may be able to get two or three of them to become apprentices; but what will become of the other two or three? Unless they have money sufficient to get an education and learn a profession or to go into business, they must naturally become day-laborers, which will be the case with the majority of them.

LABOR LAWS.

Book agent, Milwaukee.—Girls under sixteen years should not be allowed to work; the same with boys. If a law that no children under sixteen be allowed to work could be set in action strictly, it would do a great deal of good.

Carpenter, Marinette.—I believe in labor laws. It's about time we have some one to help us to have better times than we have been having for a few years past.

Carpenter, Oshkosh.—I think our laws are good enough as they are, if carried out to the letter.

Cooper, La Crosse.—I think there ought to be a law to keep young boys out of workshops. They ought to be at school, and let their fathers and big brothers have a chance, which they are praying for every day. There is a boy ten years old working in our shop to support his able-bodied father. It is a shame and disgrace to the shop.

Filer, La Crosse.—Compel capital to pay labor weekly in cash. No restrictions as to disposition of laborer's money.

Machinist, Florence.—If more prompt payment of wages can be effected by legislation, it should be done.

Machinist, Marinette.—Would like to see a law enacted forbidding employers to compel employees to take store-pay.

I believe in industrial education in the public schools and colleges.

Machinist, Bay View.—As for new laws that I would like to see passed, I give you a poser: Give us one that will enable a poor man (that is, a man who has to work every day for a "living") to keep a family of, say, eight children at school until they are eighteen years of age without hurting anyone, and you will be the greatest benefactor of the nineteenth century.

Paper ruler, Milwaukee.—Girls under 17 ought not to be allowed to work anywhere. Boys should be kept in school until they are 16. Legal holidays should be kept and the lost time not deducted from wages.

Pilot, La Crosse.—A return of all moneys exacted from marine men for

license, they being the only skilled labor that is forced to pay such license. Also a change in railroad laws as they now exist in regard to right of way of streets in cities, compelling poor people to have their property damaged without any compensation.

Roller, Bay View.—I would like to see the Sunday law enforced, and close every saloon in Wisconsin on Sunday, and every other day if it were possible, for they degrade the working classes more than anything else.

Upholsterer, La Crosse — Wages should be paid in cash, either weekly or monthly, and ten hours' work should be strictly enforced in all departments where hired labor is required, throughout the state, and it should not cost anything where a suit is brought to recover wages. Laws should be enacted for the oppressed, not for the oppressor.

Yardmaster, Janesville.—All laws now existing are good enough for me.

IMMIGRATION.

Tanner, Milwaukee.—My own views and those of my shop mates, to whom I have talked about the subject are that we do not want any more European labor at present, but could spare several thousands in Milwaukee, and not miss them at all. There should be laws passed to put a stop to, or at least restrict immigration.

Carpenter, Marinette.—We poor, native-born citizens are just pulled around same as dogs by foreign people. We do not stand any show, and it seems as though everything is coming to the very worst in the near future unless free immigration is stopped.

Lumber laborer, Peshtigo.—I think immigration to this country ought to be stopped, for a while, at any rate, except the immigrant brings a certain amount of money or property with him. The supply of labor here is now largely in excess of the demand.

Laborer, Marinette.—I think that immigration should be stopped for a term of four or five years, so as to give us time to have everything settled quietly and without strikes, or any other trouble; for there are too many men in the country now for the work to be done, working even on the ten-hour system.

GENERAL CONDITION OF WAGE WORKERS.

Carpenter, Peshtigo.—My home is in Peshtigo, where I now reside. I have been at the Lumberman's Iron Mine for three years, although my wife has been in Peshtigo. As for Peshtigo, I think we have the only monopoly here in the Northwest, that is the Peshtigo Lumber Company. They own the river on both sides for about one hundred miles, and will not allow any other parties to build a mill or anything on the river. The Knights of Labor have done a great deal of good here already, and I think will do more in time.

Carpenter, Superior.—The employers of labor have been getting more for their capital employed than I think they should have. For instance

look at the manufactories and mines that have made their owners immensely rich in the last twenty years, while the laboring man is hardly any better off, although he is that much older, and his labor is depreciating as he grows older.

Laborer, Marinette.—There is considerable complaint made about the river being blocked up with logs. There is no channel left open, and should any one get out timber of any kind up river, he can not get it down until the logs are all through the dam, and it generally takes the Boom Company until fall.

Laborer, Marinette.—Something should be done on the Menominee River. The men are working from fifteen to seventeen hours a day. I think that their hours should be made shorter, as the work can be done as well, and as much of it. The saw mills are now working ten hours per day. Paper mills are working eleven hours per day.

Lumber workman, Peshtigo.—This place is a small town, operated, I might say, by our large lumbering concern, the Peshtigo Company. Most of the employes have homes of their own, and therefore it would be very hard for them to leave to look for employment elsewhere. In a village like this there is not as much chance to obtain an increase of wages as if more concerns were employing help. This company, however, pays as much as any of the other lumbering concerns. The resident superintendent is a very fair man, or it might be worse. There is never any real distress here, although wages are as a rule small. Men raise their own garden stuff, and this helps to keep down expenses of living. In my opinion, what is wanted for bettering the condition of the wage workers in this country is to elect to our legislatures men pledged to their interests—workmen if possible. We have too many capitalists and lawyers making our laws. I honestly think half a dozen men like T. V. Powderly in congress would do more good for us in a short time than has been accomplished in the memory of man.

Lumber workman, Peshtigo.—Of all questions that have ever been before the American people, the one of labor I consider to be the most important, for the reason that it concerns the welfare of many millions of our fellow countrymen. I am a great believer in the maxim, "The voice of the people is the voice of God," and as we have seen the people throughout this Union almost in every section rise up to try and assert their rights, I think any candid man must admit they have had some just cause for complaint. As an Englishman I was brought up with a horror of slavery. Several things in this country hastened its downfall. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry was perhaps wrong, and Brown hung as a lunatic; but still this started the ball a rolling—you might say started the Abolition Party—and hastened the emancipation of the slaves. Take Ireland; she has been suffering under wrongs for centuries. Extreme measures were used, and she seems to be on the eve of her deliverance. I do not for a moment advocate extreme measures to be used in free America,

where every man is supposed to be on terms of equality, but it does seem to me that employers of labor would recognize the writing on the wall, and treat their men more like equals. It is hardly possible that men in this country can accumulate so many millions in one short lifetime by purely legitimate means. All over the state, men, lots of them, are working for \$1.25 a day and less, with a large family to support. What advantages can a parent give his children, did he wish to do so, on this munificent remuneration? Of course supply and demand regulate wages (as everything else), and they make the point it is not reasonable to expect to pay more when they can get lots of men to do the work at this figure. I think immigration to this country ought to be stopped, for a while at any rate, except the immigrant brings a certain amount of money or property with him. The supply of labor here is now largely in excess of the demand. I believe firmly in the laboring class organizing themselves for self-protection, also in agitating labor questions. The condition of the laborer is never as bad and uncertain as when everything is going along smoothly, no ripple on the water; then the capitalist can take every advantage of the workman without his being able to help himself. Most of all, we want *bona fide* representatives in congress and state legislatures; 90 per cent. of the members elected, I think, are looking out more for their own interests than anything else.

Machinist, Florence.—I do not think that law-making is a remedy for some evils. Teach young men the wisdom of unselfish action; substitute philanthropy for love of the dollar; sincerity for hypocrisy; encourage honesty and despise the thief in every form. It will be a slow work, but it is the only cure which will save the coming generation from the social destruction towards which we are now rapidly drifting.

Tailor, Milwaukee.—I believe in the entire freedom of every man to work for whom he pleases, as many hours as he pleases, and to engage in any lawful business. Believe that the workingmen as a whole are their own worst enemies, by squandering their money in drink and other foolish and vicious habits. Believe more boys ought to learn trades. Am paid more for making clothes than I was sixteen years ago. Tailors' "jours" receive more pay now than formerly, save no more, and have no more when the year is over.

Woodsmen, Superior.—I can't complain about wages; they have been good enough for me, and I can make a good fair living as they are now. The present wages will do me, if I can get steady work.

RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES.

Bricklayer, Milwaukee.—In my opinion workingmen are in many instances to blame for unsocial relations between themselves and their employers. I have worked about a slaughter and packing house in my capacity as a mason for more than sixteen years. I remember the time that a free lunch during the forenoon, free dinner, and free supper to those who had

to work at night, was served to everybody working on the premises in a hall especially arranged for that purpose. Not only that, but each man was even allowed to take a piece of meat home every evening. The ill-bred portion of the men however, spoiled this bonus for all of us by throwing pieces of meat at each other and through the hall, and in other ways wasting more than they consumed. Others, instead of taking just what was granted to them, took enough to lay up a little store at home. The result was no more free lunch or free dinner. Up to this day a regular whistle is blown at a given time during the forenoon, when everybody is allowed five minutes to partake of his lunch. Many even used to take advantage of this privilege which is granted in but few places, to hurry to the nearest beer saloon, until, instead of five minutes, ten were taken. The result was that no one is allowed to leave the premises at lunch time. And I could relate a number more of just such instances where privileges were misused. Twenty-five or more years ago, I remember, there were certain grocery stores in Milwaukee, which kept a free barrel of whisky for the use of its customers, and workmen would readily take the opportunity of bringing groceries home for their wives, and making sure not to forget them either. Before long some of the less honest ones drank till they got drunk, or filled their pockets with stolen peas and beans. I say it is the latter class of men that most loudly complain of the tyranny of employers, and their acts bring that tyranny about.

Printer, Milwaukee—The subject is a broad one, and is ably handled by the preachers of religion, who can not cover the ground in less than a year. Some denominations take a life-time. The greed and avarice of those who have a little, cause them to forget that all are entitled to God's bounties. In the scramble for wealth, law, order, justice and right take no part as between capitalist and the laborer. The former robs, murders and plunders; the latter both openly and in defiance of all law. Usury, extortion and the military are the means employed. Public necessity, protection to industry, and the laws of supply and demand are for the wealthy classes, not the laborer, a means to enrich themselves. Did the employer visit and become acquainted with the actual needs and wants of his men, the relation between them would be changed somewhat. There are as a general thing, no relations of a friendly character between the two. Why, I have known an officer to be called, and a workman to be arrested and locked up for a week, simply because he and a few of his fellow laborers, stopped his boss on the street and tried to get him to help bury his dead wife and child by giving him the price of a lot in the cemetery (\$10) not wishing to have the town buy them for him. Where the employer is on friendly terms with his men, there is little, if any trouble between them, but here, again, the greed of outside parties, the strife for wealth, compels the philanthropist to compete to his own disadvantage and that of his men. When the "Golden Rule" prevails and is popular amongst both classes, then the question of labor will solve itself.

Wagonmaker, Mondovi. — My opinion is that capital can starve labor to death when labor is "long;" when labor is "short" capital will pay.

PIECE WORK.

Moulder, Milwaukee. — I would like to see piece work done away with. If that point could be gained, it would favor the laboring class more than the eight-hour system, because a person working at piece work always does two days work in one. I know it. I experience it every day. This is also the opinion of my fellow workmen.

PRISON LABOR.

Machinist, Racine. — Prison labor should not be allowed to compete with free labor, and I am in favor of anything that will elevate the laboring classes. I would be glad to see all saloons closed on that account alone.

INTEMPERANCE.

Marine engineer, Superior. — One of the worst things in my opinion that the laborer has to contend with, is his appetite for liquor. If they could leave liquor alone it would prove a great blessing to them.

REPORT OF THE

WISCONSIN WORKINGMEN—SUMMARY OF THEIR CONDITION.

OCCUPATION.	Residence.	Do you do machine or hand work?	Day or place work?	How many hours daily?	How many days in the year do you find employment?	What wages would you be able to earn full time?	What were your own actual earnings for 1887?	Own a home?	What is its value?	How many persons in your family?
Blacksmith	Perlin	Hand	Day	10	373	\$1,085 00	\$1,000 00	Yes	\$1,500	5
Book agent	Milwaukee	Hand	Piece	9	250	..	475 00	No	..	4
Carpenter	Green Bay	Hand	Day	10	300	..	800 00	Yes	1,500	9
Carpenter (ship)	La Crosse	Both	Day	10	313	715 00	715 00	..	..	8
Carpenter and painter	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	..	..	240 00	..	..	8
Carpenter	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	..	..	251 00	..	..	8
Carpenter	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	130	7 00	425 00	Yes	800	2
Carpenter	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	206	700 00	450 00	Yes	200	2
Carpenter	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	..	989 00	301 00	..	..	2
Carpenter	Neillville	Hand	Day	10	275	..	600 00	Yes	1,200	4
Carpenter	Peshigo	Hand	Day	10	231	696 00	450 00	Yes	1,000	4
Carpenter	Peshigo	Hand	Day	10	310	7 00	720 00	Yes	800	2
Clerk	Marinette	Hand	Day	9 to 11	312	540 00	..	Yes	600	2
Clerk	Milwaukee	Hand	Day	10	318	100 00	600 00	No	..	3
Clerk	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	246	600 00	..	Yes	700	6
Cooper	Green Bay	Hand	Day	10 to 11	205	..	400 00	Yes	..	3
Deliveryman	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	200	..	4 00	..	..	3
Engineer	Superior	Both	Day	10	200	..	808 60	Yes	2,000	3
Engineer (marine)	Milwaukee	Machine	Day	10	154	..	900 00	Yes	4,000	2
Feeder on rulling machine	Shrook	Hand	Day	10	275	15 00	113 00	No	..	1
Foreman of lumber yard	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	189	600 00	475 00	No	..	5
Laborer (railroad)	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	318	..	355 00	No	..	3
Laborer (railroad)	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	318	..	816 00	..	400	8
Laborer (railroad)	La Crosse	Hand	Day	10	318	..	8 10	Yes	..	6
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	11	104	..	150 00	..	..	4
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	12	300	800 00	280 00	..	..	4
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	12	150	..	300 00	Yes	150	6
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	11	160	855 00	300 00	..	..	6
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	11 to 12	117	228 00	145 25	Yes	600	4
Laborer (railroad)	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	200	313 00	256 10	Yes	..	4
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	208	3 40	818 00	..	..	4
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	313	409 00	409 00	Yes	600	7
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	303	813 00	2 00	Yes	250	7
Laborer	Marinette	Hand	Day	10	200	801 25	150 00	Yes	600	6
Laborer	Peshigo	Hand	Day	11	300	600 00	340 00	Yes	..	3
Laborer	Peshigo	Hand	Day	13 to 17	300	375 00	150 00	Yes	500	1

[illegible]

WISCO WORKMEN — SUMMARY OF THEIR CONDITION — concluded.

Occupation.	Re-sidence.	Rent.	Taxes.	Articles of food.	Clothing, boots and shoes.	Personal.	Sickness.	Insurance.	Society dues.	Education and books.	Amusements.	Family help.	Improvements and tools.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	What are your average savings per year.	Do you belong to a trade organization?	Have life or accident assurance.
Blacksmith.	Re-rin.		\$25.00	\$28.00	\$120.00	\$70.00		\$45.00	\$10.00	\$25.00	\$35.00				\$55.00	Very little	No	No
Box agent.	Milwaukee.	\$104.00	4.50	\$60.00	\$35.00	5.00		2.50	2.00	15.00					448.00	34.10	No	No
Carpenter (ship).	Green Bay.		15.75	\$30.00	\$23.00			\$6.00	2.00	10.00					546.00	34.10	No	No
Carpenter (car).	La Crosse.	102.00		30.00	100.00			\$4.00	7.00	12.00		5.00	5.00		533.00	Nothing	No	No
Carpenter (paint).	La Crosse.	96.00															K. of L.	No
Carpenter.	Marinette.	72.00		122.86	50.00				2.00	3.00	20.00			21.00	206.00	Nothing	No	No
Carpenter.	Marinette.														425.00	Nothing	No	No
Carpenter.	Marinette.		6.00	2.50	69.00	7.00	3.00		4.00	3.00	15.00		60.00	11.00	450.00	Nothing	K. of L.	No
Carpenter.	Marinette.			208.00	10.70			3.00	6.50	5.00	2.00				285.00	Very little	No	No
Carpenter.	Neillsville.		10.00	\$30.00	70.00	13.50	10.00	4.00	5.50	8.00	25.00	30.00			402.50	200.00	No	No
Carpenter.	Neillsville.		15.00	150.00	63.00	10.00	75.00	4.00	10.00	2.00	2.00	4.00			441.50	Nothing	No	No
Carpenter.	Peeshigo.		8.00	150.00	100.00	10.00	12.00	15.00	0.00	12.00	12.00		45.00	40.00	619.00	100.00	K. of L.	No
Clerk.	Peeshigo.		4.00	240.00	45.00	3.00	12.00		1.50	24.00		25.00				Nothing	Yes	No
Clerk.	Milwaukee.	130.00	1.05			21.00							48.00			100.00	Yes	No
Copper.	La Crosse.		5.70	206.00	95.00		50.00	2.00					11.75		455.75	100.00	K. of L.	No
Deliveryman.	Green Bay.	36.00							30.30	5.00					340.00	100.00	No	No
Engineer.	La Crosse.		23.00					13.00	20.30						500.00	300.00	No	No
Engineer (marine).	Superior.		45.00	115.00	50.50		5.00	20.00	25.00	20.00	25.00		50.00	80.00	300.00	150.00	No	No
Freder ruling mach.	Milwaukee.			78.00	35.00	7.80				6.75	3.00				180.80	25.00	No	No
Foreman, lumber yard.	Shoshoh.	100.00	13.50	210.00	100.00	10.00	35.00	45.00	11.00			8.00			561.25	Nothing	No	No
Laborer (railroad).	La Crosse.	54.00		150.00	33.00	20.00	45.00	15.00							315.25	Nothing	No	No
Laborer (railroad).	La Crosse.		9.00	281.00					8.00						30.50	Nothing	No	No
Laborer (railroad).	La Crosse.	60.00														Nothing	No	No
Laborer (railroad).	La Crosse.	48.00														Nothing	No	No
Laborer.	La Crosse.						20.00									Nothing	No	No
Laborer.	Marinette.			160.00	40.00				2.50	1.00	2.00				237.50	100.00	No	No
Laborer.	Marinette.			205.00	25.00	7.00	27.00		2.00	1.50		2.50			288.50	Nothing	Yes	No
Laborer.	Marinette.			186.00	12.00	5.00	3.90								377.65	Nothing	No	No
Laborer (railroad).	Marinette.		6.25					3.50	1.75	1.00	4.00				259.25	Nothing	K. of L.	No
Laborer.	Marinette.			170.25	47.00	9.00	57.00		2.85	3.00	1.00	10.00			305.80	Nothing	K. of L.	No
Laborer.	Marinette.	00.00													461.00	Nothing	K. of L.	No
Laborer.	Marinette.														200.00	Nothing	Yes	No
Laborer.	Marinette.														238.00	Nothing	Don't know	No
Laborer.	Peeshigo.	16.00	5.20	160.00	25.00		30.00	5.00	6.00			6.00			250.00	Nothing	No	No
Laborer.	Peeshigo.		4.00	200.00	15.00	1.00	10.00	12.00	4.00							Nothing	Yes	No

[illegible]

Female.	2300 in five years.	3Owns house elsewhere.	4Church.	5For ten years, \$215 each year.	6Church \$35.	7Coal and wood.

³Owms house elsewhere. ⁴Church. ⁵For ten years, \$215 each year.

newhere. 'Church.

³Owens house elsewhere. ⁴Church. ⁵For ten years, \$22

Church \$35.

Coal and wood.

PART XI.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

BONUS AGREEMENTS AND CUT-THROAT CONTRACTS.

One of the most dishonorable means of gaining an unfair advantage over the labor of uninformed foreigners and minors, used by some of the manufacturing institutions of the state, is that of the "bonus agreements."

The bonus agreement is a printed contract, prepared for the manufacturer by some shrewd lawyer, the conditions of which are drawn entirely in the interest of the employer, not a single line or clause protecting or guarding the labor employed. The following is a true copy of a blank bonus agreement, now in use by a corporation doing business in the city of Milwaukee and employing several hundred men:

AGREEMENT.

_____, 188-.

To whom it may concern:

It is hereby agreed, for value, between the (name of the corporation) and the undersigned, that \$1.00 per week for actual work, will be paid the undersigned employe _____, at the close of the season, on July First, next, as a BONUS in addition to the agreed weekly paid wages and said BONUS to be paid only upon the express condition that the undersigned employe works faithfully, and so continues to work for the said company, without good cause for discharging me until that time. If I quit their employment without good cause or am discharged for good cause by the _____, or any of their representatives, then this agreement to pay said BONUS shall be and become null and void and of no effect and the weekly wages paid shall be taken as full payment and discharge of all liabilities by me against said _____.

_____,
Per _____,
_____.

The real object of all these "agreements" is to defraud labor out of its earnings. There can be no valid reason given for the laborer to sign this "agreement." There is no right of his guarded in signing it. There is no advantage gained. A man laboring for \$1.25 per day requires no written contract under seal to determine his weekly wages, or what is, or what is not, good cause for discharge. When any man or company of men require their unskilled labor to sign long contracts or "bonus agreements," under seal, whose weekly wages are therein subjected to various and numerous conditions, it looks a little suspicious; to say the least, it looks as if the employer were seeking to attain, by means of a skillfully-drawn contract, an advantage over labor which could not be accomplished without it.

The man is hired at the commencement of the year for the agreed wages of \$1.25 per day, or \$7.50 per week, nothing whatever being said to him to indicate that he will not have his full compensation every pay-day.

After he has worked six or eight weeks, and is found to be competent and steady, he is required to sign the above "bonus agreement" to give the company a chance to keep back, weekly, from 50 cents to \$1, to be paid at the expiration of the year, if he is not sooner "discharged for good cause."

The question, What is good cause for discharge under this contract? is a very vital one; indeed, the only one, and should be determined by an impartial and disinterested party; yet in all these cases the companies claim the right to answer the question, and are thus the self-constituted judges in their own cases.

Another condition of this "bonus agreement" is, that the men must perform a certain kind of work in a certain place. For instance, they must work in the foundry or mill the entire year or forfeit the \$1 per week "bonus" under the "agreement."

This "agreement" would not be entered into by the men if they understood that by its terms it gave the company, a month or six weeks before the expiration of the year when work slackens and there is not much to do, the right to ex-

ercise the privilege of forfeiture therein contained, and then, almost invariably, "a good cause for discharge" arises. The man is forced to quit work, and under the "agreement" the contract to pay the \$1 per week becomes null and void, and the laborer finds himself fleeced out of from \$25 to \$50.

It is not until he is discharged and a demand is made on the company for his wages, that he becomes acquainted with and thoroughly understands the "conditions" of the "agreement." In almost every instance brought to notice, the men bound by the "agreement" could not read one word of it, nor was it read or explained by the company to them before signing, and they did not know its contents.

The manufacturer claims the object in making the agreement is to bind the men to remain throughout the year, and yet, strange as it may seem, in nine cases out of ten the men have been "discharged for good cause," a month or thereabouts, preceding the expiration of the year. Not a single instance where a man was discharged during the first half of the year, is known.

Men do not wish to be discharged; they wish to have steady work, as everybody knows. The bonus contract therefore is not required to keep them and is not in their interest.

Another form of one-sided or cut-throat contracts, is perhaps more in vogue, but it has the same object in view and the same point. This is a specimen that fairly illustrates the class:

This agreement, between ——— and the undersigned, an employe, witnesseth:

That said ——— will give two weeks' notice of any interded reduction in wages.

That each of said employes agrees to give said ——— two weeks' notice of his intention to leave his employ, or of any demand for increase of wages; and further agrees that he will not engage in any strike for any advance in wages, or for any other purpose, while in said ——— employ.

To secure the performance of above agreement, each of said employes, by his signature annexed, authorizes said ——— to retain — from his wages.

The said money, in case of violation of above agreement on the part of said signer, to become the property of and be retained by said ——— as a fine or penalty, by agreement to aid in enforcing regulations.

In some manufacturing establishments the labor of minors is procured at low wages through the representations of the employer, who agrees that they will be instructed in and have an opportunity to learn a trade; and as a consideration the infants are required to sign an "apprentice contract," of which the following is a copy:

This memorandum of an agreement, made and concluded this — day of —, 188—, by and between ———, party of the first part, and the ——— company, party of the second part, witnesseth:

The party of the first part hereby agrees with the party of the second part, that he will at once enter into service as a workman in its shops, and will continue in service as a workman for the full period of three years from this date, and during that time will conduct himself in all respects properly, and as a faithful workman in the employ of said company, for the wages hereinafter stated.

The party of the second part, agrees with the party of the first part, to give him employment for the full period of three years, unless he is sooner discharged for cause, and to pay him weekly wages as follows:—two dollars per week for the first six months; two dollars and fifty cents for the next six months; three dollars and fifty cents for the first six months of the second year; four dollars and fifty cents for the last six months of the second year, and one dollar per day, less fifty cents per week for each actual day's work during the last year. And said party of the second part further agrees with the party of the first part, that if he shall continue in our service the full three years herein agreed, that said ———, at the end of the term of three years will pay to the party of the first part, in addition to the wages above mentioned, such further sum as shall make his weekly wages amount to two dollars and fifty cents for the first six months; three dollars for the second six months; four dollars for the first six months of the second year, and five dollars for the second six months of the second year, and shall make his wages for the last year one dollar per day for each actual day's work.

It is mutually agreed by and between the parties hereto, that in case the party of the first part shall not continue in the employment of the party of the second part for the full period of three years, he shall have no claim or right to the additional compensation above named, the same being stipulated on the express condition, and only on such condition that he shall continue in the employ of the company for such full period.

And it is also agreed that, in case of his disobedience of the orders or directions of the foreman, or other person in superintendence of the work for the company, or bad behavior, or improper conduct in or about the shops or works, or other neglect of duty on the part of the party of the first part in his said employment, it shall be lawful for the company to

discharge him from its employ at any time; and in such case the said company shall not be liable to him for any further payment of wages, or in any other respect whatever.

In witness whereof, the said party of the first part has set his hand and seal hereto, and said company has caused its corporate seal to be hereunto affixed, and these presents to be signed by its president and secretary the day of the date hereof.

_____. [SEAL]

_____. [SEAL]

In consideration of the employment of my son, by the _____ company, under the foregoing agreement, I, (parent or guardian) of _____, named in the foregoing agreement, hereby undertake and agree with said company, that he shall well and truly do, and perform his agreement with said company, and faithfully work for it the full term of three years, as herein set forth.

In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand and seal this _____ day of _____, 188-.

_____. [SEAL]

Section 2,379, Revised Statutes 1878, provides as follows:

No minor shall be bound as aforesaid, unless by indentures in two parts, sealed and delivered by both parties. Every such indenture shall provide for instructing the apprentice or clerk in some profession, trade or employment, specifying the same; for teaching him to read and write; for instructing him in general rules of arithmetic, and for such other instruction, benefit and allowance, as may be agreed upon; and that the master shall give to such apprentice, at the end of his service, a new Bible; but whenever any minor shall be so bound for less than three years such agreement in reference to instruction, may be such as shall be deemed reasonable.

It will be observed that there is not one word in the agreement providing for the instruction of the infant in some useful trade or profession, whereby he may profit himself afterwards, as is required by the statute quoted. The sole aim and motive of this contract is to secure at very low wages, the labor of the infant for a period of from one to three years.

And if the employer sees fit to discharge the infant before the expiration of the three years, as he generally does, by virtue of the "conditions" of the contract, the boy loses fifty cents per week.

The statute was enacted for the protection of the minor in his tender years, and not to enable grasping employers to

grind out of the disabilities of infancy three years of half-paid labor.

The law provides for the instruction of the apprentice in some profession, trade or employment, and no minor shall be bound, unless by indenture made to specify the exact instruction to be given.

This contract provides that the minor shall enter the service of the company "*as a workman in its shops,*" and continue in its service "*as a workman for the full period of three years.*"

The law seeks to protect the minor in all of his dealings and relations with the world. The contract is drawn to avoid the liability which the law imposes upon all who deal in the labor of infants, skillfully drawn conditions of forfeiture shadowing the real character of the document.

In a recent case a boy 17 years of age was bound out under the foregoing form of agreement by his mother, a widow, who was partially dependent upon him for support.

Prior to entering into the contract the boy had been employed in a grocery store at \$5 per week. But the mother thought it would be better for him in the end to learn a trade even at a loss of one-half of his weekly earnings, and accordingly bound him out for a period of three years to learn the trade of a brass worker.

She signed the agreement as the guardian of her son and he commenced work under it. After working about one year for \$2.25 per week, the boy was discharged by the company, for an alleged violation of one of the "conditions" of the contract, viz.: "bad behavior."

The mother was never notified by the company, previous to his discharge, of the boy's "bad behavior," nor had she any reason to believe that he was not doing well and giving satisfaction.

The boy testified in court that he was hired to learn the trade of a brass worker and was to remain with the company for a period of three years for that purpose. Also that he would not have worked for \$2.25 per week if he had understood that under the agreement it was optional with the company to discharge him at any time.

It was his understanding that he was to learn the trade of a brass worker, and to spend three years in doing it; and it was only in consideration of the company teaching him this trade that he entered their employment and agreed to work for \$2.25 per week.

The mother also testified that her son entered the employ of the company for the purpose of learning the trade of a brass worker, and that the company agreed to keep him for a period of three years for that purpose.

But the contract is in writing and it must prevail over all verbal agreements and understandings; and it only provides that "*he shall work in the shop*" — learn no trade or profession, receive no instruction.

Under the old common law of England when a contract was made with an infant it was known as a voidable contract (other than contracts for necessities) at the option of the infant, who had the privilege of ratifying or disaffirming it after attaining his majority. Formerly such contracts were absolutely void, the object of the statute being to protect the infant in his tender years from being taken advantage of by designing men. But in this advanced age of development the old English rule has been avoided by some of our manufacturers, and under the present system they have the infant sign the unlawful and iron-clad contract, with his guardian's consent, to remain with him a certain stipulated time and "work in the shop," or forfeit a certain portion of his earnings.

CONVICT LABOR.

In the report for 1883-4 this Bureau gave some attention to the matter of employing convicts under contract, presenting an array of facts for the consideration of law-makers and others interested.

In the Legislature of 1883 an attempt was made to pass an act requiring all goods made in the Wisconsin State Prison to be branded with the words "prison-made."

The state having entered previously into a contract with Wells & Co., of Chicago, for the labor of the convicts, the enactment of a law compelling the contractors to brand

their goods in such a manner as to enable labor organizations to boycott them and injure the business of the firm would have "impaired the obligation" of that contract contrary to the constitution of the United States and of the state of Wisconsin. Therefore the bill was defeated.

During the session of the Legislature of 1885, M. P. Walsh presented a bill which declared:

Section 1. It shall not be lawful, from and after the passage of this act, for any warden, board of directors or keeper of any penitentiary, state prison, jail or other penal institution within this state, to lease, hire out or contract the labor of any prisoners or prisoner confined within such penitentiary, state prison, jail or other penal institution.

As the bill made no provision for any other system to take the place of that to be abolished, it was defeated in the Assembly, although 39 members voted in favor of its passage. Then the matter rested in Wisconsin for more than a year.

In August, 1886, the Bureau sent to 23 manufacturers of boots and shoes in Wisconsin the following interrogatories:

What effect does the contract system in force in the Wisconsin State Prison have

1. On business generally?
2. On the wages of your men?
3. On prices of goods sold by you?
4. On quantity of goods sold by you?
5. Were you ever compelled to reduce wages by reason of the prison contract?
6. Were you manufacturing in Wisconsin before prison contracts began?
7. Could you pay higher wages if these contracts were abolished?
8. Did our prison contract ever force you to cut prices of manufactured goods?
9. Would you like to assume the present contract of Wells & Co. for all Wisconsin convicts of able body at 50c per day.
10. Do or did Wells & Co., to your knowledge, ever undersell you or any other manufacturer with prison-made goods?
11. If Wisconsin prison-made goods interfere with your trade, is it by reason of inferior or superior quality, or cheaper or higher prices?
12. What system should, in your opinion, take its place?

Only six undertook to answer the foregoing questions or any of them; and only nine made any reply whatever, al-

though furnished with stationery and postage by the Bureau for that purpose. We will designate each firm by a letter and present their replies thus:

First.—What effect does the contract system in force in the Wisconsin State Prison have on business generally?

- a. No effect whatever that we can see.
- b. Injurious, because of contractor's liability to undersell regular manufacturers.
- c. None; just as if there were no prison.
- d. Depressing.
- e. Generally depressing.
- f. Unfavorable.

Second.—On the wages of your men?

- a. None.
- b. Wages not directly influenced.
- c. No effect that we know of.
- d. A gradual lowering of wages to meet the prices made by prison work. It has been the means of deceiving the community as to the actual cost of making shoes, consumers assuming that all kinds of boots and shoes should conform in price to the cheapest, which has been prison-made work.
- e. Lowers the wages of our men.
- f. Depressing.

Third.—On prices of goods sold by you?

- a. Don't affect us, that we can see.
- b. We *can not* compete with prison-made goods. They under sell us. The very worst competition on prices is by the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys, at Waukesha. That is a matter which needs a careful investigation. When the State of Wisconsin makes and sells goods from 75 cents to \$1.10 per pair less than her tax-paying citizens, it is high time somebody asks who is furnishing the money to do it with.
- c. None.
- d. Forced all goods to lower standard of prices, even though of different grade from prison-made.
- e. Lowers the prices.
- f. Depressing.

Fourth.—In quantity sold by you?

- a. No effect.
- b. Can't say positively about the quantity, but it has in several instances affected us unfavorably, because those goods cost the retailer less money.

- c. None.
- d. Reduces demand, the amount made by the prison taking the place of a like amount which would have been made by private firms.
- e. No effect.
- f. Depressing.

Fifth — Did you ever reduce wages by reason of the prison contract ?

- a. No.
- b. No.
- c. No.
- d. Can't say, as direct cause. Indirectly have to meet lines coming in competition.
- e. Yes.
- f. [No reply.]

Sixth — Were you manufacturing in Wisconsin before prison contracts began ?

- a. Yes; began in 1869.
- b. No.
- c. Yes.
- d. Yes.
- e. Yes.
- f. No.

Seventh — Could you pay higher wages if these contracts were abolished ?

- a. Do not know; probably not.
- b. If all prison contracts were abolished could undoubtedly get better prices and consequently pay more for labor.
- c. No.
- d. Can't say. Think, however, it would make better demand and consequently better wages.
- e. Yes.
- f. [No reply.]

Eighth — Did our prison contract ever force you to cut prices of your manufactured goods ?

- a. Not directly. We do not know what effect extra competition may have had indirectly.
- b. Yes, in numberless instances.
- c. No.
- d. Could not say positively. Trade is very dull and it is hard to effect sales only at cut prices. Prison goods are in many places where others were used.
- e. Yes.
- f. Yes.

Ninth — Would you like to assume the present contract of Wells & Co., for all Wisconsin convicts of able body at 50 cents per day?

- a. No.
- b. No, for various reasons.
- c. No.
- d. No; want nothing to do with it.
- e. Yes.
- f. [No reply.]

Tenth — Did Wells & Co., to your knowledge, ever undersell you or any other manufacturer with prison-made goods?

- a. No.
- b. Yes.
- c. No.
- d. Don't know as they ever have.
- e. Yes.
- f. [No reply.]

Eleventh — If Wisconsin prison-made goods interfere with your trade, is it by reason of inferior or superior quality, or cheaper or higher prices?

- a. Prison goods don't interfere with us that we know of.
- b. By cheaper prices.
- c. No interference. We can compete without cutting.
- d. Hard to make a direct answer. Our line of manufacturing is, in most cases, different from that made by Wells & Co. We compete in a good many lines with them, and find their work is good, usually fully equal to any regular-made work. The prices in times of depression are always lower; the prison goods are the first to be cut in prices to effect sales; all others have to follow to keep on the market, and is a source of irritation continually to all legitimate business.
- e. Cheaper price.
- f. Cheaper price, inferior goods, and because there is universal demand for cheap goods.

Twelfth — What system should take the place of contracts?

- a. We have no mature or well-digested plan. We think, in common with many other people, that it would be well if the prison labor could be used on some work that would not be likely to be done by free labor, something like improving the highways perhaps; but we have no plans for details to carry this idea into effect. To keep the prisoners in idleness would be too inhuman to be thought of.
- b. No suggestions to make.
- c. [No reply.]

- d. Should think the state ought to use the convicts to make public roads, reclaim waste land, or any other work that does not come in direct competition with regular labor or manufacturing, and let the people share alike in the support of the system.
- e. No suggestion to offer.
- f. Put the convicts to breaking stone or at work on the roads.

As will be quickly seen, our boot and shoe manufacturers, like doctors, disagree in many essential points. A manufacturer's agent says:

We do not find Wells & Co. any closer in competition than others, and should say there are parallel lines at present underselling them.

A very heavy manufacturer who did not reply to the foregoing twelve queries, writes:

We hear now and then that the State is selling goods made at Waukesha at much less than prices for similar goods made by the leading jobbers in boots and shoes. We hardly think it right for the State to do this.

A large manufacturer of knit goods who says he comes into competition with the hosiery, etc., made in the Reform School at Waukesha, writes:

Our labor troubles of 1886 started here (Milwaukee) through our boot and shoe factories. Had not these people to meet prison labor—labor emanating from the scum and outcasts of our country—they would have been in better position to meet the demands of their employes, thereby evading the starting point of our late agitation.

The question of what to do with prison labor, should contracts be abolished, seems to cripple enforcing a law of abolishment to a great extent.

Prison labor could be employed to a great extent manufacturing its own wearing apparel, such as clothing, boots and shoes and hosiery and the apparel used in our state hospitals, insane asylums, county institutions, orphan asylums, and institutions supported by our cities, counties and state, besides the United States Army. Then should labor be more plenty than work, send them to Alaska for colonizing a new state.

During August W. T. Lewis, of the Mitchell-Lewis Wagon Company, Racine, sent circulars calling a meeting of manufacturers in Chicago to consider the question of contract convict labor.

The meeting took place at the Grand Pacific Hotel, on August 26, 1886, and was composed of representatives from

all the Northwestern states. An association was then formed called the National Anti-Convict Contract Association, with officers as follows:

W. T. Lewis, President, Racine, Wis.

Geo. S. Redfield, Secretary and Treasurer, Chicago.

Christopher Holtz, 1st Vice President, Chicago, Ill.

F. J. Upton, 2d Vice President, Cedar Rapids, Ia.

W. C. Jones, Vice President from Kentucky, Louisville.

Clem Studebaker, Vice President from Indiana, South Bend.

Chas. T. Bradley, Vice President from Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

J. C. Birge, Vice President from Missouri, St. Louis.

H. M. Kinney, Vice President from Minnesota, Winona.

J. H. Whiting, Vice President from Michigan, Flint.

Executive Committee — Chas. H. Deere, Moline, Ill.; J. W. Hinton, Milwaukee, Wis.; Geo. Curtis, Clinton, Ia.; Mr. Berkey, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Stephen Bull, Racine, Wis.; James A. Sexton, Chicago, Ill.; J. L. Smyser, Louisville, Ky.

The following section of the constitution describes the object of the Association:

Art. 2. Its object shall be the thorough investigation of the subject of convict labor for the purpose of discovering and securing the adoption of that method of employing the prison population in the various states which shall be the least burdensome to all labor, and the least oppressive to the manufacturing interests, all proper conditions considered.

The following resolution, offered by F. J. Upton, relative to government purchases, was adopted:

We urgently request Congress to prohibit by law the purchase of any goods produced in whole or part by convict labor, for the use of any department of the Federal Government.

The following resolution, offered by Frank A. Flower, was adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That the chair appoint a committee of five to formulate a method of employing convict labor, to take the place of the contract and lease systems, which shall be less oppressive to the labor and industrial interests of the country, and that this committee report before January, 1887, in order to enable the members of the Association to present a plan or plans to the various state legislatures which will assemble soon after that date.

Under this resolution the chair appointed the following:

Frank A. Flower, chairman, Madison, Wis.; Geo. S. Reynolds, Chicago, National Tubular Axle Works; C. H. Lee, Racine, Wis., J. I. Case Threshing Machine Co.; Clem Studebaker, South Bend, Ind.; A. O. Wright, Madison, Wis., Secretary State Board of Charities and Reform.

On August 20, 1886, the Knights of Labor of Racine, adopted the following:

Resolved, That the sincere thanks of the Belle City Assembly No. 4,516, are tendered to Wm. T. Lewis and others who are taking an active part in bringing to the notice of the public the question of criminal labor and its injurious effects on the workingmen of this and other states. That we as a labor organization are ready and willing to coöperate with the Racine Business Men's association or any other organization, to remedy the evil; and therefore, be it further

Resolved, That we as members of Belle City Assembly, No. 4,516, Knights of Labor, will purchase no prison-made goods of any kind and patronize no merchant that handles prison-made goods.

The Republican State Convention, held in Madison on September 8, 1886, resolved:

We are opposed both to the importation of the pauper labor of the old world and to the system of contract prison labor at home.

The Democratic State Convention held in Madison on September 15, 1886, declared:

We demand the abolition of the system of letting convict labor to contractors, as being highly detrimental to honest labor and pre-eminently so to such branches of manufactures as are exposed to its direct competition.

The political convention composed principally of Knights of Labor from Milwaukee and La Crosse, which met at the latter place, adopted a resolution "To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor;" and a similar convention held in Neenah on August 16, which nominated a state ticket, demanded:

That the present system of imported, contract prison and child labor shall be abolished.

It will be seen, therefore, that although no one presents an untried plan to take the place of it, there is a widespread sentiment in favor of abolishing contract convict labor. But how can we explain the silence of the majority of the Wisconsin boot manufacturers, who might be expected to be emphatic in their answers to questions so directly touching their business interests?

Does it mean that they are profiting by the present system, because it offers a standing excuse for reductions of wages? Or, shall we construe their silence to mean that

they believe the present system to be the most satisfactory to all concerned?

At any rate, the sentiment of manufacturers in other branches than boots and shoes, and the demands of the working classes should not be disregarded.

Coming legislatures will be called upon to deal with the vexed question, which is of national and even international importance, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics being at this moment gathering facts bearing upon the subject, and some of the European governments also having special commissions at work devising new plans of prison management.

PART XII.

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS.

WAGE-RATES, HOURS OF LABOR AND AVERAGE EARNINGS.

The following tables, compiled from the sworn returns of employers, carry their own comments and conclusions. They will afford a deep study to all persons interested in the general condition of the skilled working-classes of Wisconsin.

In small breweries and in saw-mills run in connection with farming, the hours are long because the men work by the year, board with their employers and work by their side.

Where long hours are reported for women, reference is usually had to the domestics employed by lumber and saw-mill corporations in their boarding houses.

The returns are somewhat imperfect — more because employers do not keep close accounts of their business than because they are generally unwilling to answer the queries of the Bureau.

REPORT OF THE

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS.

Business.	No. Employees May 1, 1886. (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)		Children.		Hours of Labor.		Wages in 1886.				Wages in 1885.			
							Day Work.		Piece Work.		Average earnings of productive workm'n.	Total wages of clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.	Total wages of all employes.	
	Under four years.		Under twelve years.	For men and women under 18 yrs.		High. est.								Low. est.
							Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.							High. est.	Low. est.	High. est.	Low. est.
Agricultural Imp.	25	25				10	\$2.50	\$ 87½	\$4.00	\$1.50	\$14,882.00	\$7,500.00	\$22,382.00	
"	54	54				10	2.25	2.00			14,000.00	2,200.00	16,200.00	
"	12	12				10	2.00	2.00			459.60	1,150.00	6,955.50	
"	125	125				10	2.75	1.50	5.40	1.60	43,000.00	19,000.00	59,000.00	
"	31	31				8-10	2.75	1.50			11,960.16	2,900.00	14,860.16	
"	132	132				9	3.00	1.75	4.00	1.00	19,361.64	7,500.00	26,861.64	
"	46	46				10	3.00	1.00	2.25		14,515.68	4,758.61	19,274.29	
"	15	15				10	2.50	1.00			1,531.87	217.13	1,749.20	
"	4	4				8-10	2.00	1.00	2.50	1.00	1,350.00	350.00	1,350.00	
"	23	23				10	2.50	1.25	8.00	1.00	6,374.11	854.13	6,374.11	
"	15	15				10	2.50	1.25			79,772.19	400.00	10,810.40	
"	200	200				10	2.75	1.50			3,000.00	400.00	10,810.40	
"	18	18				10	2.25	1.25			3,184.65	447.81	6,374.11	
"	7	7				10	2.00	1.00			3,184.65	447.81	6,374.11	
"	50	50				10	3.00	1.75			31,425.83	5,339.05	36,764.88	
"	545	545				10	3.50	1.25	4.44	2.15	253,194.00	49,477.00	302,671.00	
Bakers.	60	30				10	3.00	33½						
"	10	10				10	2.00	1.50			2,164.00	718.00	2,882.00	
"	4	4				10	2.00	1.00			5,640.24	6,162.48	13,802.72	
"	4	4				10	1.00	1.00	2.00	.75				
Baking Powder, etc.	21	12				10	1.75	1.25	2.00	1.00	60.00		968.43	
Barb Wire.	4	4				10	1.75	1.00	2.00	1.00			1,500.00	
Baskets.						8	2.25	2.00	2.40	1.60			700.00	
"	3	3				9	2.00	2.00			24,000.00	500.00	24,500.00	
"	85	85				10	1.50	1.00			800.00		800.00	
Blacksmiths.	3	3				10	2.00	1.00					1,500.00	
"	1	1				10	2.50	1.00					1,500.00	
"	2	2				10	2.85	2.00					1,500.00	
"	1	1				10	2.85	2.00					1,500.00	
Blank Books, etc.	10	5				10	2.85	50			6,250.00	12,000.00	18,250.00	
"	10	18				10	2.50	50			5,500.00	232.00	7,230.00	
"	18	11				10	2.85	42			11,718.12	404.07	12,918.12	
"	7	7				10	2.50	1.25			3,400.00	3,400.00	3,400.00	
Boiler Man'rs.	6	6				10	2.50	1.40			1,800.00	1,800.00	1,800.00	

	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Boiler covering	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Book binders	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Boots and shoes	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Bottlers, etc.	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Borers	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Brass foundry	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Brewers	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63																																					

² And board.

Average per day of nine hours.

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS — Continued.

Business.	NO. EMPLOYEES MAY 1, 1886. (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)			CHILDREN.		HOURS OF LABOR.	WAGES IN 1886.				WAGES IN 1885.							
	Total.			Under four-teen years.			Under twelve years.		Day Work.		Piece Work.		To all employees (except clerks, superintendents, etc.)		Average earnings of productive workmen		Total wages of all employees.	
Male.	Fem.	Total.	Male.	Fem.	For men and women under 18 yrs.	High-est.	Low-est.	High-est.	Low-est.	High-est.	Low-est.	\$	cts.	\$	cts.	\$	cts.	
Brewers.....	385	35	420	10	10	10	\$4 00	\$1 75	\$3 00	\$1 50	\$317,814 18	\$513 70	\$-0,290 49	\$308,104 67				
"	158	158	316	10	10	10	4 16	1 25			78,000 00	660 00	19,000 00	92,000 00				
"	40	40	80	10	10	10	2 5	1 66			16,500 00		5,600 00	22,100 00				
"	118	13	131	10	10	10	3 00	1 25			48,000 00	867 00	20,000 00	68,000 00				
"	75	75	150	10	10	10	2 30	1 50			31,362 00	493 74	4,000 00	35,362 00				
"	34	34	68	10	10	10	2 66	1 50			17,735 06		9,419 86	27,154 92				
"	9	9	18	12	12	12	1 75	1 50			4,400 00			4,400 00				
"	1	1	2	8-12	1	1	1 50	1 50			60 00			60 00				
"	9	9	18	12	12	12	2 00	1 25			3,000 00		570 00	3,570 00				
"	6	6	12	10	10	10	1 50				1,600 00			1,600 00				
"	4	4	8	10	10	10	1 75	1 35			1,650 00			1,650 00				
"	4	4	8	10	10	10	1 85	1 25			700 00		700 00	1,400 00				
"	2	2	4	12-14	2	2	2 50	1 00			1,500 00	350 00		2,350 00				
"	3	3	6	14	14	14	2 50	1 50			1,500 00	800 00		2,300 00				
"	18	18	36	8-12	8	8	2 75	1 50			4,800 00	800 00		5,600 00				
"	4	4	8	12	12	12	2 00	1 00			1,600 00	400 00		2,000 00				
"	1	1	2	10-14	1	1	1 86				200 00			200 00				
"	4	4	8	10-14	4	4	2 50	1 25			2,058 38	453 00		2,511 38				
"	9	9	18	10	10	10	2 00	1 00		1 00	4,235 88	335 00	2,040 00	6,575 88				
"	22	22	44	12	12	12	1 75	1 00			10,000 00	450 00	4,000 00	14,000 00				
"	6	6	12	10	10	10	1 25	1 25			2,513 5	418 75		2,932 25				
"	1	1	2	10	10	10	1 75				200 00			200 00				
"	11	11	22	10	10	10	3 00	1 25			4,300 00	375 00		4,675 00				
"	2	2	4	10	10	10	1 50	1 00			1,400 00			1,400 00				
"	10	10	20	10	10	10	1 50	1 00			400 00	14 00		414 00				
"	1	1	2	11	11	11	2 90	1 77			747 62			747 62				
"	9	9	18	10	10	10	1 75	1 25			1,028 00	114 00		1,142 00				
"	10	10	20	10	10	10	2 25	1 25	1 00		73 00	53 33		126 33				
"	3	3	6	10	10	10	2 00	1 25			250 00			250 00				
"	16	16	32	10	10	10	2 00	1 00			3,500 00	218 75		3,718 75				
"	24	24	48	10	10	10	2 00	1 00			1,500 00	90 00		1,590 00				
"	11	11	22	10	10	10	2 50	1 25			18,000 00		2,500 00	20,500 00				
"	84	84	168	10	10	10	2 80	1 85	1 50	1 25	15,560 00		1,600 00	17,160 00				
"	70	70	140	10	10	10	2 80	1 85			Keep no books.							

Brick and Tile.....

	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
Bridge & Iron Works	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
Brooms	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
Broom Handles	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
Brushes	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
Cart & Weavers	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
Carriges & Wagons	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	590	600	610	620	630	640	650	660	670	680	690	700	710	720	730	740	750	760	770	780	790	800	810	820	830	840	850	860	870	880	890	900	910	920	930	940	950	960	970	980	990	1000
	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500	510	520	530	540	550	560	570	580	5																																									

80—F. A. F.

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS - Continued.

Business.	No. Employees May 1, 1916. (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)			Children.		Hours of Labor.		Wages in 1916.				Wages in 1915.				
	Male. Female. Total.			Under four years.		Under twelve years.		Port women, and children under 18 yrs.		Day Work.		Piece Work.		Total employees (except clerks, superintendents, etc.)	Average earnings of clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc. per work'm'n	Total wages of all employees.
				Male.	Female.	High-est.	Low-est.			High-est.	Low-est.					
	Male.	Female.	High-est.					Low-est.	High-est.			Low-est.				
Cigars—continued	8	1	9				10		\$ 70	\$ 70	\$4 00	\$1 00	\$5,512 00	77 00	8,300 00	\$5,512 00
"	1		1						2 50	40	2 10	1 25	5,000 00	80 00	\$1,000 00	6,000 00
"	12		12				10		3 00	1 50	3 00	1 50	1,100 00			
"	3		3	1			10		2 43	43	2 43	1 35				
"	3		3				8		2 50	35	2 50	75	14,961 45	77 00	8,300 00	18,261 45
"	29	21	50				9				2 50	75	1,100 00	60 00	325 00	1,425 00
"	7		7				10		50	50	2 50	1 00	4,500 00	4 00		4,500 00
"	4		4				10		1 00	30	2 00	68	4,500 00	368 23	4,574 00	8,072 23
"	38	29	67			2	8		2 50	50	2 10	1 40	4,100 00	100 00	8,000 00	8,200 00
"	10		10				10				2 10	1 00	4,100 00	150 00		6,000 00
"	9		9				9-9		2 50	60	2 50	1 50	3,800 00	150 00		4,272 00
"	6	2	8				9		3 00	1 50	3 00	1 25	8,000 00	54 00	2,000 00	10,000 00
"	21	4	25				9				3 50	1 00	1,250 000 00		22,000 00	1,500,000 00
"	125	125	250				8		4 00	25	3 50	1 50	2,100 00		22,000 00	2,500 00
"	1		1				10				2 25	1 00	4,653 50	604 00		4,653 50
"	6		6				8				4 00	1 00	1,908 00	3 00	75 00	2,131 00
"	5		5			2	8				2 10	1 35	5,045 00	192 00		5,045 00
"	14	2	16				10				1 35	1 25				
"	3		3	1			10				2 75	1 00				
"	7	1	8				10				2 10	2 00	1,119 40	807 35		1,229 40
"	4		4				9				1 25	1 00				
"	2		2				10				3 00	1 00	1,664 00	838 00	50 00	2,194 00
"	5		5				9				3 00	1 00	1,504 20			504 20
"	3		3				9				2 25	1 50	680 00			680 00
"	8		8				8				2 00	1 50	4,500 00			4,500 00
"	13		13				10				3 00	1 00	3,100 00			3,100 00
"	8		8				10		3 25	45	2 35	1 35	16,100 00	280 15	2,500 00	18,200 00
"	41	1	42				10		1 00	50	2 35	1 35	10,100 00			10,100 00
Clothes Reels, etc. Clothing.	22		22				9		4 16	1 33			10,831 33		10,020 51	20,341 89

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	5																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															

Highest wages paid to boys, \$1.00; lowest, 50 cents.

Two crews,

1 And board.

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS.—Continued.

Business.	No. EMPLOYEES MAY 1, 1886. (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)			CHILDREN.		HOURS OF LABOR.		WAGES IN 1886.				WAGES IN 1885.					
								Under twelve years.		Day Work.		Piece Work.		To all employees (except clerks, superintendents, etc.)	Average earnings of productive workmen.	Total wages of clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.	Total wages of all employes.
Male.	Fem.	Total.	High-est.	Low-est.	High-est.	Low-est.	High-est.	Low-est.									
Furniture—Con ..	11	..	11	10	8	\$2 25	\$1 00	\$1 75	\$1 25	\$3,535 00	\$276 00	\$2,182 00	\$5,688 00				
"	5	..	5	10	10	1 50	1 25	..	..	11,100 00	..	..	2,490 00
"	4	..	4	10	8-9	3 38 1/2	1 38 1/2	..	..	2,080 00	633 00	..	5,572 50		
"	11	..	11	10	10	2 25	1 00	3 00	2 50	5,512 50	475 00	1,600 00	8,880 00				
"	5	..	5	10	10	2 00	1 00	2 00	1 00	2,250 00	..	1,600 00	89,380 14				
"	138	5	138	10	10	2 00	1 00	2 25	1 50	71,991 14	486 89	17,589 00	44,000 00				
"	111	1	112	10	10	3 00	1 50	..	..	38,000 00	..	..	31,700 00
"	10	..	10	10	10	3 50	1 50	..	..	12,150 00	..	..	2,500 00
"	13	..	13	10	10	2 25	1 25	3 25	1 40	8,915 84	300 00	11,073 51	10,023 35				
"	35	..	35	10	10	2 80	25	3 25	1 50	11,201 75	475-500	2,206 10	123,975 09				
"	250	..	250	10	10	4 87	50	3 50	1 50	14,672 00	260 07	..	10,878 00				
"	88	7	90	10	10	2 50	40	..	..	1,200 00	..	..	8,000 00
Gas ..	4	..	4	10	10	2 50	1 25	..	..	2,036 91	1,800 00	1,800 00	4,006 91		
"	3	..	3	10	10-12	2 50	1 50	..	..	2,538 25	1,000 00	1,000 00	3,534 25		
"	6	..	6	12	12	1 54	1 38 1/2	..	..	2,595 26	1,100 00	1,100 00	8,693 26		
"	18	..	18	10-12	10	2 50	1 50	..	..	5,211 09	2,400 00	2,400 00	7,611 09		
"	177	..	177	10-12	10	3 25	1 50	..	..	80,882 91	32,000 00	32,000 00	92,531 51		
"	7	..	7	10	10	3 25	1 50	..	..	3,000 00	5,000 00	5,000 00	8,000 00		
"	5	..	5	10	10	2 50	1 50	..	..	3,083 00	600 00	600 00	3,683 00		
Glass ..	290	..	290	2-10	6-8	2 75	1 38 1/2	7 50	4 00	2118,400 00	9,500 00	9,500 00	123,400 00				
Granite Quarries ..	235	..	235	10	10	4 35	1 25	..	4 00	4,350 00	4,350 00	4,350 00	60,736 90				
Gun Powder ..	24	..	24	10	10	3 00	1 00	..	..	56,160 90	1,200 00	1,200 00	10,644 49		
Ham'd Iron Forgs ..	8	..	8	10	10	3 00	1 50	..	..	9,444 49	4,000 00	4,000 00	2,411 04		
Horse Shoe Nails ..	22	8	30	10	10	2 25	75	3 50	2 00	5,800 00	2,800 00	2,800 00	30,594 00				
Hubs and Spokes ..	76	..	76	10	10	2 25	75	..	..	17,794 00	1,600 00	1,600 00	9,386 92		
"	30	..	30	10	10	1 75	47 1/2	..	..	7,796 92	1,300 00	1,300 00	17,644 92		
"	37	..	37	10	10	2 75	1 50	..	..	10,414 92	..	..	..	
"	30	..	30	10	10	2 00	1 25	..	..	4,111 12	..	..	..	
Int, etc ..	30	6	36	10	10	5 00	75	13 00	1 25	545 00	..	..	545 00		
Iron and Steel ..	1,200	..	1,200	10	10	8 88	2 00	..	..	411,844 45	795 00	795 00	5,165 00		
Jewelry ..	11	..	11	9	9	..	..	..	..	4,400 00	..	..	..	

Kalt Goods.	6	14	60	10	10	8	2 25	10%	1 00	50	4, 145 56	1,644 09	5, 789 65
"	15	100	175	10	10	10	1 54	53%	1 25	75	1, 735 50	6, 735 00	17, 561 00
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
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MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS—Continued.

Business.	No. EMPLOYEES MAY 1, 1886. (Exclud- ing clerks, sales- men, superin- tendents, etc.)			CHILDREN.		HOURS OF LABOR.		WAGES IN 1886.				WAGES IN 1886.			
	Male. Fem. Total.			Under four- teen years.		For women and children, under 18 yrs.	Day Work.	Piece Work.		To all employees (except clerks, superintend- ents, etc.)	Average earnings per capita of pro- ductive workmen	Total wages of clerks, salesmen, superintend- ents, etc.	Total wages of all em- ployees.		
				Male.	Fem.	Under twelve years.	High- est.	Low- est.	High- est.	Low- est.					
Lumber, etc.—Con.	50	...	50	...	...	10	\$1.25	\$.69	...	...	...	\$5,000.00	\$17,000.00		
"	37	3	40	...	...	11	4.00	6.14	...	...	...	2,250.00	7,241.22		
"	44	1	45	...	...	10	3.50	7.00	...	...	...	12,000.00	12,000.00		
"	6	...	6	...	...	11	1.50	1.73	...	...	...	...	...
"	5	...	5	...	...	11	1.73	1.91	...	...	...	...	...
"	15	...	15	...	...	12	3.50	1.00	...	...	...	...	...
"	4	...	4	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"	260	...	260	...	...	11	4.25	1.37	...	...	...	800.00	2,400.00		
"	30	...	30	...	...	11	3.00	1.09	...	...	...	...	2,350.00		
"	60	...	60	...	...	11	3.50	1.25	...	...	...	16,700.00	187,036.30		
"	94	...	94	...	...	11	4.00	1.25	\$.95	\$1.75	...	...	...
"	54	...	54	...	...	11	3.86	1.26	...	...	...	800.00	25,974.02		
"	38	...	38	...	...	10	2.57	1.26	...	...	...	5,500.00	37,814.95		
"	7	...	7	...	...	8-11	1.50	1.25	...	...	...	3,780.00	43,275.56		
"	25	...	25	...	...	10-11	2.50	1.00	...	...	...	...	7,000.00		
"	18	...	18	...	...	11	1.25	1.00	...	...	...	...	2,457.00		
"	32	...	32	...	...	11	2.50	1.25	...	...	...	500.00	1,800.00		
"	21	...	21	...	...	11	2.50	1.25	...	...	...	...	...
"	10	...	10	...	...	11	1.50	1.25	...	...	...	...	...
"	6	...	6	...	...	11	2.00	1.25	...	...	...	...	...
"	225	...	225	...	...	11	4.25	1.00	...	...	...	...	...
"	11	...	11	...	...	11	3.00	1.00	...	...	...	3,000.00	86,000.00		
"	35	...	35	...	...	11	3.50	1.00	...	...	...	2,100.00	10,100.00		
"	3	...	3	...	...	11	3.50	1.00	...	...	...	2,000.00	7,000.00		
"	2	...	2	...	...	10	3.50	1.06	...	...	...	3,165.00	94,166.00		
"	217	6	223	...	...	11	3.50	1.23	...	...	...	...	...
"	46	...	46	...	...	11	5.50	1.25	...	...	...	3,000.00	32,400.00		
"	500	...	500	...	...	10	5.00	1.25	...	...	...	25,000.00	175,000.00		
"	379	5	384	...	...	10	4.00	1.25	...	...	...	9,800.00	78,570.60		
"	240	...	240	...	...	10	5.00	1.15	...	...	...	5,800.00	106,000.00		
"	320	3	323	...	...	10	3.75	1.25	1.75	56	...	19,300.00	139,186.69		
"	35	...	35	...	...	11	3.08	1.00	...	...	...	3,540.00	43,303.57		
"	18	...	18	...	...	10	2.25	1.50	...	...	...	2,400.00	5,000.00		
"	166	...	166	...	...	11	3.50	1.00	...	...	...	6,000.00	60,540.00		

80	11	5	80	10	10	3 50	60	25,785 51	3,880 00	29,665 51
40	46	5	11	10	1 00	1 70	1 00	2,640 00		2,640 00
3	8	8	11	11%	3 51	1 00	1 25	2,000 00	100 00	2,000 00
6	6	6	10	11	1 00	1 00	1 25	3,300 00	300 00	3,600 00
6	6	6	10	10	1 00	1 00	1 25	107 00	100 00	207 00
2	2	2	10	10	1 00	1 00	1 00	800 00	100 00	900 00
150	150	150	10	10	1 00	1 00	1 00	700 00	200 00	900 00
25	25	25	10	10	4 00	2 00	1 00	800 00	150 00	950 00
60	60	60	11	11	2 50	1 15		1		
94	94	94	10	10	3 50	1 00		15,000 00	3,840 00	17,840 00
42	42	42	10	10	5 00	1 00		25,530 51	411 78	31,580 51
40	40	40	11	11	5 00	1 00		90,780 14	500 00	90,780 14
18	18	18	11	11	2 75	1 50	1 50	90,780 14	500 00	90,780 14
8	8	8	11	11	1 75	1 50		18,113 00	4,012 00	22,125 00
47	47	47	11	11	1 50	1 50		2,709 00	500 00	3,209 00
10	10	10	11	11	1 50	1 50		408 00		408 00
10	10	10	11	11	3 25	1 25			1,800 00	
10	10	10	10%	10%	3 00	1 25		1		
280	280	280	11	11	8 75	1 25		79,639 08	14,000 00	93,639 08
10	10	10	10	10	8 00	1 25		3,000 00	1,400 00	4,400 00
14	14	14	10	10	3 77	1 25				
100	100	100	11	11	5 00	1 25		25,000 00	5,200 00	30,200 00
7	7	7	10	10	1 75	1 50				
30	30	30	11	11	3 50	1 40		8,700 00	800 00	9,500 00
85	85	85	11	11	3 50	1 25		3,000 00		3,000 00
14	14	14	10	10	3 40	1 75		18,588 14		18,588 14
4	4	4	11	11	3 00	1 50		7,000 00	1,300 00	8,300 00
28	28	28	10	10	2 35	1 50				
1	1	1	12	12	1 35	1 50		1,222 50		1,222 50
18	18	18	11	11	2 00	1 75		12,500 00	1,000 00	13,500 00
40	40	40	10	10	4 00	1 00		45,000 00	5,350 00	50,350 00
140	140	140	10	10	3 50	1 00		37,615 18	7,000 00	44,615 18
265	265	265	10	10	3 00	1 00		54,445 98	10,230 00	64,675 98
211	211	211	10	10	3 50	1 00	1 00	8,435 08	2,000 00	10,435 08
46	46	46	10	10	1 50	1 25				
2	2	2	10	10	2 50	1 50		110 00	4,500 00	4,610 00
10	10	10	10	10	3 75	1 75				
4	4	4	9	9	2 75	1 00				
5	5	5	10	10	2 75	1 00				
23	23	23	11	11	4 00	1 25		900 00	200 00	1,100 00
17	17	17	10	10	1 25	1 00				
12	12	12	11	11	3 25	1 00		2,500 00		2,500 00
47	47	47	11%	11%	3 25	1 00	1 75	22,194 57	2,472 87	24,667 44
95	95	95	10	10	3 50	1 00	1 00	7,800 00	180 00	7,980 00
35	35	35	10	10	3 50	1 00	1 00			

* And board.

* Not running May, 1886.

* No business 1885.

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS — Continued.

BUSINESS.	No. EMPLOYEES MAY 1, 1886. (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)				CHILDREN.		HOURS OF LABOR.		WAGES IN 1886.				WAGES IN 1885.			
	Male.		Fem. Total.		Under four years.		Under twelve years.	For women and children under sixteen years.	Day Work.		Piece Work.		To all employees (except clerks, superintendents, etc.)	Average earnings of productive workmen.	Total wages of clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.	Total wages of all employees.
	Male.	Fem.	Total.	Under four years.	Under twelve years.	High est.			Low est.	High est.	Low est.					
Lumber, etc.—Con.	117		117					11	\$3 00	\$1 25			\$11,261 80		\$1,038 25	\$13,299 85
"	70	4	74					11	3 25	1 50	\$2 25		45,000 00		2,300 00	47,300 00
"	175		175					10	2 00	1 81½			72,444 00		9,000 00	81,444 00
"	7		7					10	4 80	1 92			70,000 00		5,000 00	75,000 00
"	210		210					10					1,344 00		2,700 00	4,000 00
"	400		400					10	5 00	1 25	8 00	\$1 00	18,258 40		2,954 00	21,212 40
"	50		50					10	5 00	1 85			16,357 39		16,357 39	32,714 78
"	175		175					10	5 00	1 00			40,049 87		7,800 00	47,849 87
"	48		48					11	3 25				8,300 00		800 00	9,100 00
"	10		10					10	1 50	1 25			1,844 00		1,844 00	3,688 00
"	387	3	390					11	4 50	1 60			91,771 62		8,038 81	99,810 43
"	11	1	12					10	1 75	1 50			3,550 00		1,000 00	4,550 00
"	10		10					11	1 50	1 00			750 00		750 00	1,500 00
"	200		200					10	2 00	1 15			53,000 00		10,000 00	63,000 00
"	81		81					10	2 00	1 07½			150,000 00		3,300 00	153,300 00
"	600		600					11	3 50	1 33½			23,727 00		9,034 00	32,761 00
"	134		134					10	3 50	1 07	2 00	1 50	51,000 00		8,000 00	59,000 00
"	175		175					11	5 00	50			9,000 00	\$340 00		9,340 00
"	50		50					11	3 50	60			2,886 75		720 00	3,606 75
"	255		255					10	3 00	1 25			4,000 00	250 00		4,250 00
"	15		15					11	2 50	1 25			50,000 00	150 00	5,000 00	55,000 00
"	13		13					11	1 50	1 25	2 00	1 25	6,000 00			6,000 00
"	18		18					11	3 50	1 00			2,126 75			2,126 75
"	105		105					11	2 00	1 00			63,958 77		11,500 00	75,458 77
"	22	2	24					11	2 00	1 00			75,000 00		15,000 00	90,000 00
"	14		14					11	4 25	1 01			2,719 70	302 10	985 00	3,706 80
"	118		118					10	4 00	1 00			2,719 70			2,719 70
"	140	10	150					10	2 00	1 00						
"	15		15					10	2 00	1 00						

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS—Continued.

Business.	No. EMPLOYEES MAY 1, 1896. (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)				CHILDREN.				HOURS OF LABOR.		WAGES IN 1896.				WAGES IN 1895.			
	Male. Fem. Total				Under twelve years.				For and children under 16 years.		Day Work.		Piece Work.		To all employees (except clerks, superintendents, etc.)	Average earnings of productive workmen.	Total wages of clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.	Total wages of all employees.
	Male.	Fem.	Total	Under twelve years.	Male.	Fem.	Under twelve years.	Under twelve years.			High. est.	Low. est.	High. est.	Low. est.				
Lumber, etc.—Con.	23	..	23	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	\$3 50	\$1 00	..	..	\$18, 128 92	..	\$3, 660 00	\$21, 788 92
"	25	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	3 48	1 12 ¹ / ₂	..	..	..	..	..	..
"	20	3	23	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	3 00	1 00	..	..	..	..	2, 934 00	61, 394 00
"	100	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	3 50	1 00	\$2 50	\$1 50	58, 460 00	..	5, 000 00	55, 000 00
"	120	..	120	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	3 50	1 00	..	..	50, 000 00	..	5, 000 00	55, 000 00
"	22	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	2 50	1 25	..	..	33, 720 00	..	7, 200 00	39, 960 00
"	30	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	2 50	1 00	..	..	3, 000 00	..	..	4, 000 00
"	30	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	4 00	1 00	..	..	9, 270 00	335 00	..	10, 300 00
"	37	1	38	..	..	1	..	..	12	10-13	1 50	23	..	..	..	..	..	..
"	186	10	196	..	..	..	..	..	11	10	3 00	98	..	1 00	85, 000 00	9, 940 00	9, 940 00	95, 000 00
"	60	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	4 00	1 25	..	..	23, 500 00	1, 500 00	1, 500 00	24, 000 00
"	21	..	21	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	1 50	35	..	..	3, 000 00	1, 000 00	1, 000 00	4, 000 00
"	40	..	40	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	3 50	1 10	..	..	..	..	..	..
"	18	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	2 50	50	..	..	..	..	..	..
"	105	..	105	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	2 50	70	..	..	40, 000 00	..	9, 000 00	55, 000 00
"	30	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	1 50	60	..	..	5, 000 00	..	..	5, 000 00
"	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	3 00	109	..	..	2, 400 00	..	..	2, 400 00
"	51	3	54	..	..	2	..	..	11	..	3 00	1 07	..	..	16, 817 37	3, 457 24	..	20, 274 61
"	23	..	23	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	2 00	1 00	5 00	8 00	7, 000 00	..	..	8, 000 00
"	24	2	26	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	3 50	1 00	3 00	1 25	..	8-6 13	..	8, 000 00
"	8	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	3 50	1 00	..	..	4, 000 00	..	2, 000 00	6, 000 00
"	10	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	4 00	1 25	..	..	21, 390 00	..	1, 840 00	23, 230 00
"	71	..	71	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	4 00	1 00	..	..	22, 021 85	7, 220 00	23, 241 85	29, 261 85
"	81	..	81	..	..	2	..	..	11	..	4 00	1 00	..	..	12, 754 00	..	1, 800 00	14, 554 00
"	47	..	47	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	4 00	1 25	..	..	17, 175 00	435 00	4, 025 00	21, 500 00
"	10	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	3 25	1 00	..	..	2, 530 00	..	..	2, 530 00
"	13	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	11	14	2 50	1 00	..	..	2, 000 00	..	..	2, 000 00
"	14	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	1 75	1 25	..	..	27, 020 00	..	3, 000 00	30, 020 00
"	53	..	53	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	4 00	1 25	..	..	250 00	..	..	250 00
"	2	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	10	10	1 00	25	8 00	1 00	..	..	8, 780 23	35, 173 96
"	67	..	67	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	2 00	1 25	..	..	27, 333 34	..	8, 100 00	35, 433 34
"	120	..	120	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	3 00	1 00	..	..	40, 500 00	..	4, 000 00	44, 500 00
"	7	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	1 50	1 00	..	..	3, 000 00	..	..	4, 000 00
"	15	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	3 50	1 45	..	..	15, 400 00	..	3, 400 00	18, 800 00

[illegible]

Not in operation in 1885.

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS — Continued.

Business.	NO. EMPLOYEES MAY 1, 1886. (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)			CHILDREN.		HOURS OF LABOR.		WAGES IN 1886.				WAGES IN 1885.				Total wages of all employes.
	Male.	Fem.	Total.	Under fourteen years.		Under twelve years.	For men and children under 18 yrs.	Day Work.		Piece Work.		To all employees (except clerks, superintendents, etc.)	Average earnings of productive workm'n	Total wages of clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.		
				Male.	Fem.			High-est.	Low-est.	High-est.	Low-est.					
Sash, Doors, Blinds	117		117				10	\$2 50	\$ 23	\$ 25	\$ 75	18,612 31	\$180 51	\$1,884 93	\$19,497 24	
"	300		300				10	5 00	42			103,163 88	400 00	7,000 00	121,173 01	
"	180		180				10	4 00	33%			51,712 19		1,512 00	58,742 19	
"	38		38				10	2 75	50			7,222 01		1,912 00	8,634 01	
"	18		18				10	3 00	60			6,614 09	37 48	1,912 00	8,531 69	
"	35		35				10	2 75	50	8 75		6,000 00		3,000 00	9,000 00	
"	21		21				10					8,014 62		3,000 00	11,014 62	
Sausage.	43		43				10	3 00	1 50			1,519 63	102 00	1,800 00	3,319 63	
"	10		10				10	2 25	1 09			8,500 00			8,500 00	
Scales	22		22				10	1 75	1 50			8,113 63	427 03	2,070 00	10,183 63	
Sewer Pipe	20		20				10	1 75	1 35			8,213 63		1,900 00	9,113 63	
Shade Rollers	23		23				10	1 50	40	2 00	60	1,400 00		2,000 00	3,400 00	
Sheeting	107	163	270		3		11	2 70	45	1 60	40	6,551 47	322 50	2,000 00	63,531 47	
Sheet Iron Goods	19		19				10	2 00	1 25	1 00		4,400 00	231 84	8,100 00	7,500 01	
Ship Builders	15		15				10	3 00	1 25			11,545 34	293 63	1,845 00	13,683 97	
"	88		88				10	5 00	1 25			39,467 46	560 01	3,366 00	32,773 46	
"	104		104				10	3 00	1 25			31,308 94		6,500 00	37,808 94	
Snuff	1		1				10	1 00				35 40			35 40	
Soap	3		3				10	2 00	1 00			1,300 00			1,300 00	
"	8		8				10	1 33%	50			2,004 00			2,004 00	
"	4	6	10				10	3 00	50			2,000 00	320 00		2,320 00	
"	23	2	25		1		10	2 50	1 00	1 25	60	8,730 00	414 00	6,746 00	15,236 00	
"	20	10	30		10		10	2 18%	33%			6,327 46	217 91	12,640 00	19,177 46	
"	3		3				10	1 50	1 00	1 50	1 00	1,607 12			1,607 12	
"	9	9	18				10	2 00	1 25						2,800 00	
Soda Water.	4		4				10	3 00	50			1,500 00	560 00	1,500 00	3,060 00	
"	8		8				10	2 00	1 00	2 50	1 50	4,532 00			4,532 00	
"	4		4				10	2 00	1 25							
Spring Beds	13		13		1		11	1 75	1 00			2,430 55	185 42		2,430 55	
Staves and Heading	8		8				10	3 00	50							
"	51		51				10	8 00	1 75	3 00	1 50	17,670 00	825 00	1,900 00	18,870 00	
"	30		30				10	3 00	50	3 00	1 75	12,000 00	400 00	2,000 00	15,000 00	
"	8		8				10	2 00	75	1 50					4,000 00	

MANUFACTURERS' RETURNS — Continued.

Business.	No. EMPLOYEES MAY 1, 1886 (Excluding clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.)			CHILDREN.		HOURS OF LABOR.		WAGES IN 1886.				WAGES IN 1885.				Total wages of all employes.
	Male.		Total.	Under four years.		Under twelve years.	For women.	Day Work.		Piece Work.		To all employees (except clerks, superintendents, etc.)	Average earnings per capita of productive workman.	Total wages of clerks, salesmen, superintendents, etc.		
				High-est.	Low-est.			High-est.	Low-est.							
	Male.	Fem.	High-est.			Low-est.	High-est.			Low-est.						
Wagons—Con....	196	2	190				10	8	\$3 25	\$7 5	\$3 50	\$1 15	\$10,000 00		\$5,000 00	\$15,000 00
"	30		30				10		2 00	1 00						6,100 00
"	8		8				10		2 00	2 00						104,600 00
"	251		251	4			10	10	2 25	1 50	2 50	1 50	91,000 00	\$98 1 00	18,100 00	7,500 00
"	10		10				10		2 25	7 7			6,000 00		2,500 00	8,500 00
"	2		2				10		1 50	1 00			8,900 00			8,900 00
"	7		7				10		2 25	1 25						
"	15		15				10		2 25	1 00	1 75	1 75			1,200 00	
"	9		9				10		1 75	1 00			675 00			575 00
"	267	2	269				8	8	2 50	2 50	2 85	2 49	101,717 58	339 25	14,580 00	149,267 58
"	210	15	225	4			10	10	2 75	1 00	2 37	2 37	85,011 70	405 00	12,000 00	97,000 00
"	65		65				8	8	2 08	70	3 00	1 50	15,517 42	43 28 82	11,612 50	26,779 92
"	30		30				10		2 70	50			4,286 48		6,000 00	6,286 92
"	5		5				10		1 75	1 25			3,000 00	525 00	8,000 00	6,000 00
Wagon Wood stock	35		35				10		3 87	6 5			5,000 00			4,018 08
Washing Machines	8		8				10		2 00	70	1 75	1 50	2,886 08		6,700 00	9,400 00
Wholesale liquor	10		10				10		3 00	1 25			2,700 00		3,800 00	6,500 00
Wind Mills....	48		48				10		3 00	1 25			2,700 00		3,800 00	6,500 00
"	118	17	135				10	10	3 00	1 25	2 50	25	86,086 87	279 85	7,563 00	94,338 87
Willow Ware	49		49				10		2 50	45			12,630 00		5,480 00	18,110 00
Wire Works....	18		18				10		3 00	1 00	4 00	1 50				
Wooden Ware	3		3				10		1 25				800 00		9,000 00	9,800 00
"	550		550				10		5 00	40	4 00	1 25	125,000 00		1,800 00	126,800 00
"	40		40				10		3 00	50	3 50	1 25	40,000 00		4,000 00	44,000 00
"	180		180				7-10	7-8	1 75	75	3 50	1 25	40,000 00		4,000 00	44,000 00
"	333	1	334				10		2 83	40	3 10	1 00	115,772 55	319 00	11,700 00	127,472 55
Wood-Working Machinery	33		34				10		3 00	50			14,727 91	490 91	3,100 00	17,827 91
Woolen Mills	4		4				11	11	1 00	50	1 30	50	1,900 00		5,600 00	7,500 00
"	90		90				11	11	4 00	50	1 50	1 00	12,782 87	330 00	6,000 00	18,782 87
"	7		7				11		3 25	50			2,600 00		1,000 00	3,600 00

"	48	96	94	11	11	8 50	50	1 25	56	22,781 00	.....	13,000 00	35,761 00
"	39	41	80	11	10	1 00	50	2 00	50	20,125 00	.....	4,800 00	25,000 00
"	6	8	14	11	11	4 17	40	.....	.....	20,000 00	.....	.....	2,950 00
"	83	48	81	11	11	2 57	37	2 50	50	2,883 00	.....	.....	21,745 63
"	38	31	73	11	11	4 16%	42	1 30	40	20,745 42	.....	4,000 00	21,600 00
"	.....	.....	.....	11	11	8 25	50	2 75	45	18,800 00	.....	2,800 00	2,000 00
"	17	33	63	10	10	1 50	50	2 00	75	16,083 78	.....	2,500 00	18,588 78
"	40	90	180	10	10	4 75	60	1 50	65	86,365 00	.....	6,040 00	42,345 00
"	.....	.....	.....	10	10	1 50	65	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
"	4	4	8	10%	10%	2 50	35	1 50	50	4,000 00	.....	2,000 00	6,000 00
"	5	11	16	11	11	1 50	67	1 00	50	.....	.....	1,450 00	5,161 26
"	7	8	15	10	10	2 00	40	2 10	60	3,714 26	.....	.....	.....
"	11	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	31,974	3,817	88,797	44	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$11,856,700 38	.....	\$2,040,523 21	\$13,710,410 98

¹ For 383 days. ² Ten hours. ³ Eight hours. ⁴ For 35 weeks. ⁵ Present firm just commenced business. ⁶ Run only part of year.

SUMMARY OF WAGES FOR 1885.

BUSINESS.	Total to all em- ployes ex- cept clerks, salesmen, sup'ts, etc.	Total to clerks, salesmen, sup'ts, etc.	Total to all em- ployes.
Agricultural implements.....	\$506,723 50	\$163,380 76	\$691,789 78
Bakers.....	10,804 24	5,880 48	116,684 72
Baking powder.....			
Barb wire.....			998 43
Baskets.....	24,060 00	500 00	26,400 00
Blacksmiths.....	2300 00		2,750 00
Blank boots.....	24,468 12	18,920 00	88,888 12
Boilermakers.....	418,010 00		418,010 00
Boiler and pipe covering.....	4,000 00	1,600 00	5,600 00
Bookbinders.....	1,663 49	1,040 00	2,705 49
Boots and shoes.....	\$92,788 10	68,990 13	353,728 58
Bottlers.....	36,848 38	27,270 00	43,658 38
Boxes.....	16,650 00	2,998 00	17,648 00
Brass foundries.....	7,741 00		7,741 00
Brewers.....	587,785 78	150,727 85	700,687 38
Brick and tile.....	70,449 16	7,900 00	62,679 16
Bridge and iron works.....	35,861 11	6,695 19	42,556 30
Brooms.....	6,908 67		6,908 67
Broom handles.....	450 00		6 50
Brushes.....	2,300 00		2,300 00
Carpet weavers.....			
Carriages, wagons, etc.....	61,064 33	14,612 70	76,726 03
Cement.....	39,312 89	8,064 90	47,287 79
Chairs.....	208,494 85	21,045 00	228,661 32
Cigars.....	376,174 25	44,808 00	419,374 75
Clothes racks, reels, etc.....	100 00		100 00
Clothing.....	166,794 81	92,807 29	260,322 10
Coffee and spice mills.....	12,392 00	31,600 00	43,992 00
Coopers.....	78,240 63	5,437 75	87,296 73
Cordage.....	3,697 16		3,697 16
Crackers.....	9,000 00	8,590 00	17,590 00
Curriers' stuffing.....	450 00		450 00
Distillers.....	13,490 00	4,440 00	17,980 00
Dyeing and cleaning.....	1,500 00	500 00	2,000 00
Flavoring extracts.....	1,188 50	323 96	1,512 46
Farmers.....	800 00		800 00
Flax tow.....	2,000 00		2,000 00
Flouring mills.....	192,058 69	79,150 00	303,935 32
Foundries and machinists.....	678,488 87	171,141 00	856,185 59
Furniture.....	334,981 03	46,857 86	412,155 93
Gas.....	101,022 43	25,300 00	126,322 43
Glass.....	118,450 00	9,600 00	128,000 00
Granite quarries.....	66,128 90	4,350 00	61,746 90
Gunpowder.....	9,444 49	1,800 00	10,644 49
Hammered iron forgings.....			2,451 04
Horse shoe nails.....	5,800 00	4,000 00	9,800 00
Hubs and spokes.....	47,837 81	9,800 00	57,435 84
Iron.....	545 00		545 00
Iron and steel.....	411,344 45		411,344 45
Jewelry.....	4,400 00	765 00	5,165 00
Knit goods.....	83,399 06	17,324 09	100,639 65
Leather goods.....	31,158 19	15,400 00	46,558 19
Lime.....	53,267 92	6,357 50	59,720 58
Linseed oil.....	24,749 14	16,080 00	29,749 14
Locksmiths and bell hangers.....	4,625 00	500 00	5,125 00
Lumber, lath and shingles.....	3,917,896 98	494,120 04	4,630,325 68
Lye.....	7,000 00	900 00	10,500 00
Machine shops.....	7,638 43	1,019 90	13,053 30
Matches.....	68,319 40	5,380 00	68,699 40
Mattresses.....	19,000 00	5,000 00	24,000 00
Millwrights.....	211,752 56	2494 00	14,746 00
Oat meal.....			
Paper.....	187,945 92	39,907 02	227,552 94
Pearl barley.....			1,091 54
Planing mills.....	4,152 10		4,152 10

¹ Two reported.² One reported.³ Three reported.⁴ Five reported.⁵ Not running in 1885.⁶ Total to all employes not reported.

SUMMARY OF WAGES FOR 1885—concluded.

BUSINESS.	Total to all employees except clerks, salesmen, supts, etc.	Total to clerks, salesmen, supts, etc.	Total to all employees.
Pork and beef packers.....	\$207,411 00	\$28,495 00	\$235,906 00
Printing.....	17,839 50	18,225 00	21,064 50
Rectifiers.....	1,000 00	5,000 00	6,000 00
Refrigerators.....	4,000 00	2,000 00	6,000 00
Saddlery and harness.....	13,882 00	2,958 50	16,840 50
Sash, doors and blinds.....	238,874 77	26,049 93	264,924 70
Sausage.....	5,714 80	2,704 17	8,418 97
Scales.....	8,500 00		8,500 00
Sewer pipe.....	16,828 88	4,870 00	20,698 88
Shade rollers.....	1,400 00	1,900 00	3,300 00
Sheeting.....	60,531 47	8,000 00	68,531 47
Sheet-iron goods.....	4,400 00	8,100 00	12,500 00
Ship builders.....	71,319 74	11,644 00	82,963 74
Snuff.....	35 00		35 00
Soap.....	22,446 58	119,886 00	142,332 58
Soda-water.....	6,952 00		6,952 00
Spring beds.....			
Staves and heading.....	58,112 99	6,721 00	64,833 99
Straw goods.....	4,242 81		4,242 81
Stove foundries.....	45,416 00	9,692 00	55,108 00
Suspenders.....	1,000 00		1,000 00
Tacks.....	23,800 00	21,800 00	45,600 00
Tanners.....	489,170 13	42,466 00	531,636 13
Tile.....	2,718 80	800 00	3,518 80
Ware.....	21,672 00	6,328 00	28,000 00
Tobacco.....			
Transformed fruit.....	750 00	4,000 00	4,750 00
Trunks.....	102,753 77	59,775 70	162,529 47
Twine, bags and batts.....	2,780 50		2,780 50
Type foundries.....	14,711 90	3,555 00	18,266 90
Type (wood).....	6,000 00	2,500 00	8,500 00
Vinegar and pickles.....	210,401 84	14,805 00	225,206 84
Wagons.....	351,947 68	62,675 00	414,622 68
Wagon woodstock.....	18,000 00	28,000 00	46,000 00
Washing machines.....	2,886 08	1,132 01	4,018 09
Wholesale liquor.....	2,700 00	6,700 00	9,400 00
Wind mills, pumps, etc.....	12,450 00	8,300 00	20,750 00
Willow ware.....	36,086 87	7,562 00	43,648 87
Wire works.....	212,620 00	25,480 00	238,100 00
Woodenware.....	278,872 55	26,220 00	305,092 55
Wood-working machinery.....	14,729 91	8,100 00	22,829 91
Woollen mills.....	162,886 28	44,410 00	207,296 28
Totals.....	\$11,256,700 88	\$2,040,528 21	\$13,297,229 09

¹ Two reported.

² One reported.

³ Three reported.

⁴ Five reported.

⁵ Not running in 1885.

⁶ Total to all employees not reported.

TABLE

Showing Industries in Which Female and Child Labor are Employed, and their percentage in each instance, as compiled from Manufacturers' Returns, May 1, 1886.

BUSINESS.	Total Employees.	Females.	Percentage of Females.	Total Employees.	CHILDREN.				
					Under 11 years.		Under twelve years.	Total.	Percentage.
					Male.	Fem.			
Agricultural Implements...	25	2	8.00						
Bakers	118	42	37.10	80	2		2	2.5	
Blank books	72	31	45.83	15	1	1	2	13.33	
Bookbinders	7	3	42.85						
Boots and shoes	1,312	438	32.62	282	5	2	7	2.48	
Bottlers	197	127	64.46	5	2		2	40.00	
Boxes	56	37	66.07	5	1		1	20.00	
Brewers	171	18	10.52						
Brick and tile	12	2	16.66	192	14		14	7.29	
Brooms	3	1	33.33						
Carriages, etc.	120	10	8.33						
Chairs	723	70	9.54	160	4	4	8	5.00	
Cigars	462	218	45.22	16	5	2	7	26.93	
Clothes reels, etc.	2	1	50.00						
Clothing	618	371	57.25						
Coffee and spice mills	42	14	28.57	10		2	2	20.00	
Confectioners	81	34	42.34						
Coopers				41	2		2	4.87	
Crackers	33	8	21.05						
Dyeing and cleaning	3	1	33.33						
Flavoring Extracts	8	3	3.75	8	1		1	1.25	
Farmers	5	1	20.00						
Flouring mills	64	12	18.75						
Founders and machinists	1,063	5	4.46						
Furniture	533	23	4.31	35	2		2	5.71	
Glass				290	14		14	5.38	
Horse nails	30	8	26.66						
Ink	6	6	100.00	6		1	1	16.66	
Knit Goods	1,186	1,059	89.29	311		15	15	4.82	
Lime				45	2		2	4.44	
Linseed Oil				26	1		1	3.84	
Lithographers	65	4	6.15						
Lumber, lath and shingles	3,820	185	4.76	2,110	66	5	7	3.22	
Lye	26	10	39.45						
Matches	293	223	76.45						
Matresses	49	10	20.40						
Paper	524	182	34.73						
Pork packers				800	4		4	5	
Printing	36	9	25.00						
Saddlery and harness				35	2		2	5.71	
Shade rollers				23	3		3	13.04	
Sheeting	27	16	60.66	272	3		3	1.10	
Soap	65	18	27.69	55	1	10	11	20.00	
Staves and heading				101	15		15	14.85	
Straw goods	27	21	77.77	27		1	1	3.70	
Suspenders	11	8	72.72						
Tacks	48	20	41.67	30	7		7	25.00	
Tanners	38	2	7.06	10	1		1	10.00	
Tile				7	1		1	14.28	
Tinware	63	2	3.07						
Tobacco	125	3	2.40						
Trunks	200	2	1.00	10	1		1	10.00	
Twine, bags and batts	12	6	66.66						
Type foundries	37	11	29.72						
Vinegar and pickles	35	7	20.00						
Wagons	634	19	3.04	476	8		8	1.06	
Willow ware	129	17	13.17						
Wooden ware	354	1	2.77	40	5		5	1.25	
Wood working machinery	31	1	2.94						
Woolen mills	690	313	54.44	110	4	1	5	4.54	
	14,528	3,817	26.27	5,608	177	41	7	238	4.06

TABLE

Showing the Percentage of Female and Child Labor, compiled from Manufacturers' Returns.

BUSINESS.	EMPLOYES MAY 1, 1886.			CHILDREN.				
	Total.	Fem.	Percentage of Females.	Under 14 years.		Under 12 years.	Total.	Percentage under fourteen years employed.
				Male	Fem.			
Agricultural Imp's	1304	2	16					
Bakers	127	42	89.07	2			2	1.57
Baking powder								
Barb wire	4							
Baskets	88							
Blacksmiths	6							
Blank books	72	84	47.19	1	1		2	2.77
Boiler manufacturers	76							
Boiler & pipe cov'ng	11							
Bookbinders	7	8	42.86					
Boots and shoes	1812	484	83.45	5	2		7	.58
Bottlers	210	127	60.47	2			2	.95
Boxes	43	87	50.65	1			1	1.37
Brass founders	84							
Brewers	1045	18	1.84					
Brick and tile	566	2	.35	14			14	2.47
Edge and iron w'ks	43							
Brooms	20	1	5.00					
Broom handles	5							
Brushes	7							
Carpet weavers	1							
Carriages & wagons	280	10	4.35					
Cement	115							
Chairs	836	70	8.38	4	4		8	.88
Cigars	661	218	82.94	5	2		7	.76
Clothes reels, etc	2	1	50					
Clothing	1144	371	82.81		2		2	4.76
Coffee & spice mills	42	12	23.57					
Coffins	35							
Confectioners	81	84	42.34					
Contractors and builders	73							
Coopers	290			2			2	.86
Cordage	11							
Crackers	38	8	21.05					
Curriers Stuffing	1							
Distillers	26							
Dyeing and cleaning	8	1	33.33					
Flavoring extract	8	3	3.75	1			1	12.5
Farmers	8	1	1.25					
Flax tow	13							
Flouring mills	503	12	2.38					
Founders and machinists	1481	5	.34					
Furniture	940	28	2.34	2			2	.20
Gas	224							
Glass	280			14			14	5.38
Granite quarries	235							
Gun Powder	24							
Hammered iron forgings	8							
Horse shoe nails	30	8	26.66					
Hubs and spokes	164							
Ink, etc.	6	6	100.00		1		1	16.66
Iron and steel	1800							
Jewelry	11							
Knit Goods	1186	1060	89.29		15		15	
Leather Goods	97							
Lime	289			2			2	.88
Lined oil	38			1			1	2.63
Lithographers	65	4	6.15					
Locksmith & bell hang'rs	14							
Lumber, lath, shingles	14,479	18	1.27	66	6	7	78	.58
Lye	26	10	28.45					
Machine shops	40							
Matches	298	228	76.14					

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE AND CHILD LABOR—Concluded.

BUSINESS.	EMPLOYEES, MAY 1, 1886.			CHILDREN.				
	Total.	Fem.	Percentage of Females.	Under 14 years.		Under 12 yrs.	Total.	Percentage under 14. Years employed.
				Males	Fem.			
Mattresses.	49	19	20.4					
Milwrights.	25							
Oat meal.	10							
Paper.	604	182	30.28					
Pearl barley.	2							
Planing-mills.	14							
Pork & beef pack'rs	828			4			4	.46
Printing.	36	9	25					
Rectifiers.	5							
Refrigerators.	26							
Saddlery and harness.	34			2			2	5.27
Sash, doors & blinds	783							
Sausage.	10							
Scales.	49							
Sewer pipe.	25							
Shade rollers.	273	163	60.66	3			3	18.04
Sheeting.	19			3			3	1.09
Sheet iron goods	202							
Ship builders.	1							
Snuff.	79	18	22.78	1	10		11	18.93
Soap.	21							
Soda water.	4							
Spring beds.	108			15			15	6.46
Staves and heading.	27	21	77.77		1		1	3.70
Stove foundries.	11	8	72.72					
Straw goods.	48	20	41.87	7			7	14.58
Suspenders.	1,112	2	.17	1			1	.06
Tacks.	17			1			1	5.84
Tanners.	78	2	2.56					
Tile.	125	8	2.4					
Tinware.	4							
Tobacco.	447	2	.44	1			1	.22
Transformed fruit	12	8	66.66					
Trunks.	87	11	29.73					
Twine, bags and batts	15							
Type foundries.	37	7	18.91					
Type (wood).	1,055	19	1.80	8			8	.75
Vinegar and pickles	40							
Wagons.	8							
Wagon wood stock	5							
Washing machines.	76							
Wholesale liquor.	129	17	13.25					
Wind mills.	67							
Willow ware.	1,127	1	.08	5			5	.48
Wire works.	84	1	2.94					
Wooden ware.	680	84	54.44	4	1		5	.79
Wood working machinery								
Woolen mills.								
Totals.	38,797	3,517	9.81+	177	44	7	226	.59+

APPENDIX.

REPORT OF THE STATE FACTORY INSPECTOR.

HENRY SIEBERS, INSPECTOR.

APPENDIX.

REPORT OF THE STATE FACTORY INSPECTOR.

STATE OF WISCONSIN,
Office of State Factory Inspector,
MILWAUKEE, September 30, 1886.

To FRANK A. FLOWER, *Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics:*

SIR:—I now submit to you in writing the First Biennial Report of the State Factory Inspector, covering portions of the years 1885 and 1886.

HENRY SIEBERS,
Inspector.

RACINE, RACINE COUNTY.

Here, as elsewhere a list of the concerns inspected will first be given:

J. Miller & Co., boots and shoes: Three-story brick; employs 45 females, 125 males. Interior good; there being no means of escape in case of fire, an escape was ordered; order complied with cheerfully.

M. M. Secor, trunks and traveling bag: Three-story brick, provided with balcony; employs 100 males. Interior crammed; ladders ordered to balcony; complied.

Racine Shade Roller Co.: Three-story brick; employs 12 males on second floor. Third floor occupied by Chas. Alshuler, manufacturer of overalls who employs 25 females. Interior condition good; escape ordered — order complied with.

Racine Woolen Mill.: Four story brick; one iron standpipe escape, and one escape ladder of wood; employs 80 females, 20 males; interior arrangements commendable; change ordered on wood escape. The mill has all modern improvements for extinguishing fires, and apparently is next to impossible to burn and is provided with two escapes, affording sufficient means to get out of the building in case of an emergency. The faces of employes showed content.

J. I. Case Threshing Machine Co.: Numerous buildings three and four stories in height, provided with escapes; employs 600 males; provided with

very economical escapes. Having more than one building of the same height, they are linked by bridges, which greatly facilitates the progress of handling material, and affords the best means of escape from fire, as it is not probable that both buildings would be burning at the same time. This is the largest plant in the city, and has some of the finest workshops. Employes find no cause of complaint of any neglect on the part of the firm to comply with the factory laws.

J. I. Case Plow Works: Buildings three stories, bridged; employs 250 males. General condition very good.

Racine Hardware Mnf. Co.: A three and four story brick and other buildings; one iron escape on four-story building; employs 300 males. Interior conditions very fair; one more escape ordered to four-story structure; order complied with. Another splendid establishment, covering considerable space. Upon passing through the various departments, I had occasion to call the manager's attention to a few things, and suggested some changes designed to obviate the reckless exposure of machinery; I deem this a very important matter to the parties interested; for life and limb are endangered and an accident might cause a great deal of annoyance, trouble and expense, all of which could be obviated with a paltry sum.

Racine Wagon and Carriage Co., comprising several buildings, two of which are four stories high of brick; employs 250 males, 8 females. General condition first-class; upper floors connected by bridge, affording ample means of escape in case of fire.

Mitchell & Lewis Co., farm. freight and spring wagons: Several buildings, from three to five stories high, brick, provided with ten iron escapes employs 300 males; the general condition of these large works is very satisfactory indeed. The buildings are in first-class condition; the work-rooms clean and airy, and in every way conducive to the health and safety of employes.

Racine Basket Mnf. Co.: Two-story frame; employs 95 males; conditions very fair. My attention was directed to the factory of the Basket Mnf. Co., in which it was supposed children under the lawful age were employed; but upon investigation I found the reports to be incorrect. There were several young workmen present, but the employer informed me that formerly he had employed children under age, but since the enactment of the new law he had taken pains to live up to its provisions.

The following factories were found in good condition, both externally and internally:

The Winship Mufg. Co., pumps, wind engines, corn-planters, etc. Two-story frame; employs 35 males.

Hurlbut Mufg. Co., foundry and machine shops: Employs 45 males; building low.

F. Platz & Son, tannery; employs 25 males.

Slauson & Jones, hay-presses; employs 8 males.

Racine Refrigerator Co., refrigerators, churns and butter-workers: Two story frame; employs 20 males.

Racine Flax Mills; employs 15 males.

Belle City Mfg. Co., feed-cutters, corn-shellers, trucks, etc: Three-frame; employs 80 males.

Gunther & Sons, machine shop; employs 6 males.

Johnson & Field, dustless separators, fanning mills, etc. Two-story story frame; employs 25 males.

Stecher, Weber & Co., planing mill: Three story brick; employs 35 males.

Herzog & Roberts, Star flouring mills: Four story brick; employs 27 males; one iron escape.

Dickey & Pease, foundry and machine shops: Two stories; employs only males.

Stephens, Freeman & Sons, foundry, machine and boiler works: Part of the structure three stories, frame; employs 100 males.

S. W. Div. Chicago, Milw. & St. Paul R. R. shops: Employs 68 males on ground floor.

Nation Vehicle Co.: Two story frame; employs 35 males.

Racine Furniture Co.: Three story frame; employs 8 males.

Drivers & Sons, planing mill and building material. Three-story brick; employs 55 males.

L. W. Philbrook & Co., shoe, slipper and boot packs. Three-story brick; employs 17 males. Work done on first and second floors.

Buffham & Co., carriage-poles and shafts. Two-story frame; employs 10 males.

Hendrickson Manufacturing Co., broadcast seed sowers. Two-story frame; employs 20 males.

The general condition of factories in Racine is very good, with few exceptions.

On my visit of inspection, due courtesy was extended to the office; everything in or about the factories was exposed to view, thus enabling me to come to a fair understanding. After my inspection at Racine, some manufacturers there criticised me for posting the factory laws. I have no apology to make for their ignorance of the laws. I did nothing beyond my duty; and as the laws are on the statute books nothing could be more practical and right than to place them before the eyes of those in whose behalf they were made.

SHEBOYGAN, SHEBOYGAN COUNTY.

Phoenix Chair Co.: Three story brick; provided with outside iron stair; employs 275 males, 25 females; interior arrangements, as well as outside, in commendable condition. With the exception of protecting the elevator against accidents to employees, the condition is fully up to what it should

be. It has three iron stairways on the outside, insuring perfect safety to employees in case of fire.

Crocker Chair Co.: Two frame buildings, four stories high, bridged; have also three stand-pipe and balcony escapes; employs 175 males, 25 females. Interior kept in elegant condition, with a view to the health of employees. Wish there were more such.

Keller Chair Co.: Four story frame; bridged on second and third floors to store house; employs 9 females, 115 males. Upper floor not occupied; if occupied hereafter to be provided with more escapes; sanitary condition of interior very fair.

Sheboygan Mfg. Co., chairs: Two brick buildings, three stories, bridged; employs 240 males, 60 females. Rooms too small, men and machinery rather crowded, an impediment to employees in their regular routine of work. I offered a few suggestions upon the manner of avoiding accidents which were kindly received by members of the firm.

Mattoon Mfg. Co., furniture: Three-story frame; provided with three stand pipe and balcony escapes; employs 300 males. Guarding of elevator ordered. Interior rather crowded, but otherwise condition safe. Firm about to erect new brick building with all modern conveniences.

NOTE.—The Mattoon Mfg. Co.'s buildings burned on Sept. 10.

In the sand-papering room of chair factories workmen are exposed to the inhalation of a great amount of dust, which acts seriously on the lungs. Mr. Blackstock, of the Phoenix Chair Co., will not allow boys to work in this room at his place; although the rooms are provided with exhaust fans, they do not seem to have the desired effect. This is a subject that ought to receive some attention, and some better method of clearing away the dust found for the sake of so many who are exposed to it.

Garton & Griffiths, wood toys. Three story frame; employs 65 males; building being enlarged; ordered to provide fire escape; condition not very good.

Frost's Veneer Seating Co.: Three story brick veneered structure; employs 78 males, 12 females; means of escape on adjoining buildings is sufficient, if not technically lawful; conditions splendid.

The following factories were found in good condition in all respects:

D. W. Halsted, brackets and wood building material: Two story frame; employs 25 males, 2 females.

Geo. Spratt & Co., hardwood flooring, garden rakes, etc.: Two story frame; employs 15 males.

Theo. Zichetzsche & Son, tanners and curriers: Two story brick; employs 160 males.

Dillingham & Co., bent wooden ware, refrigerators, etc.: Two buildings, three stories, frame; employs 100 males; buildings bridged.

SHEBOYGAN FALLS, SHEBOYGAN COUNTY.

Sheboygan Falls Woolen Mills: Three-story brick; employs 80 females, 23 males. Interior first-class, but no fire-escape: one will be provided, however.

Riverside Woolen Mills: Three story frame: employs 14 males, 19 females. Means of escape were ordered: in all other respects mills very fair.

Chas. S. Weisse, tannery: Three-story brick: employs 21 males. Condition first-class.

LA CROSSE—LA CROSSE COUNTY.

Gateway City Mfg. Co., Mons. Anderson & Sons, proprietors, clothing; employ 150 females, 10 males, on second floor of a four-story brick; elegant building; work-room; neat and airy; in the rear, with a very wide stairway, exit from factory leading directly to the street.

Pamperin & Wiggenhorn Cigar Co., three story brick; employs 25 males, 20 females on third floor; elegant condition, with ample means of escape. The firm prides itself on their neat and clean condition of their factory. Well they may; I have seen no factory of the kind to surpass it.

A. A. Freeman & Co., flour mill, five stories, has one iron escape; employs 33 males, day and night force. A splendid mill; all gearing provided with safety guards; many other good features.

Wm. Listman, flour mill, four stories high; employs 45 males, day and night force; one iron escape. A splendid mill; made a few suggestions to Foreman Wm. Lang, especially about covering a certain pulley which looked rather hazardous.

La Crosse Knitting Works: Two story brick; employs 54 females and 8 males. In a good condition. At this factory I entertained great doubts regarding the lawful age of a couple of little girls. Upon strict inquiry I believe the children to be sincere in stating they were a little over 12. I felt satisfied that those children were not scheming as they do in Milwaukee to deceive the Labor Bureau and beat the proprietor. The superintendent promised to be more cautious in the future about engaging children.

Segelke, Kohlhaus & Co., sash, doors and blinds. Three story brick; provided with two iron escapes; employs 65 males; made several suggestions in regard to its interior, and I believe that they were comprehended by Mr. Kohlhaus, as he seemed to appreciate my remarks, and said that several improvements would be made. Fire-escapes had already received attention.

Wisconsin Lumber and Mfg Co., sash, doors and blinds: Three-story frame; employs 110 males; general condition good, but needs a fire escape. It is ordered.

Davis, Medary & Platz Co., tannery; three story frame; employs 55 males; a good outside stair to third floor.

This is really a fine tannery, actually neat, considering that some parts of the work of tanning are always uncleanly. It was "decorated" with an escape made of wire cable. I condemned it on the spot, and advised Mr. Platz to take it down for fear some one should venture to try it, and cause an accident. I told him that as there is a good outside stair, which affords sufficient means in an emergency, there would be no need of the other trap. Mr. Platz agreed with me, saying, "It was done to please the eye of the law."

The following establishments were found to be all that can be expected in the way of safety, cleanliness and good order:

John Gund Brewing Co., employs 40 males in a stone structure; the bottling department, which is separate, employs 4 females and 7 males.

John James & Co., foundry and machine works; two-story brick; employs 30 males.

La Crosse Cracker Co., employs 10 males and 4 females; two-story brick.

North La Crosse Hosiery Co., employs 45 females on ground floor.

Lovejoy Bros. & Co., North La Crosse, sash, doors, blinds, etc.; two-story frame; employs 20 males.

John Torrence & Son, foundry: employs 10 males.

La Crosse Wallis Carriage Co., four-story brick: employs 46 males, of which 4 work on third floor, balance below.

The Wisconsin Lumber & Mnfg. Co. has built a splendid new factory recently, promising to be conducted on the safest plan. A fire-escape was needed and ordered. A few days after that, Supt. Ole Larson communicated to me that it would receive prompt attention. He stated he was not aware such a law was in existence, else he would not have disobeyed it, and asked for further information, which was cheerfully given. His spirit is commendable and correct.

Of the five breweries, one only was visited, that of John Gund, which was found to be in excellent condition. My time was limited at my first visit to La Crosse by suits pending elsewhere and by other urgent business, so I looked after the largest factories only. Shall return later as I shall also to other cities.

Seldom have I had less suggestions to make than I did here. It seems La Crosse manufacturers are awake to anything that may be conducive to the general interest.

MARINETTE, MARINETTE CO.

N. Ludington Co., saw and shingle mill: Employs 183 males.

Marinette Iron Works: Employs 180 males.

Marinette & Menominee Paper Mill: employs 20 males and 40 females.

R. W. Merryman & Co., saw mill: Employs 50 males.

Marinette Saw-Mill Co.: Employs 40 males.

William Malcom Jackson, ship builder: Employs 6 males.

Hamilton & Merryman Co, lumber: Employs 400 males, 200 regularly.

The H. Witbeck Co., saw and shingle mills; employs 400 males.

Menominee River Lumber Co., employs 200 males.

Sawyer, Goodman Co., manufacturers of lumber, closed; could only post the factory laws.

Watson Bros., tinware: Employs 14 males; shop on second floor.

The manufacturing interests of Marinette are chiefly confined to lumber. Seven extensive mills, employing in the aggregate 1,400 men, line the bank of the river on the Wisconsin side. The deputy commissioner, while at Marinette during the week, from Oct. 21 to Oct. 28, 1885, for the purpose of investigating the features of the strike among the millmen then in progress, performed the duties of factory inspector.

The mills, with the exception of the Sawyer-Goodman mill, which had been closed for the season, were all running about half-force, owing to the strike. The mills, being all one or two-story frame buildings, did not come within the reach of law as far as the erection of fire-escapes is concerned. The factory laws, however, were posted in all of them. The mills are in as good condition, as far as the safety of employes is concerned, as it is possible from the nature of the business for them to be, and no complaints were heard from employes upon that matter. The only three-story building in the town was in course of construction at the time of the visit.

BELOIT, ROCK COUNTY.

Eclipse Wind Engine Co.: Two-story stone; employs 180 males. Entire establishment in elegant shape. The buildings are new, on modern improved plans.

John Foster & Co., shoes: Two-story brick; employs 73 males and 48 females. A well-arranged establishment, clean and airy. Here it seems there is a place for everything, and everything in its place.

H. Rosenblatt & Sons, overalls, shirts and pants: Three-story frame; employs 45 females and 12 males. A splendid factory, employing a large number of females in comfortable quarters. I had expected to find it different; for about six weeks previous to inspection, I received a communication from a gentleman unknown to me, stating that the factory was a regular fire-trap for the girls employed there. The main entrance is on the second floor on level with sidewalk, so that first floor is actually a basement only. On the whole I feel satisfied as to the safety of people employed there in case of fire.

Beloit Paper Co.: Two story stone; employs 25 males; found some of the machinery so exposed as to be liable to cause accidents, so I suggested changes, which were kindly received by the superintendent.

Beloit Straw Board Co.: Two story; employs 23 males; the large gearing exposed, and I told the manager it would greatly improve the factor of

safety if enclosed with a railing. The machine room is unlike any I have yet seen; being above ground, and for that reason it should be guarded to prevent visitors from coming in contact with running gear.

The establishments named below I found in good condition:

W. D. Kenzie, sash, door and blinds: One story; employs 15 males.

R. T. Dowd, machine knives: Employs 7 males; ground floor.

Norwegian Plow Works: Three-story brick; employs 50 males; none on third floor.

Florey & Dolea, cigars: Employs 7 females and 5 males on second floor.

Beloit Paper Pail Works: Employs 8 males and 2 females on the ground floor.

J. Schneider, sash, doors, blinds, etc.: Two-story frame; employs 15 males.

I found some shops almost idle and deserted, owing to business depression and financial embarrassments.

CEDARBURG, OZAUKEE COUNTY.

Cedarburg Woolen Mills: A three-story brick building, provided with good iron escapes; employs 40 females and 25 males.

Considerable stir was made through the public press in regard to the alleged employment of children under lawful age at this factory, coupled with general denunciation of proprietors for various reasons. I here give facts as found and defy busybodies: Upon inspection, I saw children working twelve hours a day, who were under 14 years of age. I requested the firm to at once order that they labor only ten hours per day as prescribed by law, which was acceded to without any trouble. I believe the proprietors also to be law-abiding citizens.

Hilden Manufacturing Co., sash, doors and blinds: Two-story frame; employs 75 males. Rumors had also been put afloat about this place concerning child labor. I endeavored to make a close investigation at Cedarburg, and come to the conclusion that these rumors were without foundation.

GRAFTON, OZAUKEE CO.

Grafton Worsted Mills: Three-story stone building; employs 60 females and 30 males; factory is in splendid condition, with considerate arrangements in every way. I deemed it advisable to order fire escape from third floor, and a bridge has been constructed to answer all purposes. A report was circulated about Cedarburg and Milwaukee also, that children under 12 years were concealed in the water closet to prevent my seeing them, but I could find no one who knew it to be true.

BAY VIEW, MILWAUKEE CO.

Of the North Chicago Rolling Mill Co. there is but little to be said. It is a large establishment, at times employing over 1,000 men, but work is all done on ground floor; accidents are few; employees seem to be satisfied

with their personal safety. The nail mill has some objectionable features, namely: the grinding, which creates a great dust of sand and steel, which must be very injurious to nailers who are directly exposed to it. Complaints are made, as it is said to effect the lungs severely. Something should be done to obviate this, and could be, by means of fans.

JEFFERSON, JEFFERSON COUNTY.

Jefferson Woolen Mills: Three-story frame; employs 7 females and 18 males. Interior of mill is in first-class condition, neat and tidy. Fire-escape ordered, and readily complied with.

Jefferson Boot and Shoe Factory: Two-story frame; employs 10 females and 52 males. It is apparent that employees receive due care and attention.

NEENAH, WINNEBAGO COUNTY.

Kimberly & Clark Co., operators of three paper mills, as follows: The Neenah Mills, three-story brick; employs 50 males, 50 females; first-class arrangements as to health and safety. This is a model factory; the building is new, and employees can feel safe in any part of the building. The elevator is of the latest device, with automatic trap door. The Badger Mill is a three-story brick; employs 27 males, 7 females. Condition, very fair, but I had occasion to find fault with the elevator, which had quite a gap in an unsuspected place. The Globe Mills: Two-story brick; employs 23 males, 34 females; in very good condition.

Neenah Boot & Shoe Co.: Three-story brick; employs 25 males, 25 females. Condemned the fire escape and ordered a change. The escape consisted of a skeleton, constructed of three-eighth cable fastened to a platform with a twist of thin wire. Why is it that managers do not look after contract jobs of that kind more closely? A No. 14 wire soon corrodes, and thereafter, when put to a practical test, is apt to break and destroy life or limb.

Neenah Paper Co.: Two-story brick; employs 26 males and 19 females. In very good condition.

Neenah Stove Works: Substantial building for that purpose; employs 80 males. In very good condition. A splendid establishment, fitted out with precision for the benefit of all concerned.

The planing mill and cooperage factories described below, were also found in first-class condition:

Neenah Planing Mill: Two-story frame; employs 12 males.

Neenah Cooperage Works: Employs 15 males.

MENASHA, WINNEBAGO COUNTY.

Menasha Wooden Ware Co.: Several buildings, one of which is three-story; employs 250 males. The means of escape on the three-story building consisted of a simple straight iron ladder, close to the wall, which

had the appearance of having been intended more for an ornament than use, for there was no practical access to it. Upon explanation, Mr. Smith, Sr., ordered it changed forthwith.

The firm contemplates erecting new buildings, and the factory laws will be strictly observed.

I found the same conditions at the cooperage works, but a change of escapes was readily agreed upon.

Chas. R. Smith, cooperage: Three-story frame; employs 150 males.

Menasha Woolen Mills: Three-story brick; employs 17 males, 33 females; interior in splendid condition; but the escape was of an inferior kind. Every effort will be made to make the necessary alterations.

Gilbert & Whiting Paper Mills: Three-story brick; employs 40 males; 40 females. Safe in every respect.

Webster Mfg. Co., hubs, spokes, felloes and chairs: Two buildings, three stories, bridged; employs 150 males and 8 females. General condition very good, both externally and internally.

D. T. H. Mackinnon. Excelsior for upholstering: Employs 8 males on the ground floor. In good condition.

The smaller factories and workshops not mentioned were, without exceptions, found in creditable condition.

KENOSHA, KENOSHA COUNTY.

N. B. Allen & Sons, tannery: Two frame buildings, a four and five story; employs 180 males. No means of escape on either building; appropriate escapes ordered; interior condition first-class. This tannery was found in a poor condition as far as the safety of employes is concerned. Why are some employers so negligent about erecting means of escape. Is it not courting danger and trusting to luck? To place people on a fifth floor, with one narrow and crooked stairway as egress, is in my estimation, done without any conscientious deliberation on the part of employers.

North-Western Wire Mattress Co.: Two-story buildings; employs 70 males.

The Bain Wagon Co.: Three-story brick buildings; employs 300 males.

Whitaker Engine and Skein Co.: Two-story buildings; employs 81 males.

The condition of the last three factories was first-class, especially the buildings of The Bain Wagon Company.

JANESVILLE, ROCK COUNTY.

No escapes were ordered put up in Janesville, the three-story buildings being already provided at the time of inspection, while the interior condition of all were found to be first-class.

Janesville Cotton Manufacturing Co.; two mills, one three, the other two stories high, of brick; provided with proper escapes; employs 200 females, 125 males.

New McLean Manufacturing Co., woolen mills: two-story brick; employs 40 males, 40 females.

Janesville Cigar-Box Factory; two-story frame; employs 23 females, 20 males.

C. Bailey, seamless bags, carpet warp, knitting yarns, etc.: two-story frame; employs 4 females, 6 males.

M. Hanson & Co., furniture; two-story frame; employs 15 males.

Wisconsin Shoe Co.: Two-story brick with basement; employs 44 males 80 females.

Richardson & Marzlaff, ladies' shoes: Shop on upper floor of three-story brick; employs 20 males, 11 females; provided with iron escapes.

Shopbell & Norris, sash, doors and blinds: Two-story frame; employs 15 males.

New Doty Mfg. Co., farm machinery: Two-story brick; employs 14 males on lower floor; upper floor occupied by the Thomas Spring and Gear Co., which employs 5 males.

Janesville City Brewery: Employs 6 males.

W. Hemming & Co., ale and porter brewery: Employs 5 males.

A peculiarity about Janesville is that here female labor is in better demand than male. This is owing to the numerous tobacco warehouses in which women and girls find employment sorting the leaf. The work is done in basements, or on lower floors. The girls make from \$6 to \$12 per week; but unfortunately the season lasts only four to six months per year. As near as could be judged some 500 females and 100 males are employed at tobacco sorting. The cotton and woolen mill, the shoe and cigar box factories also employ over 400 females.

MANITOWOC — MANITOWOC COUNTY.

Smalley Mfg. Co., agricultural implements, corner Sixth and York Sts., several buildings, bridged, affording ample means of escape. Employ 54 males.

Hubbard & Noble, agricultural implements and specialties; main building, three story frame, blacksmith shop and engine room, one story, brick. Buildings nearly finished at time of inspection, Oct. 1, 1886; no exterior provisions were made for escape from third floor; escape ordered. Expect to commence operations about Nov. 1.

Wm. Rohr's Sons, brewery; between South Sixth and Seventh streets; several buildings; malt house, new three-story building, bridged, affording the very best means of escape in case of fire. Employs 35 males.

Richards Iron Works, corner Commercial and Ninth Sts.; machine shop, two-story brick; foundry and blacksmith shop, one-story brick; employs 12 males; good condition.

Edward Zander, planing mill; Quay St.; two-story brick; machinery idle at time of inspection; one man working; good condition.

The following flouring mills, without exception, were found in first-class condition; in neither of them are more than one or two men working above the second floor, and then only for short periods, for oiling, wiping and sweeping:

Trussman & Cooper, three-story brick; North Eighth St.; running night and day; employing 8 males.

John Shuette, Oriental Mills; northwest corner South Eighth and Jay Sts.; four-story brick; employs 10 males.

Jacob Fliegler, Wisconsin Central Mills; 207 North Eighth St.; three-story brick; employs 12 males.

The factory inspector being called home was unable to finish his work at the time.

FOND DU LAC, FOND DU LAC COUNTY.

Chas. J. L. Meyer, sash, doors and blinds; three-story brick; employs 250 males, 6 females, inclusive Fond du Lac Furniture Co., occupying the same building; no fire-escape on building; two were ordered. As to the interior, its condition is first-class.

The Fond du Lac Furniture Co. occupy one of the Meyer buildings. They will soon have a new building, with modern improvements.

O. C. Steenberg, sash, doors and blinds; three-story frame; employs 25 males. This mill is provided with a novel fire-escape, a sort of clamp-like affair, bolted to the walls. The objection raised to this escape was, its inaccessibility, for in case of fire the workmen would have to grapple for an attachment, only about six inches from the wall and away to one side of the windows. A sudden fire in a place filled with dry lumber and shavings, means "hurry and get out;" consequently I ordered a balcony to facilitate action in such an emergency.

Stickney Shoe Co.: Three story brick; employs 20 females, 55 males; interior condition good; fire escapes ordered.

La Belle Wagon Works: Two story buildings; employs 150 males.

The outside and interior condition is very good. The buildings cover considerable ground and contain no dangerous traps. The few suggestions offered were of minor importance; but they may prove valuable sometimes.

Moore & Galloway, planing mill; two story; at this time extending works, for the purpose of manufacturing sash, doors and blinds.

The following factories, as well as the smaller workshops, of which no special mention is made, were found in good condition:

Novelty Iron Works, saw mill machinery: Employs 40 males; work on ground floor.

B. F. & H. L. Sweet, common sense sleighs, wagons, etc: Employs 30 males on ground floor.

Steam Drug Mills: Two story frame; employs 12 males, 2 females.

Not much need be said of Fond du Lac. The list of factories is comparatively small for a town of its size, though it seems to be growing.

OSHKOSH, WINNEBAGO COUNTY.

Paine Lumber Co., sash, doors and blinds: Two-story frame; also two saw mills; 400 males—no female employes. Interior condition light, airy, and clean; others might well pattern after these buildings.

Mr. Himebaugh, a member of the firm, took great pride in showing me over their grand domain. To give a full description of this sash, door and blind factory would take too much space; suffice it to say that it would be impossible to surpass it for elegance and light, air, and cleanliness are its predominating features. Employes are not encumbered by piles of refuse, impeding their work and making it wearisome for them; and Mr. Himebaugh was pleased to inform me that his firm had completed arrangements to fully guard against known accidents.

Oshkosh Star Carriage Works: Two-story frame; employs 75 males. Condition excellent; cleanliness noticeable.

Carlton, Foster & Co., sash, doors and blinds: Two-story frame; employs 250 males. A saw-mill is also operated by this company. General condition first-class; under good and humane management, apparently. Employes contented.

Williams & Libby, sash, doors and blinds; also one saw-mill: Two-story frame; employs 120 males. General arrangements in a very good and agreeable condition.

R. McMillen & Co., sash, doors and blinds: Two-story frame; employs 125 males. Condition would bear improvement; too crowded for general safety. The ceiling is low, necessitating the belts to be so arranged that it is impossible to walk through the place without coming in contact with some of them. On the whole, the place is crammed for want of room.

Conlee Lumber Co., sash, doors and blinds: Three-story frame; employs 80 males, 8 females. The building evidently was not intended for the purpose, as it has the appearance of a grain elevator. But little effort has apparently been made for the safety of employes. A couple of wooden ladders were stationary at some windows, which would be of no practical use in an emergency. Several changes were ordered, which the proprietors agreed to comply with. The condition of the employes I considered perilous indeed. On asking some of the help how they would get out in case of fire, they said they did not know; neither could I see, for there is not even a good stairway in the building.

Oshkosh Match Co.: Three-story brick; employs 170 females, 30 males; provided with three iron escapes, inaccessible, and of no practical use; a change was ordered which was complied with.

Diamond Match Co.: Two-story brick; employs 100 females, 75 males; serious doubts as to condition.

I want to say a few words in regard to the conditions of these match factories generally, but more particularly of the dipping rooms. To ameliorate the condition of the people at work in those rooms would be an act of

charity. Imagine being in a closed room, the atmosphere of which is constantly contaminated with the fumes of the chemicals used, especially those of phosphorus, which act directly on the bone, and you have the case as I saw it. Found an attempt had been made to purify the air by the aid of suction fans; but the effort seems to be futile, as the rooms were filled with foul odors, the conducting pipes not being large enough, and the fans lacking the requisite power.

I expostulated to some extent with the proprietors and suggested some changes; but as a matter of course they would entail some expense, I left without expecting to see the changes made. But at whatever cost, the working people should be provided with pure air, which the Creator of all things ordained.

Schmit Bros. Trunk Co.: Three-story frame; employs 75 males. Interior condition first-class; escape ladders ordered, to be added to balconies already in place; complied.

The following factories, without exception, were found in first-class condition;

Bandenrob & Chase, furniture, scroll sawing and wood-turning: Three-story frame; employs 45 males; means of escape sufficient; upper floor being bridged.

Foote Bros. & Co., flouring mills; Three-story brick; employs 10 males.

James P. Gould, sash, doors and blinds: Two-story frame; employs 95 males.

G. C. Griffith, trunks: Two story frame; employs 20 males.

H. Dercksen, cigars: Employs 8 males, three females on second floor.

Bradford Brothers & Co., sash, doors and blinds. Two-story frame; employs 125 males.

Buckstaff, Edwards & Co., caskets, coffins, chairs and cradles: Two-story frame; employs 120 males, 12 females.

A. Sanford, lumbermen's tools: Employs 15 males on ground floor.

Eagle Iron Works, general jobbing: Employs 25 males.

Gunz & Kloeckner, furniture: Two-story frame; employs 18 males.

Horn & Georges, cigars: Employs 10 males on second floor.

In Oshkosh, as elsewhere, I found the majority of factories rather negligent in some interior arrangements providing against accident, in guarding elevators, boxing of machinery, belts, etc. I make no special mention of these things because the law does not make proper stipulations in regard to them. Nevertheless, I keep a record of all my transactions, so as to keep posted, and if my advice is not heeded, I shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing that my duty was done.

APPLETON, OUTAGAMIE COUNTY.

Patton Paper Co.; three-story brick; employs 50 males, 50 females; this firm has a pulp mill also; employing 18 males on the ground floor. This building is 260 feet in length, and its interior is in a very fine condition;

but whatever induces builders to equip factories of such dimensions with but one stairway from a third-floor, I can not conceive. It would prove inadequate in many instances, for the slightest report may cause a panic; then imagine the rush, the scrambling to get to that one stairway!

Appleton Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Co.: three-story frame; employs 45 males. The factory is neat and airy, but the stair appeared as though it were out of place in the building; consequently a change was ordered and complied with.

Fox River Flour and Paper Co.: Ravine paper mills, three-story brick; employs 30 males, 40 females; provided with balcony escape.

Lawrence flour mill, also three stories; employs 8 males; good condition. The Ravine is foremost in elegance. Its machinery is all boxed in, elevator provided with automatic trap door, and nothing left to afford the slightest cause for employees to complain.

Kimberly & Clark Co., Vulcan and Tioga paper mills: Three-story brick structures side by side, provided with balcony escapes; employs 65 males, 70 females. Provided with good escapes; but I found obstructions inside of building, which were ordered removed; likewise found it necessary to offer suggestion of changes to elevators and boxing in machinery.

Atlas Paper Co.: Two story brick; also two pulp mills, river intervening; employs 104 males and 16 females. Interior condition very neat.

I was sorry to learn of the accidental death of one of the employees which occurred soon after my inspection of the mill. Had my suggestions been promptly obeyed, in all probability this accident would not have happened.

The pulp mills are in general good condition and needed but a guard around a pulley to insure entire safety.

Appleton Paper and Pulp Co.: Three-story frame; employs 16 females and 34 males. Interior could be improved; several suggestions were made in regard to elevator and machinery; the means of fire-escape are sufficient, although not exactly in accordance with law.

One thing more that I wish to speak of in connection with all the paper mills here is this: The rooms in which the sorting and cutting of rags is done are not properly ventilated. I noticed men at the cutting machines protected against inhalation of the dust made in the operation by means of a sponge tied to their nostrils. The dust and odors arising from this process are perfectly sickening, and must be seriously injurious to health. The efforts toward prevention are indisputably slight, and are deserving of condemnation. Ingenuity can and should devise plans to enable human creatures to get their share of pure air.

G. N. Richmond & Bro., three-story frame paper mills; employ only males; building old but interior condition very good.

Appleton Woolen Mills, plain and fancy yarns; two-story brick; employs 24 males, 16 females; condition commendable.

A. D. Fleming & Co., linen mills; three-story frame with outside stairs; employs 25 females, 10 males; neatly arranged, condition favorable.

The woolen and linen mills needed no suggestions of improvements for the safety of employees, as their condition is first-class.

The following establishments can pass without any further remarks than that their general condition was good:

Appleton Straw Board Co.: Two-story brick; employs 18 males.

Champion Horse-Nail Co.: Two-story frame; employs 10 females, 25 males.

Morgan & Bassett, circular saw mills; engines, etc.: Two-story frame; employs 25 males.

Vulcan Iron Works, founders and machinists: Two-story frame; employs 25 males.

Appleton Manufacturing Co., farming implements: Several buildings, highest two-story; employs 120 males.

John Stier, cigars: Employs 12 males.

Appleton hub and spoke factory: Employs 10 males.

The following factories were found closed:

Appleton Crochet and Knitting Co., and Briggs, Wharton & Beveridge's sash, door and blind factory.

MILWAUKEE, MILWAUKEE COUNTY.

Badger Knitting Co., Cor. Erie and E Water: Four-story brick; employs 110 females and 15 males, on third and fourth floors. An old, rickety stairway serves as escape, and an outlet from third floor on adjoining roofs. The two lower floors are stored full of oils. The case was put before the company, who immediately erected an outside stairway to fourth floor. A substantial one was up.

Bradley & Metcalf, 389 to 393 E. Water, boots and shoes: Six-story brick; employs 140 female, 275 males on and above fourth floor. This factory was found in a very unsafe condition. Four hundred and twenty-five persons on and above the fourth floor; one stairway in use to get to lower floors; some access to roof by windows on fourth floor, the whole affording safety to a few only. Mr. Bradley protested against securing perfect safety for his employees, and manifested a disposition to defeat us if he could. In this he failed, and finally complied with my orders. Now, in the two departments on fourth floor where females are employed, a trap-door leads them to safety, while the floors above are provided with ladders sufficient to secure entire safety.

Johnston Bros., steam bakery, 270 Broadway; four-story brick; employs 40 males, 40 females. This building needed my attention very much. After stating my case to Mr. Johnston, he eyed me very closely and wanted to know upon what authority I acted. Upon due explanations he said: "I think you are just the man I wish to consult, and I am glad there is somebody appointed by the state to investigate these matters. It has been

my intention to put up a fire-escape for the last three years. As I am an invalid, and have to spend the greatest part of my time in Colorado — my family living there too — it will make me feel happy to think my help here are safe. Now, how do you want it?" It is needless to say a good escape was put up, and Mr. Johnston felt relieved, after seeing some of his help climbing up and down. Says he: "I know now, they can save themselves." There should be more Johnstons.

O. D. Bjorkquist & Son, 300 and 302 Broadway, boots and shoes; four-story brick; employs 40 males, 12 females. This firm erected an escape under protest. They tried to convince me the building was safe enough. They were "ready to chance it," and let 52 persons be at the mercy of circumstances. They at last complied reluctantly with the mandate of the law, and afterward showed their spite by tearing down the factory laws, which act came very near landing the firm into severe difficulties; and clearly shows their disposition. Under strict instructions from Commissioner Flower, I shall watch them. The interior of their factory is in splendid condition.

J. Fernekes & Bro., 351 and 353 East Water, confectionery, five-story brick; employs 40 females, 40 males. Condition of interior not flattering; balcony escape ordered.

This firm delighted in vituperations upon all factory laws. Considerable time was spent in fair promises until they were about to erect a plain ladder, which I objected to on the ground of its being insufficient; so a balcony was added.

Beala, Torrey & Co, 166 and 168 W. Water, boots and shoes: Four-story brick; employs 18 females, 42 males; interior first-class; joint building with Geuder & Paeschke Mfg. Co.

Geuder & Paeschke Mfg. Co., tinware, 162 and 164 W. Water; four-story brick; employs 75 males; interior first-class.

Atkins, Ogden & Co., 174 and 176 W. Water, boots and shoes: four-story brick; employs 75 males, 25 females; building owned by John Plankinton; interior first-class; ordinary iron ladder, so as to comply with the letter of the law as cheaply as possible.

Mathews Bros., furniture ware rooms, 407 to 411 E. Water; five-story brick; employs 4 females and 15 males, as upholsters on fourth and fifth floors. The order to provide the building with fire escape met with some protest on the part of John Black, the owner.

Thomas, Badgley & Wentworth Mfg. Co., 170 and 172 W. Water; brass foundry and finishers of plumbing materials, etc.; four-story brick; employs 65 males. Interior of factory very good, but needed an escape, which was built.

Northwestern Sleigh Co., 1031 Fowler: Four-story frame, employs 50 males. Factory very good; two escapes ordered; complied. In this case some time was granted on the plea of waiting for the water-works to extend their pipe to their factory. Finally on Nov. 11, 1885 a fire occurred

on the fourth floor on an evening, while several persons were at work after regular time. Had it started below, it would have caused some jumping, there being only one stair at the rear of building. Immediately after the fire the building was provided with two balcony escapes.

A. Meinecke & Son, cor. Front and Mason, willow-ware and toys: Four-story brick; employs 17 females, 112 males. A change of escape ordered and cheerfully complied with; so that conditions in general are satisfactory.

Hansen's Empire Fur Factory, 375 and 377 E. Water: Five-story brick; employs 100 females and 8 males. Interior condition good; fire-escape ordered; complied. Another story has been added since; additional fire-escapes to that which had been previously ordered makes the escape come within the requirement of the law. A sad accident occurred at this factory on Saturday evening, August 15, 1886, caused by some defect in the gearing of elevator. Miss Blum was killed outright, and about fifteen other employes more or less injured. The factory inspector makes it a point to examine elevators, although the law gives him no power beyond moral suasion. In this case the firm was in communication with a manufacturer of elevators at the time of the accident, and had been pronounced perfectly safe a few days previous.

Abel, Bach & Fitzgerald, cor. 10th and Fowler; trunks; three-story brick; employs 6 females and 137 males; interior condition good; escape ordered which with an outside stairway, secures all.

National Knitting Co., foot of Clinton; four-story brick, with tower escape; employs 165 females, 65 males.

Factory is modern style, agreeable and safe in every respect. The escape tower is independent of main building and can only be used by parties coming down, as the lower door opens from the inside; it has very wide stairs, thus securing entire safety from fire. It is also provided with water closets, wash and dressing rooms separate for both sexes; all independent of main building, with exit to it on all floors. Anyone contemplating building a factory, and desirous of furthering his own and the public interests by extending such safety and comforts to employes, will do well to call on S. M. Levy, vice-president of this company.

Romadka Bros., 4th near Wells; trunks; four-story brick; employs 2 females, 200 males; provided with good balcony escape; interior in first-class condition.

Bubb & Kipp, upholsterers, 115 to 123 Huron; four-story brick; employs 76 males; escape sufficient by means of bridges on two upper floors to adjoining building; general condition first-class. A new building was in course of construction at time of inspection.

Wm. Willer, 313 to 327, Cedar, sash, doors and blinds; four-story brick; employs 65 males; provided with sufficient means of escape. Complaints were made about the condition of water closets. Notice was left with the Board of Health whose duty it is to attend to such matters.

Geo. Dyer, 321 and 323 E Water, saddlery: Four-story brick; employs 12 males on fourth floor; fire-escape ordered and erected. Proprietor considered a fire-escape a nuisance; he thought his employees would be able to save themselves by jumping from fourth floor on an addition in the rear, a distance of about 25 feet.

B. Leidersdorf & Co., 248 to 258, E. Water, tobacco: Four-story brick; employs 67 males and 50 females. Factory rather crowded with stock, and inner stair in very dark place. One escape was ordered, but the firm concluded to put up two. They didn't "kick."

F. F. Adams & Co., 92 to 98 W. Water, tobacco: Four-story brick; employs 8 females and 110 males. This factory can not be surpassed for convenience and safety nor in a sanitary respect; employees seem to appreciate the fact.

Whitehill Sewing Machine Co., 179 to 195, Becher: Four-story brick; employs 175 males; means of escape sufficient. The shops afford conveniences which ought to be put in practice by similar establishments. It has wash-rooms for each department and a clean place in which to change clothing. All other arrangements are of a similar nature.

Benton, Waldo & Co., Cor. E. Water and Detroit, type foundry: Four-story brick, employs 15 females, 25 males: foundry on fourth floor. A fire escape was ordered, complied with a good balcony escape; better ventilation should be provided in the casting rooms, to avoid inhaling the poisonous fumes and dust from lead. A suction fan is in one corner, but ventilation overhead would be an addition. Female children are employed there, and as it is known that women are more susceptible to the deleterious influences mentioned; strict attention should be given to this matter.

Friend Bros., 358 & 360 Broadway, clothiers: Five-story brick; employs 25 cutters on fifth floor. The firm readily complied with the law by erecting balcony escapes with five inclining ladders, covering their buildings adjoining a block of three stores. Mr. Friend said: "I wish to see everybody in this building protected against this fire demon." Upon its completion I was asked to examine the work. It was found to be exactly according to specifications.

Herman Penner Co., 197 Broadway, bedding supplies; three-story brick; employs 10 males and 10 females on third floor. Access to work-rooms, very bad; escape ordered; complied.

Empire Knitting Works, 199 Broadway, employs 28 females and 12 males, on first and second floors; interior condition poor. This and the preceding factory occupy the same building; it is not adapted to factory purposes. Egress from upper floor would be bad in case of fire; escape was ordered. In the mean time, on Nov. 23, '85, a fire broke out about 10 o'clock P. M., in this structure, and the remarks made by Chief Foley on that occasion received my full sympathy. He said: "If this fire had occurred when all hands were at work, in the day time, some accidents

might have happened." An escape ladder has been put up since without any balcony, though the proprietors were advised to provide one.

C., M. & St. P. Ry. Shops, West Milwaukee; two-story brick buildings; employs 1,400 males. The plant comprises several buildings of immense size. Cleanliness and systematic arrangements, conducive alike to health and safety, and greatly facilitating labor, are everywhere discernable. This is true economy.

Milwaukee Furniture Co., corner Fowler and Fifteenth Sts., two brick buildings, three stories high, bridged at second floors; employs 40 males: made some suggestions in regard to elevator; interior in fair condition, additional bridge or fire escape ladder ordered on third floor; complied.

Eagle Lye Works, 288 East Water; four-story brick; employs 17 males, 10 females; escape ordered; complied. The air in this factory is decidedly unpleasant. The air being constantly contaminated from vapors arising from the process of boiling this powerful alkali, potash. Although destitute of acid properties, it must be injurious if inhaled day after day. The boiling and filling of the cans is done on the lower floor, giving free scope to all the vapors to rise to upper floors which are in a constant mist. This could be easily obviated with a conduit made of sheet iron, at a comparatively small expense.

Geo. Ziegler, 235 to 239 E. Water, confectionery; five-story brick; employs 60 females and 60 males: The building is provided with a movable escape, erected some time ago. It cost considerable money, and would prove very beneficial on a building divided into several compartments, in case of fire. Upon inspecting the same I found this objection: properly an escape should be to one side of a window, while this, if put to one side of a window, has reasonable access to it cut off.

Here let me call attention to a fact which occurred — as informed by Mr. Ziegler, Jr. — a few days previous to my visit. A defect of the elevator caused it to fall with a great noise which almost caused a panic among the girls, who, in their fright, ran to the rear door and had there been a fire, would probably jumped from the fifth floor, instead of taking refuge on the fire escape.

I mention this for the purpose of suggesting that such doors and windows should be barred to prevent such accidents; and placards with instructions how to use fire-escapes, in legible print, should also be posted.

Pfister & Vogel Leather Co., Menominee Valley: Several brick buildings from three to six stories high, provided with ten iron fire escapes, sufficient for all intents and purposes; employs 360 males. Some suggestions offered in regard to desirability of having automatic gates on elevator.

Ph. Best Brewing Co., (South Side Brewery): Supplied with all necessary means of escape; employ 90 males; interior conditions first class. The suggestion of fencing in a certain pulley found an attentive ear, and was forthwith complied with. It may be the means of saving life or limb.

Ph. Best Brewing Co's Empire Brewery, Chestnut St.: Composed of

several massive structures, provided with adequate fire-escapes; employs 350 males.

Best Brewing Co's Bottling Dept., 462 to 470 Virginia: Three-story brick; bridged from second floor unto adjoining embankment; employs 120 females and 140 males.

Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co., between Walnut and Galena, 2nd and 3rd. Buildings cover an entire block, provided with all necessary means of escape; employs 365 males.

Joseph Schlitz Bottling Works: Building new, one-story high; employs 125 males and 60 females.

Valentin Blatz, brewery, Cor. Broadway and Division Streets; employs 110 males.

J. Oberman Brewing Co., Cherry St; employs 45 persons in brewing and bottling.

Torchiani & Kremer, corner Knapp St. and Broadway, beer bottling: Two-story frame, employs 50 males and 20 females.

Franz Falk Brewing Co., situated near city limits on Mukwonago road; employ 120 males. Beer bottling establishment in connection with brewery, employing 7 males and 14 females; on ground floor, general condition very good. The brewery is provided with fire escape. Suggestions made to cover shafting in front of a door and immediately complied with.

Menominee Valley Brewery, near city limits. Fred Miller, proprietor, contemplates the erection of an entirely new structure at an early day. There are employed about 65 males; condition very fair considering that the buildings are very old. Also bottling department, employing 4 males.

Adam Gettelman Brewery, near city limits. A structure of recent date, equipped with modern conveniences. Employs about 30 males. Condition very good.

Jung & Borchert, brewery, Ogden St; employs 70 males. Bottling department employs 6 males. Suggested enclosure of fly-wheel; readily agreed to.

Cream City Brewing Co., two breweries, one on Thirteenth and the other on Eighth St.; employ 45 males; also bottling department, employing 3 females, 3 males; both found in satisfactory condition.

The buildings of the Milwaukee lager beer breweries are an ornament to the city. We see their massive and elegant structure towering in all directions. The brewers are also the most liberal business men. Anything that may be conducive to the health and safety of employees is provided forthwith. Fire escapes are erected on all the buildings not only with a view to save life, but also to facilitate the labors of the fire department. Machinery is guarded and fenced in, and if a suggestion on my part was put it was immediately complied with. On the whole, ship-shod management is entirely unknown among the brewers. The beer bottling establishments are also well provided with conveniences for employees. The work is not laborious, but wet and sloppy, and requires proper cloth-

ing. A number of young people of both sexes are employed, but I feel assured none are less than 14 years of age. At any rate all are over 12. Everything is kept neat and clean and free from odor, by daily washing and scrubbing.

Cramer, Aikens & Cramer, Cor. Milwaukee and Michigan, publishers of Evening Wisconsin, book and job printers: Four-story brick; employs 75 males, 8 females; outside and inside fire escape. A magnificent edifice, with a fire-proof elevator. Its composing rooms are situated to receive the full light of day, which is a great benefit to the eyesight of compositors. Every turn and crook in or about the building shows evidence of precaution on the part of the owners for the health, safety and comfort of employees. Every room has a conductor to carry out foul air, with a shaft for that purpose. In fact, everything seems to be calculated with precision.

P. V. Deuster & Co., publishers of the *See-Bote*, book and job printers, 96 Mason street: Four-story brick; news-room on fourth, job-room on third, editorial-room on second floor; employs 63 males. The press-room has a very dingy, dark, dismal appearance. The composing-room is on fourth floor; twenty-five people are employed there. In case of a fire, they have access to the roof of adjoining buildings.

Herold Co., cor. Broadway and Mason, publishers; four story brick; employs 75 males, day and night force; interior conditions elegant; means of escape insufficient; escape ordered. The Herold Co., within the past year, have entirely renovated their newspaper building; another story was also added. This gives it the appearance of a handsome structure. Upon being conducted through the entire building, I informed my conductor that it would have to be provided with a fire-escape. In reply he said that the two scuttle holes in the roof — which had been examined by me — were intended for that purpose. Now there is no doubt but the intentions of the Herold Co. were good, but one point it seems was not considered, and that is, the effect a scuttle hole would have upon a fire, as it will cause a draught, thereby greatly aiding the fire in spreading rapidly, and as a matter of course cut off escape for the inmates. Neither would it be of service at some seasons of the year, when roofs are covered with ice and snow. Outside of this argument, scuttle holes are not in conformity with the law. My conductor advised me to see W. W. Coleman, and lay the matter before him. I was unable to procure an audience with him, as he was absent, so I served a written notice on the firm and so far as I can now see they will be prosecuted by the district attorney.

Riverside Printing Co., 124 Grand Ave. four story brick; employs 35 males; fire escape ordered, which met with prompt attention. The interior of the building is in unsafe condition. The ceiling in boiler room is very low, the floor above it being the press room, is saturated with kerosene and printing ink. The smokestack, which is constantly hot, comes in direct contact with this floor. I suggested a change by a sheet iron cover-

ing with an air chamber, it being now covered by a single sheet, about ten inches wide, the stack being about fifteen inches. A stray spark may at any time ignite the ceiling. Imagine the condition of the people employed in the composing and engraving rooms above with only a narrow, stinted stairway as an exit.

Journal Co., 92 Mason, publishers; three-story brick; employs 18 males; composing room on third, editorial rooms on second, counting rooms on ground floor. Interior in first-class condition; convenient stairway leading directly to street. Fire-escape ordered; complied.

Sentinel Co., 91 Mason, publishers, three-story brick: Employs only males as compositors—about 40 as a night force on third floor and in bindery on ground floor 4 males and 5 females. Fire escape ordered. In appearance the interior of the building does not reach the standard of model workrooms. In the first place it looks dark, walls and ceiling black with smoke, caused by lamps used all night. A very strong and unhealthy stench drew my attention to a water-closet located in one corner, which proved very defective. I mentioned the fact to Mr. Hess, the foreman, who said he would like to see it remedied. The evil has been removed since, I am happy to state. Think it would have been attended to before had the employes entered complaint. Even outside of the law, the condition of the people working nights on the third floor, with but a very narrow stair to get down, not lighted, might lead to severe results in any emergency. This narrow stairway is the only one compositors are privileged to use.

Germania Publishing Co., 286 West Water St.: Three-story brick, employs 53 males, 16 females; outside iron stairway to second floor; females employed in bindery on second floor; interior very good; additional means of escape ordered and at once erected.

Gugler Lithographing Co., 81 to 87 Detroit St.; four-story brick; employs — females, — males; interior very good; fire escape ordered; complied.

Hyman & Silber, 376 Broadway; cloaks and suits; four-story brick; employs 60 males, 15 females; factory on fourth floor; fire-escape ordered and order complied with.

Aug. Spankus, 234 West Water St., bookbindery; employs 9 males and 6 females on second floor; interior condition fair. Removed to two-story brick building, 123 to 127 West Water St.

H. G. Razall & Co., bookbindery, 128 Wisconsin St.; four-story brick, employs 13 males, 7 females on third floor. Rear windows have iron trelis, bolted firm. It was ordered out or to swing, which will afford sufficient means of escape on to adjoining roof.

H. Niedecken & Co., 388 E. Water; stationers and bookbinders; four-story brick; employs 12 males and 11 females on fourth floor.

Considerable delay was experienced during negotiations between owner of building and occupants as to who should put up and pay for the escape. The owner, Edward D. Holton, protested pretty severely, claiming he had

calculated on escape by means of the scuttle-hole in roof; but I had to disagree with him about the utility of such means. A good escape has since been put up.

M. Heiman & Co., 428 to 429 Broadway, wholesale millinery: Four-story brick; employs 75 females on upper floor. Fine establishment, and suitable, spacious, quarters for their female help on fourth floor. I was in a quandary as to the age of a few of them but all instruction within my means revealed them to be over 18 years of age. An escape was ordered and the order was promptly complied with by the owner of the building.

Wisconsin Telephone Co., 424 Broadway: Four-story brick; employs 24 females. The building was found to be provided with a substantial ladder, but the means of access to it was precarious. I therefore called the attention of Manager Haskins to it, who agreed to provide a balcony, because, as he said, it was proper that it should be done. This is the talk of men of sense.

Daisy Roller Mills, foot of Washington Street, flour: Six-story brick; employs 40 males day and night; provided with iron escape. Interior is elegant; no obstructions; safe in any part of the mill. The building is as airy and light as an ordinary factory. The oilers and sweepers are not obliged to crawl over gears and belts to perform their duties.

Northwestern Straw Work, 615 Read, three-story frame; employs 300 females and 40 males; females on first and second floors. Rumors were afloat concerning the unsafe condition of the people employed at this factory. My examination of the premises proved otherwise. The female help is located on first and second floors, having access to three outside stairways by doors. About twenty-five of the males are on third floor, with access to two escape ladders by windows. The way to get out of the building is within easy reach of everybody.

A. W. Rich & Co., 418 to 417 Broadway, dry goods: Four-story brick; employs 57 females and 8 males as cloak makers on fourth floor; escape ordered; refused to obey. This is a dry goods establishment on a grand scale, occupying the three lower floors as salesrooms. The fourth floor, at the commencement of my inspection, was in use as a cloak factory, employing about 65 persons. A notice was served on the firm to provide a fire-escape, but Mr. Rich said he contemplated removing the factory to other quarters and protested. He has, however, continued to occupy the fourth floor with his help. I do not consider the course pursued by Mr. Rich to be commendable or fair. The factory was in operation at least six months after publication of the law on fire-escapes, and if a fire had occurred in the meantime, who would have been held blamable? The factory inspector, of course. Then why did he not enforce the law? I will here give full reasons why. I inspected the building on July 25, 1895, and informed Mr. Rich it must be provided with escapes as prescribed by law. He thought it was unnecessary, as there was a good stairway inside, but

asked me to call in a week, and he would consult his landlord. I called, to learn that Mr. Rich had gone east on business; would return on August 23. I followed him up closely. It was then Mr. Rich informed me that he would not put on an escape, and would rather close up his factory or remove to other quarters. It was then still undecided whether he would continue the factory. On August 27, I served the notice which gave thirty days wherein to comply. At the expiration of that time I called to learn they had decided to discontinue the factory and would close within sixty days. On the strength of this I refrained from lodging complaint with the district attorney. Eventually the cloak factory was removed to other quarters.

No more was heard of Mr. Rich's establishment, until rumors came to me that several persons were employed as dressmakers by Mr. Rich on the fourth floor. On July 1, 1886, I investigated the matter and found 9 persons employed on that floor. I again informed Mr. Rich of his neglect of duty. His claim at that time was, that it was no "factory," but a "workshop." I forthwith served a notice on both landlord and occupant, so as to be assured that the mandates of law would be obeyed. The matter is now in the hands of District Attorney Williams for prosecution. Such delays are of frequent occurrence to a greater or less extent, and are unwarrantable. Their only object is to evade the law and greatly impede the work of the factory inspector.

T. A. Chapman, 125 and 127 Wisconsin; four-story brick; employs 60 females as cloak and suit makers and milliners, on second floor; in the best possible condition. This establishment is well-known for its elegance. I am convinced that the interior, the work-shops of the dressmakers and milliners, is equally suitable, being fitted out with care and deliberation. A fire escape is not needed in this structure, there being no employees above the second floor.

Kieckhefer Bros. & Co., 118 to 123 Clybourn; tin and sheet iron ware; four-story brick; employs 118 males and 6 females.

F. A. Walsh & Co., tin ware; corner Clybourn and Third; four-story brick; employs 74 males. The tin and sheet iron ware manufacturies, of which there are four mentioned in my report, all have very good shops for their people, and are now provided with all necessary means of escape. This branch of industry has of late years greatly advanced in methods of lessening labor by the inventions and introduction of machinery, some of which, however, has been the cause of crippling a number of people. Superintendent S. Walter, of Kieckhefer Bros. & Co., said that he would gradually do away with boys at such machines, as he was in constant fear of accidents occurring; because, he said, "boys will be boys," and should not be put on such machines. Mr. Geuder, of Geuder Paeschke Mfg. Co., has had the same experience, although in one case which happened shortly after my inspection of the place, a man was hired in place of a boy, who pretended to understand how to work such machines, and in less than a

week was minus some fingers, though he had been duly cautioned by Mr. Geuder.

Herman Segnitz Cigar Mfg. Co., corner Reed and S. Water: four-story brick; employs 350 females, 350 males; balcony escape ordered; complied. This is a model establishment. It is evident that the company was careful in selecting a factory where they would receive plenty of light and air for their army of work people. The interior arrangement further shows that the firm is very considerate towards their employes in regard to health.

The second and third floors are in use for the cigarmakers. There are two rows of work benches on each floor, one side for males, the other for females. Between the two is a sixteen-foot aisle, and eight feet of space along the walls; obstructions are not permitted. All floors are provided with good stairs in the rear and in the front.

It may be supposed that this ought to be sufficient means of escape in case of a fire, but considering that there are 150 on the fourth floor— principally children of both sexes — and over 500 on the next two floors below, I deemed it advisable to order a good balcony escape.

Discipline between the sexes is well established, each having separate stairs in ascending and descending.

Extra precautions are taken in regard to the necessities of health for the female portion, by not confining them to their seats, but obliging them to get up alternately in pursuit of their duties, such as getting material and disposing of their finished cigars. Elsewhere this is done by children hired for that purpose.

E. Ascherman & Co., 257 to 259 S. Water, cigars; three-story brick; employs 40 females, 49 males on third floor. Fire escape ordered and erected; interior conveniently and comfortably arranged.

C. A. Beck, foot of 6th Street Bridge; packing-boxes; two-story frame; employs 175 males. This factory does not fully come up to the requirements of safety. Machinery and material are scattered rather promiscuously. There are many things exposed to danger which ought to be looked after, to obviate accidents. Several suggestions were made by me to the gentlemen in the office. One of the gentlemen related an accident which occurred there about a year ago, to a man who had followed the business for over twenty years. There was a shaft running close to the floor, which the employes were obliged to step over. It so happened that this man in stepping over was caught by the lower part of his pants. The result was his lower limb had to be amputated. I asked the gentleman if they boxed it in after that, "Oh, yes," he said smilingly, "immediately."

A. F. Tanner Furniture Co., Cor. Park and 4th Ave., three-story brick: Employs 50 males; light and airy; escape ordered; complied. The building is of recent construction and a model factory. It is equipped with the latest improved safety guards on machinery and elevator. Its whole interior is painted white.

David Adler & Sons, 324 and 326 E. Water, clothing: Four-story brick; employs 25 males on fourth floor; interior condition fine; fire-escape erected.

Straw, Ellsworth & Co., 354 and 356 Broadway, gloves: Five-story brick, employing 50 females, 10 males on third floor; interior very agreeable; provided with balcony escape.

H. C. Porth Mfg. Co., 232 West Water, suspenders, three-story brick: Employs 30 females and 10 males; escape ordered. Floors unoccupied; firm dissolved shortly after inspection.

Birge & Smith, 659 East Water, millwrights and machinists, two-story frame: Employs 22 males; in first-class condition; clean and roomy.

Conway Mfg. Co., foot of 17th St., doors and blinds; three-story brick: employs 150 males; means of escape sufficient; bridges.

E. P. Allis & Co., cor. Florida and Clinton Sts., builders of mill and all kinds of machinery: An extensive plant of several buildings, two and three stories high; employs from 1,200 to 1,600 males; sufficient means of escape; some interior conditions should be improved to secure general safety.

C. Hennecke & Co., statuary and wire works: Three-story brick: employs 30 males; condition of factory good, slight change of escape ordered.

Chas. Oldenburg Furniture Co., 885 and 887 North Water; four-story brick, employs 100 males; fire escape ordered; interior condition fair.

Northwestern Sleigh Co., branch near Sixth street bridge; three story frame; employs 75 males; condition would bear improving; an escape ladder ordered.

Bruss & Kronenberger, stair builders, bank, office and church furniture; 636 to 640 North Water; three-story frame; employs 70 males. A door from third floor had exit to roof of second story; an escape ladder was ordered from it to the ground, which was at once erected.

C. P. Sackett, 92 Wisconsin; shirts; upper floor of three-story brick; employs 7 females; in a good condition; slight change of escape ordered.

Sanger, Rockwell & Co., cor. Park and Sixth Ave.: Sash, doors and blinds; three story brick; employs 200 males; interior condition very good; two fire escapes ordered and erected.

Hoffman & Billings Mfg. Co., Kinnickinnic Valley, foundry and machine shop, three stories high; employs 165 males; foundry one of the neatest in the city. This firm also has foundry and machine shop corner Cedar and Sixth street, employing 35 males. Method of heating foundry in winter will be changed.

Pfister & Vogel, sheep skin tannery, Vogel's Island; four-story brick; employ 50 males and 2 females; interior condition very good; fire-escape was ordered.

Conway, Clement & Williams, 137 and 139 Wisconsin; furniture house; employs 23 males as upholsterers on the fourth floor, fire-escape erected.

Stark Bros. & Co., 133 and 135 Wisconsin; carpet house; four-story brick;

employs 10 males and 5 females on fourth floor; fire-escape ordered; order complied with.

Pollak, Spitz & Landauer, 872 Broadway; clothiers; four-story brick; employs 10 cutters on fourth floor; an escape was ordered, but parties removed, so it was not put up.

Delorme & Quentin, 286 East Water St.; toilet soaps; four-story brick; employs 5 males, 5 females; in good condition; escape erected in connection with the one of the Eagle Lye Works.

Columbia Knitting Works, 424 East Water St.; three-story brick, employing 15 females on third floor; additional escape ordered and erected.

Phoenix Knitting Works, 80 to 88 Detroit; factory on third floor of a four story building; employs 35 females; ladder ordered to connect with balcony on second floor.

A. G. Schulz & Co., 133 West Water; paper boxes; three story brick; employs 45 females on third floor; condition of factory very good; escape ordered and put up.

Kipp Brothers, 208 to 230 South Water St.; mattress factory and bedding supplies; three story brick, employs 10 females and 23 males; no escape; notice to erect one served.

Northwestern Furniture Co., 739 North Water; four-story frame employs 30 males; no escape; notice served to erect same.

Persian Carpet Works, Lake street, three story brick; employs 5 males and 50 females, forty of whom are on the third floor; has a balcony with stair on second floor. Ordered escape from third to it.

Berlin Coffin Co., 241 to 245 East Water Street, four story brick; employs 20 males; interior very good; escape ordered; complied.

Matthews Bros. Furniture Factory, 61 to 69 Fourth street: one four and one five-story brick building adjoining. Condition of factory splendid; escape ordered on each building, and erected.

J. P. Lindeman & Son, tin and sheet-iron ware, 144 and 146 West Water: Four-story brick; employs 20 males on fourth floor; escape ordered, and put up.

Jewett & Sherman Co., coffee and spice mills, 287 Broadway; four-story brick; employs 12 females, 12 males; escape ordered and readily put up; favorable in other respects.

Louis C. Todell, 372 Broadway, furrier, employs 10 males and 15 females on third floor; interior fair; access to adjoining building in case of fire.

J. H. Norris, North Water; inner soles; employs 80 females, 6 males on ground floor; the work is disagreeable for females, but not injurious.

J. Lauth, Vogel's Island, inner soles and paste; employs 45 females, 5 males on second floor of three-story frame. Considering the class of work, the factory is kept quite clean and safe.

Rice & Friedman, 329 and 331 East Water, wholesale notions and furnishing goods: Four-story brick; employs 8 persons on fourth floor. Es-

cape required, but the firm had concluded to discontinue that branch of business.

Johnson Electric Service Co., 1 Grand Ave., occupying third and fourth floors of four story brick; employs 25 males; interior very good; escape ordered and order complied with.

Cornillie Bros., Barclay and Washington, refrigerators and office furniture; three story frame; employs 40 males; new escape erected upon order; interior crowded.

Milwaukee Chair Co., 244 Broadway, four story brick, provided with necessary means of escape; employs 125 males and 12 females; interior in good condition.

J. C. Iverson & Co., 425 East Water, cabinet hardware; four story brick; employs 6 males on upper floor; a slight improvement of escape ordered.

Joseph Shaver, cor. Walnut and Nineteenth St., steam marble works, three story frame; employs 8 males; work done on ground and second floors.

H. Benedict & Co., 316 East Water, clothing; four-story brick, one iron escape; employs 97 females and 32 males on third and fourth floors.

S. E. Neustadt & Co., 304 East Water St., cigars: three-story brick; employs 6 females and 34 males; factory on second floor.

Louis Kindling, 290 East Water St., cigars: three-story brick; employs 17 females and 43 males; factory on second floor.

H. F. Fischedick, 151 Reed, cigars; three-story brick; employs 11 males and 2 females on third floor; agreeable and safe.

J. P. Goelz, 293 to 299 West Water St., cigar; three-story brick; employs 42 males and 8 females on third floor; in a safe and agreeable condition.

Reliance Mills, 70 to 76 West Water street; five story, with fire-escape; employs 24 males day and night; in fine condition.

Loeffelholz & Co., corner Clinton and Oregon Sts.; three-story brick; brass foundry, nickel, silver and gold plating, etc.; employs 6 females and 40 males; interior first-class; sufficient means of escape.

Sidenberg Brothers, 366 to 370 Broadway, ladies', misses' and children's cloaks; four-story brick; employs 40 females and 10 males on fourth floor; escape by two stairways; fire-wall between, with door communicating on fourth floor.

H. Schultz Cloak Mnfg. Co., 347 and 349 Broadway; three-story brick; employs 70 females and 4 males on second floor; in fine condition.

Dime Museum, Jacob Lit, prop., 126 and 128 Grand Ave.: Three-story brick; building open from 10 A. M. to 10 P. M.; moving audience from third to ground floor. Balcony escape ordered and readily complied with.

The establishments described below, the majority of which are conducted on either the second or ground floors, were, without exception, found in good condition, both as to means of escape in case of fire, and interior arrangement, safety and sanitary provisions:

H. Riedeburg & Co., 185 Milwaukee, vinegar and compressed yeast: Four-story brick; employs 11 males.

Geo. Burroughs, 424 East Water St., trunks: Three-story brick; factory on second floor; employs 10 males.

C. B. Henschel, 317 to 321 Mineral, cigar boxes and manufacturers' supplies: Two-story frame; employs 30 females and 30 males.

H. P. Leavens & Co., 124 West Water St., flour sacks: Employs 12 males and 12 females on second floor.

J. P. Molliter, 80 Detroit St., second floor, paper boxes: Employs 15 females.

C. A. Berthelet, Cor. Sixteenth and Fowler Sts., sewer pipe: Employs 13 males on ground floor.

Novelty Manufacturing Co., 271 Clinton St., foundry: Light iron castings; employs 70 males.

Page Shoe Co, 130 Second St.: Three-story brick; employs 25 females and 27 males.

Geo. Abert, 386 Sixth, St., hollow ware foundry: Employs 13 males.

J. G. Flint, Jr., 110 to 116 West Water, tobacco: Four-story brick; employs 15 females and 33 males.

R. Suhm Leather Co., 766 to 774 Kinnickinnic Ave.; tannery; employs 34 males.

Kalamazoo Knitting Works, 224 East Water Street; four-story brick with one good fire-escape; employs 150 females, 50 males.

Herman Voss, 372 Broadway, blank books and bookbindery; employs 25 females and 15 males on third floor; provided with escape.

King, Fowle & Katz, 372 Broadway, book and job printers; employs 16 males and 3 females on second floor—pleasant.

J. H. Yewdale & Sons, book and job printers and engravers, 123 to 127 West Water Street; two-story brick; employs 36 males; press-room on ground floor: composing room and electrotype foundry on second floor; engine room in basement; commodious in all its appointments.

Fredricks & Gruhl, 142 to 148 Stewart; sash, doors and blinds; two-story frame; employs 30 males.

Wetenkamp & Till, 262 East Water; paper boxes; second floor; employs 12 females.

Milwaukee Sash & Door Co., Kinnickinnic Valley; three-story frame; third floor not in use; employs 125 males.

Wisconsin Glass Co. employs 260 males on ground floor.

Wm. H. Schmidt & Co., cor. Park and 7th Ave.; sash, door and blinds; two-story frame; employs 160 males.

Worms & Cohn, 241 and 243 Oregon St.; cigar boxes; two story frame; employs 20 males and 20 females.

Cream City Iron Works (Limited), cor. Florida & Clinton Streets; three-story brick; employs 128 males.

Brand Stove Co., 295 to 303 Sixth street: Three-story brick; employs 150 males; well arranged and agreeable foundry.

Union Iron Works, 81 to 87 Chicago street: Three-story brick; employs 45 males.

Weisel & Vitter, 70 to 73 Chicago street, builders of engines and brewery machinery: Three-story brick; employs 45 males.

Wisconsin Malleable Iron Co., cor. South Bay and Winchester Sts.: Employs 125 males on ground floor.

Marine Boiler Works, Oregon, between South Water and Barclay streets; employs 40 males.

Wisconsin Boiler Works, Oregon, between South Water and Barclay streets; employs 12 males.

F. A. Achtenhagen, 260 Reed, upholsterer; employs 20 males on second floor.

Milwaukee Bridge and Iron Works, cor. Fowler and Seventeenth streets; employs 75 males on ground floor.

G. Campbell & Sons, 242 to 246 Oregon, bell and iron founders; employs 10 males.

J. W. Deguenther, 509 East Water, steam laundry: Three-story brick; employs 20 females and 2 males on lower floor and in basement.

Northwestern Suspender Manufacturing Co., 593 East Water: Three-story brick; employs 10 females and 5 males on first floor.

Haase Bros. & Phillip, 729 North Water, furniture: two-story frame; employs 26 males; interior crowded.

Gem Milling Co, corner Knapp and North Water; four-story frame; employs 10 males; provided with escape.

F. Schmitt & Sons, 301 Fourth St., galvanized iron works: employs 15 males on lower floor of a three-story brick.

Northwestern Malleable Iron Co., employs 90 males on ground floor.

Milwaukee Hay Tool Co., 263 Reed St.; employs 12 males on ground floor.

Egelhoff Mfg. Co, cor. Clinton and Oregon Sts., hay tools: two-story frame, employs 20 males.

Bay State Iron Works (E. P. Allis) cor. Lake and Barclay Sts., machinery, three-story brick with outside stairs; employs 200 males.

Vulcan Iron Works, cor. South Water and Barclay; two-story brick; employs 20 males.

Pawling & Haraischfeger, cor. Clinton and Oregon Sts., machine and pattern works: two-story frame; employs 15 males.

Milwaukee Harvester Co., Pierce street; three-story brick building; employs 160 males.

W. D. Brock, 223 Clybourn street, elevators; three-story frame; employs 13 males.

Kieckhefer Elevator Mfg. Co., 123 Clybourn street; employs all males in basement.

J. E. Patton & Co., 268 to 272 East Water, paints and oils; three-story brick; employs 15 males.

Paul Bechtner Co., 330 and 332 East Water St., vinegar and compressed yeast: Four-story brick; employs 10 males.

F. Westfahl & Co., file works, 279 West Water St.: Employs 23 males on ground floor.

Otto Laverenz & Bro., 428 East Water St., paper boxes and book binding: Three-story brick; employs 15 females and 5 males on second floor.

MADISON, DANE COUNTY.

Democrat Printing Co., Raymer & Fay, props., Monona Ave., three story brick; employs about 60 males, day and night; escape ordered; composing room light and airy, on third floor; editorial rooms on second floor; counting room on ground floor; press room in basement; stereotyping room on first floor, narrow and dingy.

M. K. Bortree Corset Co., 116 King St.; three story brick; employ 40 females and 4 males; work on third floor; fire escape ordered; interior clean and neat.

Wisconsin State Journal, David Atwood, prop., 117 East Washington Ave., news, book and job printers, and stereotype foundry; employs 62 males: fire escape ordered; interior condition first class. G. Grimm occupies part of building as a bookbindery, employing 10 females and 8 males, on third floor; sufficient means of escape by two good stairways in opposite directions, divided by fire walls.

Wm. J. Park & Co., bookbindery, etc., 110 and 112 King St., three story brick; employs 6 females and 6 males on third floor; fire escape ordered. Building not adapted for the purpose; rooms dark; floor weak in some places.

Kohn & Lorch, cigar manufacturers, 105 King St., three story brick; employ 4 men and 2 boys, including proprietors; interior in good condition; means of escape sufficient.

Fuller & Johnson Mfg. Co., agricultural implements: Several buildings, all one story high, forming an extensive plant; employs 125 males; shops in first class condition in all respects.

STEVENS POINT, PORTAGE COUNTY.

Bosworth & Reilly, saw and shingle mill: Employ 75 males. This is the largest mill here and was found in commendable condition.

The Stevens Point Manufacturing Co., building material, sash, doors and blinds, etc.: Two-story frame; employ 80 males. A model factory.

North Side Lumber Co., saw mill and lumber mill: Employs 20 males. Planing mill in operation only; saw-mill recently burned, and new one in course of construction at time of inspection, Sept. 25, 1888.

Three other saw mills, operated by Herren & Wadleigh, Stevens Point

Lumber Co., and John Werk Lumber Co., respectively, were also inspected and found in passable condition.

W. W. Mitchell, flour and feed mill. Here I ordered railing to be placed around a belt wheel.

The Wisconsin Central railroad shops, and two foundries and machine shops, and two grist mills were also visited, but required no suggestions on my part.

GREEN BAY, BROWN COUNTY.

S. W. Britton, cooperage: Two-story brick; employs 100 males; first-class condition in every way.

No other establishments required my attention at Green Bay, the machine shop, and two flour mills doing business on a small scale only.

FORT HOWARD, BROWN COUNTY.

Schwartz & Voigt, building material, sash, doors and blinds: Two-story frame; employ 26 males; first class condition.

Theodore Kennitz, sash, doors and blinds: One-story frame; employs 15 males. Proprietor intends the erection of a larger factory soon.

Two railroad repair shops, two boiler shops and two foundry and machine shops were also found in good condition.

Female factory employment is unknown in Green Bay and Fort Howard.

WATERTOWN, JEFFERSON COUNTY.

The Watertown Woollen Mills; two-story frame and attic; employ 14 females, 6 males; interior condition very good; railing ordered in soap-boiling room.

Woodward & Stone, crackers and confectioners, three-story brick; employ 34 males, 8 females; ordered some gearing covered up.

G. B. Lewis & Co., planing mill, bee hives, honey boxes and sections; two-story frame; employs 23 males. This planing mill is an exception upon the majority in respect to precautions taken against accidents by exposed gearing, etc.

Phil. Heinrichs & Co., bedsteads, cradles and chairs; two-story frame; employs 31 males; condition of factory poor, being overcrowded and machinery carelessly arranged; would not be surprised of hearing of some dreadful accident. However, plans are made for the erection of a new factory.

Wiggenhorn Bros., cigars: Two-story brick; employ 50 males; condition perfect.

J. Forncrook & Co., bee supplies: Two-story frame; employs 25 males. Idle at time of inspection; in operation only nine months of the year.

Hartig & Manz's and the A. Fuermann Brewing Co.'s breweries, each employing about 20 males, were found in first-class condition, as were also the C. M. & St. P. R'y Co.'s repair shops, employing about 50 males, and the three small grist mills in operation here.

FORT ATKINSON, JEFFERSON COUNTY.

The Northwestern Manufacturing Co., chairs, wagons, buggies, sleighs, cutters, etc.: Several buildings, forming quite an extensive plant; employs 140 males and 12 females. Buildings, as well as machinery and interior condition first-class.

Cornish, Curtis & Greene, dairy goods: Employs from 30 to 50 males; a fine work-shop.

Geo. H. Pounder, manufacturer of patent flexible harrow, and general jobbing shop; employs 15 males; good condition.

This concludes the record of my formal inspections. In several instances my advice and suggestions have been sought in the erection of new factories and the reconstruction of old buildings.

I also made it a point to inspect the machinery in brick yards for the purpose of securing safety against accidents. I have also rendered services to the committee of the National Saengerfest, held at Milwaukee during the month of July, 1886, in the preparation of the Exposition Building for the reception of an audience of from 7,000 to 8,000, looking to safety in possible emergencies. Of such services I have kept memoranda, but consider it unnecessary to render formal report.

HENRY SIEBERS,
Factory Inspector.

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